

J. Draxler pinxit.

At Kensington Palace.

Impensis J. & P. Knapp, London.

St. Michael's engraving. 1745.

THE
CONTINUATION
OF
Mr Rapin de Thoyras's
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
Revolution to the Accession of King GEORGE II.

BY
N. TINDAL, M. A. Rector of Alverstoke in Hampshire,
and Chaplain to the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

ILLUSTRATED

With Thirty-six HEADS of the KINGS, QUEENS, and several Eminent
Persons; also with Twenty MAPS and SEA-CHARTS.

THE SECOND EDITION.

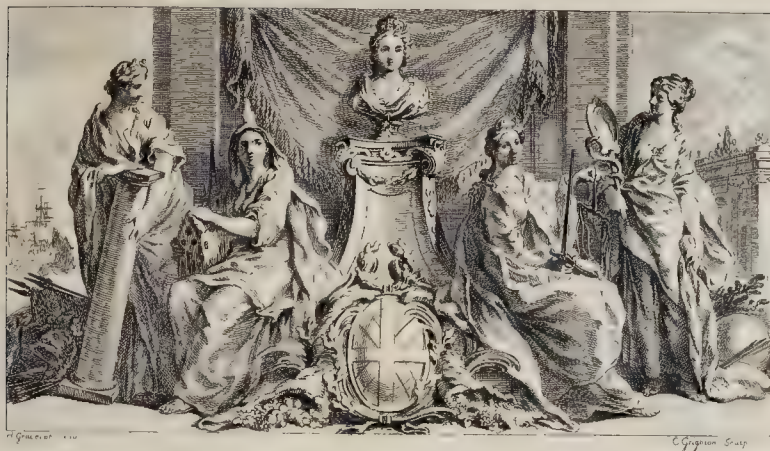
VOL. II.



LONDON:

Printed for JOHN and PAUL Knapton, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street.

MDCCLL



THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK XXVI.

SECT. II.

From the UNION to the End of the Reign of Queen ANNE.

29. ANNE.

1707.
Expectations of the
ensuing campaign
not answered.
Harc.



THE unparalleled successes of the Allies, in the glorious and ever-memorable year 1706, and the many eminent misfortunes to the French King in one campaign, raised great expectations from the next, and made it concluded, that the time was come, in which the perfidy, tyranny, and cruelty of that King's long and bloody Reign were going to be repaid him with the same measures wherewith he had formerly treated others. But the events of the ensuing campaign produced a contrary effect, and proved very unfortunate to the Allies. The offers of peace, made by France, had been indeed rejected by Great-Britain and Holland, but the inclination (as hath been observed) expressed by some persons to come to a treaty with the French, upon the terms offered, was thought to have raised, in the Imperial Court, a strong jealousy, that the

maritime powers were tampering with France, and making terms for themselves, to which the interest of Austria was to be sacrificed. And this jealousy was supposed to have put that Court upon measures, that had a fatal influence on the campaign of this year, and to have occasioned the two most unfortunate events that happened during the whole war. For the conclusion of a treaty with the French, for evacuating the Milanese, without the privity of England and Holland, gave the French an opportunity of sending immediately into Spain a great body of good veteran troops, to the assistance of King Philip, whose army had by that means the superiority over the Allies, and gained the battle of Almanza. And the expedition to Naples was the chief cause of the ill success of the design again Toulon.

As to the affair of the Milanese, the French were losing place after place in Lombardy. Cremona, Mantua, and the citadel of Milan were the only places, that were left in their hands. Burnet.

1707.

The Milanese evacuated.
Burnet.
1c

1707. It was not possible to maintain these long without a greater force, nor was it easy to convey that to them. On the other hand, the reducing those fortresses was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue those troops, and would bring a great charge with it. A capitulation was therefore proposed for delivering up those places, and for allowing the French troops a free march into Dauphiné. As soon as this was sent to Vienna, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the Allies, which gave just cause of offence. It was said in excuse, that every General had a power to agree to a capitulation; and consequently the Emperor, in this case, was not bound to stay for the consent of the Allies. This was true, if the capitulation had been for one single place; but this was of the nature of a treaty, being of a greater extent. By this the French saved ten or twelve thousand men, who must have all been, in a little time, made prisoners of war. They were veteran troops, and were sent into Spain; the ill effects of which were quickly felt.

The design was formed for the following campaign after this manner: The Duke of Savoy undertook to march an army into France, and to act there, as should be concerted by the Allies (1). Some proposed the marching through Dauphiné to the Rhone, and so up to Lyons; but, an attempt upon Toulon being thought the most important thing which could be designed, that was determined. Marshal de Tessé was sent to secure the passes, and to cover France on that side. Prince Lewis of Baden dying this winter little esteemed and little lamented, the Marquis of Bareith had the command of the army on the Upper Rhine, from whom less was expected; and he was so ill supported, that he could do nothing. The Court of Vienna was so set on the reduction of Hungary, that they

thought of nothing else. The Hungarians were very numerous, but they wanted both Officers and Discipline. Ragotzki had possessed himself of almost all Transylvania; and the Hungarians were so alienated from the Emperor, that they were consulting about choosing a new King.

The campaign was opened very fatally in Spain. It has been related, that in a Council of war held at Valencia in February 1706-7, (at which were present the Earls of Peterborough, Galway, and Rivers, and General Stanhope) it was resolved to act offensively, seek out the enemy, and endeavour to bring them to a battle, on the strength of the reinforcement arrived from England under Earl Rivers. This resolution was not generally approved, for the Earl of Peterborough, though dismissed from the command of the army (which, upon the departure of Earl Rivers, was devolved to Lord Galway) gave his opinion in writing against an offensive war in Spain, urging, "That the Confederate troops in Italy, under the command of the Duke of Savoy, and Prince Eugene, could only give the mortal blow, by entering France. That the difficulties of subsisting armies in Castile were sufficiently apparent in the last campaign. That the dangers were evident, of putting the whole upon the risk of passing to Madrid, before an army superior in cavalry: And that, above all things, the defence of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia, was necessary." However, the contrary resolution being taken, the Earl of Galway, the more to strengthen the Confederate army, sent orders to the Lord Tyrrawley's regiment, and the two battalions of marines, who were quartered in Catalonia, to march and join him. But the Vice-roy of that Principality would not suffer them to march from their quarters, or part with any troops out of the Province, without the King's orders, which was often

Affairs in Spain.
at M. S. Friend.
Brodrick.

(1) In the *Memoirs* of Christian Cole, Esq; p. 432. is the following project concerted with the Duke of Savoy.

His Majesty the Queen, having observed with pleasure, that his Royal Highness was entirely bent to conform himself to the design she has long had, to execute the enterprize against Toulon, as soon as the affairs of Italy would permit it, has ordered her Ministers to hold Conferences with those of his Royal Highness about this expedition, in which was regulated and resolved upon what follows:

1. Her Majesty will furnish forty ships of the line at the time and place fit for the enterprize of Provence, with a sufficient number of transport-ships, to carry provisions and ammunition from Oneglia and the coasts of Genoa to that of France, when the army shall be there.

2. His Royal Highness will be pleased to let it be known, as soon as possible, about what time, and at what place, the fleet shall come, that so we may here take infallible measures, that it may be ready and furnished with every thing; and his Royal Highness is desired not to let the fleet come to the place of meeting, but just at the time he shall judge it to be indispensably necessary to let it act; and then the fleet shall be absolutely under his orders, and the Admirals shall have positive orders to obey him, and shall be entirely at his disposition, during the time he shall remain with the army in Provence.

3. Whilst we wait for the time, that is proper for these operations, there will be ships enough in the seas of Italy, to keep the enemies in their ports, and hinder the transports on the coasts of Italy; and, according to the advices we shall receive of armaments at

Toulon, these ships shall be reinforced from time to time.

4. His Royal Highness is desired to take care to have certain advices of the armaments, that shall be made at Toulon, and to let Admiral Shovel, who commands the fleet, know them; and afterwards to have the goodness to let us know here, what he may have wrote to Admiral Shovel, who will conform himself to his orders and advice.

5. The Admiral is to furnish as many cannon for the batteries, as his Royal Highness shall judge to be necessary for the expeditions in Provence; but his Royal Highness is to furnish the carriages, that are necessary, the fleet carrying none that are fit for the land.

6. His Royal Highness is also to furnish the mortars with their carriages, as also the bombs, lead, and the bullets of that size which he shall judge necessary, there being cannon of all sorts on board the fleet; all which he may cause to be brought out of the Milanese to the coasts of Genoa and Pichmont, and to Oneglia, as he shall think proper to be afterwards brought by the transport-ships, where he shall order it.

7. The ships shall furnish some quantity of powder.

N. B. This article is to be farther explained.

8. His Royal Highness will have the goodness to take care of establishing magazines for provisions, and oats, and other things necessary for the army, in the places, which he shall judge most proper for the enterprize; as also to find voitures and mules to pass the mountains, and to serve in the army during the campaign, as well in Provence, as in Dauphiné.

9. The Queen and the States-General will, upon this project, continue the twenty-eight thousand men

1707. often solicited, but could not be obtained. King Charles towards the end of February, declared, to the Generals of the Allies, his intention of going into Catalonia; and a few days after, proceeded in his journey thither, taking with him the regiment of dragoons of Winterfeldt, consisting of five squadrons, with Count Talais's regiment of Dutch foot. But, at his departure, he promised the Confederate Generals, that whenever it should be thought proper to march to Ma-

drid, he would be ready to join them, with the troops from Catalonia (1).

Whilst Earl Rivers* was gone to the Council of War at Valencia, all the troops, both English and Dutch, began to march under Lieutenant-General Erle to join Lord Galway, and with them the regiments of Lord Montjoy, Colonel George's and Colonel Anoll's. Brigadier Farrington's regiment was reduced, and the men put into Southwell's and Breton's. The Marquis

The battle of Almuñécar, 1707. *This account is taken from the manuscript. Vol. I. p. 761.

in their pay; and they will take care to have them fully recruited, and that early; and the Court of Vienna will leave the whole body of troops, which was employed during the last campaign in Piedmont, in Lombardy, to serve in the expedition of France, and will recruit it as they have promised, which will make thirteen thousand recruits of foot, and four thousand new horse, which body of troops is to be in a condition to act in the month of April.

10. His Royal Highness will, on his side, use all his endeavours to restore and augment his troops to the number mentioned in the treaty.

11. As to the troops, his Royal Highness is to chuse those he shall think proper to enter into France, or to remain in Piedmont and Lombardy, and no General shall be allowed to make any difficulty to obey his orders; and her Majesty and the States-General will obtain from the Princes, to whom the troops in their pay belong, express orders to their respective Generals, so that his Royal Highness may have the absolute command of them.

12. It is desired, that his Royal Highness may enter into France, with the greatest number of forces, which the conjunctures of the times, and the situation of the enemies may require, and all within the month of May, if it be possible, having always this principal aim upon Toulon, which is to be the first object of the campaign.

13. Forty thousand pounds Sterling will be furnished for the extraordinary expences: And, if that sum be not sufficient, we will give the surplus, which shall be judged necessary by his Royal Highness, in whom we place an intire confidence.

N. B. After the return of the Courier this article was changed, and the Queen sent fifty thousand pounds Sterling immediately to the Duke of Savoy, with a promise, that if the design upon Toulon should succeed, the would pay bills, which the Duke of Savoy might draw, for fifty thousand pounds Sterling more.

14. There will be no troops for a debarkment on board the fleet, while the affairs of Spain will not permit it.

15. The expedition of Naples, that was proposed, is excluded, as being judged at present impracticable and hurtful to the campaign in France.

If his Royal Highness has any thing to object or to add to these articles, he is desired to do it by an express, that so a final resolution may be taken about his remonstrances, and be sent him by the same express at his return.

(1) Bishop Burnet says (Vol. II. 475.) "That King Charles pretended there was an army coming into Catalonia from Rouffillon, and that it was necessary for him to march into that Country. The dividing a force, when the whole together was not equal to the enemy's, has often proved fatal. He ought to have made his army as strong as possibly he could, and to have marched with it to Madrid, for the rest of Spain would have fallen into his hands upon the success of that expedition. But he persisted in his first resolution, and marched away with a part of the army, leaving about sixteen thousand men under the Earl of Galway's command. They had eaten up all their stores in Valencia, and could subsist no longer there; so they were forced to break into Castile. The Duke of Berwick came against them with an army not much No. 52. Vol. IV.

"superior to theirs; but the Court of France had sent the Duke of Orleans into Spain with some of the best troops, that they had brought from Italy; and these joined the Duke of Berwick a day before the two armies engaged." Dr. Freind observes, p. 181, &c. that soon after the Earl of Peterborough had given his opinion in writing in the Council of war at Valencia, on the 4th of February 1707, N. S. against an offensive war in Spain, he left that Kingdom, and went a second time to Italy and Turin, from which City he wrote a letter on the 21st of April 1707, to the Portuguese Ambassador, in which he pressed more earnestly, and explained more at large, the advice, which he had given in the Council of war. But, before his scheme could reach Spain, the Confederate Generals had entered upon other measures. Mr. Boyer tells us, p. 291, "That King Charles, with his German and Spanish Generals and Ministers, and Count Noyelles, concurred with the Earl of Peterborough; but were over-ruled by Brigadier Stanhope, the Queen's Minister, who declared in her name, *That her pretence orders were, that they should seek the enemy, march to Madrid, and not divide the forces upon any occasion whatsoever.*" The Earl of Galway in his Narrative gives this account: "I joined with those, that were of opinion, that it was by no ways convenient to divide the troops, as may appear by a copy of that opinion signed by my Lord Tyranny, and by me, bearing date the 15th day of January 1706-7. But I must beg leave to observe, that this was not the decisive Council for the operations of the campaign, for many subsequent Councils were held in the King's presence more important than this; and though in them there might have been some variety of opinions as to the manner, yet almost all the Generals and Ministers, that assisted at those Councils, agreed perfectly in the substance, which was, that we should join our troops, and march to Madrid. Some indeed were for passing through the plains of la Mancha, and crossing the Tagus; but this opinion was over-ruled, because of the hazard in passing the river, if the enemy opposed us, and of the scarcity of provisions in the Mancha, which had been exhausted by the enemy's winter-quarters: For which reasons it was, after many debates, agreed, that we should take the way of Valencia and Arragon, passing the Tagus at its head, to avoid all opposition. But, lest the Kingdom of Valencia might by this means be any ways exposed, it was likewise resolved, before we should begin our march to destroy all the enemy's magazines of provisions and forage in the country bordering upon the frontier of Valencia, to prevent them from making any incursions; and I do take upon me to aver, that nothing was ever transacted, during the time I had the honour to command the Queen's troops, contrary to the positive resolution of any General Council, or Council of war, unless that resolution was afterwards repealed by some subsequent Council.

"So sensible was every one of our being already too weak, that it was resolved to desire my Lord Rivers (who was lately arrived at Lisbon) would join us with the troops, that came under his command from England, which his Lordship did not long after.

"For the better execution of what had been resolved for our march through Valencia and Arragon, proper Commissaries and Officers were dispatched to provide bread and forage sufficient for the troops

1707. *quis de Montandre's* regiment, in its march from *Alicant* to join the rest, was surprized, and almost all killed or taken prisoners. The two regiments of *Sir Charles Hotbam* and *Colonel Syburg* were left to garrison that town and castle, though very weak, and *Syburg* was appointed Governor, *Sir Charles* chusing to follow the

army. It was the 30th of *March* before we all could join the great camp, having met cros the country with many difficult paves, and an incredible scarcity of provisions both for men and horses; and above all, very cold and wet weather, especially for those that were reduced to lie in the field. The whole army under the Lord

1707.

"in all places where it was designed the armies should pass. I went with the *Marquis das Minas* to the frontiers towards the latter end of *March*, and we took the field the beginning of *April*. We ruined part of the Country bordering upon the frontiers of *Valencia* before the enemy could join their troops, particularly *Yzla*, where they had their largest magazines; and, judging it necessary to take in the castle of *Villana*, to prevent the army from being masters of one of the most considerable inlets into the Kingdom of *Valencia*, sat down before that place. But it proved stronger than was expected; and, after we had spent some days there, we had notice the enemy had assembled their troops at *Almanza*. Upon this advice a Council of war was held, where it was unanimously resolved to fight the enemy; which we were the rather induced to, because it was judged impossible to subsist upon the *defensive* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; for the Country had already been so much exhausted by our winter-quarters, that there was not two days provision to be found for the army; and we could not have been able to have subsisted there so long as we did, but for the supply we found in the enemy's magazines in *Yzla*. Nor did we think it proper to pursue the once intended march through that Kingdom and *Aragon*, lest provisions should be wanting, leaving the enemy too near, and in a condition to follow us; for, though *Commisaries* had been employed, there was reason to apprehend the towns, we were to pass through, would shut the gates against us, whilst we were closely followed by the enemy, and persecuted by the peasants of the country, who, grown desperate by seeing themselves abandoned, would naturally be up in arms in the mountains. Besides, we had certain advice, that there was already a body of *French* troops, consisting of eight thousand men in *Spain*, and upon their march to reinforce the enemy. Thus, as the army must inevitably have perished without fighting, it was thought reasonable to run the hazard of a battle, wherein we had an equal chance to come off victors; which was accordingly done two days after, on the 25th of *April* 1707, *N. S.* but with ill success."

The Earl of *Peterborough*, in answer to the fourth question of the Committee of the House of Lords, said, That several Councils of war were held in the month of *January* 1706-7 at *Valencia* about the time that intelligence was brought, that the forces, under the Earl *Rivers*, were entered into the *Mediterranean*, in order to adjust the measures for the ensuing campaign. That the matters therein debated were principally, whether the army should march towards *Madrid*, and seek the enemy. That, in the debates upon this subject, the Earl of *Galway*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and the Lord *Tyravley* supported those measures with the *Portuguese* General; and that the King, the Count de *Noyelles*, the *Spanish* Generals and Ministers, with himself, argued strongly against those measures, as highly dangerous and impracticable; and this in repeated Councils of war, till, at last, the Earl of *Peterborough*, solicited by the King of *Spain* to renew the debate, desired the King, that he would order all called to the Council to bring their opinions in writing, that every body's opinion and reasons for that opinion might appear, and be known to the world; which, according to the King's commands, were put in writing, and delivered at the Council."

The Earl of *Galway*, in his reply, or observations

upon the Earl of *Peterborough's* answers to the five questions, says thus: "In reply to this assertion, I would beg leave to appeal to your Lordships memory, whether, upon the first mention of these resolutions in this most honourable House, the Earl did not as positively affirm, That the *conclusive* Council for the operation of the ensuing campaign was held on the 15th of *January*? And whether he did not offer to depose on oath, that in that very Council no person whatever was of opinion for making an *offensive* war, and against dividing the troops, but the Lord *Tyravley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and I? Soon after indeed, upon further recollection, he was pleased to add the *Marquis das Minas* to our number; and I observe he has since given himself a much larger latitude, both as to the time of holding that Council, and as to the persons, who voted for an *offensive* war? His Lordship is now so far from confining himself to a day, that he has taken in a whole month; and, by accusing us more modestly for having opposed only the King, Count *Noyelles*, himself, and the *Spanish* Generals and Ministers, leaves half the Council on our side; for, supposing all the *Spanish* Generals and Ministers to have assented at that Council, there could only have been twelve persons there, viz. Prince *Lichtenstein*, Count *Oropesa*, Count *Corfano*, Count *Cardana*, Count *Noyelles*, my Lord *Peterborough*, the *Marquis das Minas*, Count d' *Astumar*, my Lord *Tyravley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, Monsieur *Freisheim*, and I. The last six his Lordship has plainly left on our side; but my Lord *Tyravley* positively affirms Count *Oropesa* was of the same opinion, and believes Count *Corfano* was so too. Thus, taking the matter as the Earl of *Peterborough* is pleased to state it, we had an equality, and, as my Lord *Tyravley* remembers, the greater number of our party. Perhaps, when my Lord *Peterborough* contended so positively to prove that Council, of the 15th of *January*, *conclusive*, he was led into that error by the mistake in my Lord *Sunderland's* letter, in answer to one of Mr. *Stanhope's* of *January* 15. But he has since been pleased to allow, that the Council of the 15th was not *conclusive*, and that many more subsequent Councils were held, which determined the operations of the ensuing campaign, wherein he voted himself for marching to *Madrid* by the way of *Aragon*, which, I should have imagined, had left no further room to mention our opinions of the 15th. But, because he is still resolved to make good his charge against Lord *Tyravley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and me, he affirms to your Lordships, That the *action* of that change in the subsequent Councils was, because the opinion of the majority had been over-ruled by a Minister of her Majesty, assuring, that the Queen had given him orders to declare in her name, that her positive orders were, that they should seek the enemy, march to *Madrid*, and not divide the troops upon any account whatsoever.

"I must confess I do not conceive, that it imports me much to reply to this part of the Earl's answer; nor shall I attempt to make an imperfect defence for an absent man; for, if Mr. *Stanhope* was here, I doubt not he would be able sufficiently to justify his own conduct in this affair. Yet I cannot help saying, that even malice itself has never yet suggested, that my Lord *Tyravley*, Mr. *Stanhope*, and I, did not act on that occasion with great integrity, according to the best of our understandings; nor shall I ever be ashamed to own an opinion, which was

"L. C.

1707. Lord Galway (1) and the Marquis *das Minas* (consisting of about four thousand five hundred horse, and eleven thousand foot) being joined, moved the next day to a camp at *Caudela*, and the day after marched upon two columns, and the baggage upon a third, expecting to engage the enemy in the plain of *Yecla*: But they were disappointed, for the Duke of *Berwick* had, upon the approach of the Confederate army, left that town with great precipitation, though he had made there large magazines of wheat and barley, besides a great quantity of wines, and all other sorts of provisions, as cattle, fish, &c. all which fell very seasonably into our hands.

The Generals concluding, from the Duke's precipitate retreat from this place, that his army was weak, and that the *French* succours (consisting of eight thousand men, and which were daily expected) had not joined him, resolved to go and surprize him in his camp at *Monta-*

legre, a few miles from *Yecla*, where they had certain intelligence, that part of his army was incamped. Pursuant to this resolution, April 3, at nine in the evening, our army marched without noise, leaving only two battalions to secure the camp at *Yecla*. During two days, the whole army had leave to take what provisions they wanted both for horses and men, out of the plentiful magazines in this place, and the rest was ordered to be burnt. On the 7th, the army marched to *Villena*, a little castle on a high rock, defended by five hundred men, under a resolute governor. It lies in the road between *Valencia* and *Casile*, and would have greatly annoyed our convoys. As soon as the army was come before the castle, the Governor was summoned to surrender; but he returned a proud answer, on which some field-pieces were ordered to fire against it, but, as they did very little execution, the Engineers were commanded to work

"then not only the common sense of the army, but agreeable to the desires and interest of the whole Kingdom of England.

"In the Earl of *Peterborough's* farther answer to this question, he is pleased to say, *That, notwithstanding this, the Earl of Galway brought the army into the plains of Valencia, a directly contrary route to that of Arragon, and into all those dangers, which he was to avoid by marching by the head of the Tagus.* In reply to this answer I shall only observe, that I had not the command of that army (which consisted of three separate bodies, *English, Portuguese, and Dutch*) but the Marquis *das Minas*, from whom I always received orders; and the battle of *Almanza* was fought by the unanimous approbation of a Council of war: Nor could the resolutions of that Council have ever been executed, had there been the least difference in opinion, because each Commander of a separate corps might have refused to march.

"For the occasion of our moving towards *Almanza*, I must beg leave to refer to my narrative, where I have mentioned more at large, that, in order to execute the resolutions of those Councils of war, where it was agreed we should march to *Madrid* by the way of *Arragon*, but first to destroy the enemy's magazines on the frontiers of *Valencia*, I went with the Marquis *das Minas* in the beginning of April to *Yecla*, where the enemy's chief magazines lay, and from thence to *Villena*, where we had advice of their troops being assembled at *Almanza*; upon which that Council was held, wherein the battle was unanimously resolved on.

"The Earl of *Peterborough* is pleased to add a reason for his opinion, *That the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene had declared their sentiments for a defensive war at that time in Spain, and had communicated their thoughts to Charles III. upon that subject, to the certain knowledge of the Earl of Peterborough, as he can make appear by authentic papers from the King of Spain.* I shall not take upon me to deny a matter of fact, which his Lordship so positively affirms; but I have been credibly informed, that the Duke of *Mariborough* and my Lord *Godolphin* did, both of them, assure this most honourable House, that the true project against *Toulon* was not concerted by the Earl of *Peterborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, but first set on foot by the Duke of *Mariborough* with Count *Moffei* in *Flanders*, and finished in England with the Counts *Maffei* and *Briancan*; but did not require, that any troops should be sent from *Spain*, nor was ever communicated to the Earl of *Peterborough*: Which indeed his Lordship seems to be aware of, when he says not long after, *That the project against Toulon, as settled by him, had been so altered, that the Duke of Savoy publicly declared his dislike of engaging in it.*

"And yet it is most certain, that his Royal Highness did engage in an attempt against *Toulon*, pursuant to the project concerted in England. And, though that attempt did not prove entirely successful, it had a very good effect; for thereby a great body of the enemy's troops were diverted from acting elsewhere, and a considerable damage was done to the fleet and magazines of France."

The Author of the *Impartial Inquiry into the management of the war in Spain*, having quoted the above-cited passage from the Earl of *Galway's* narrative, observes, p. 238, "That hence we are informed of the true reasons, why all the Generals of the Allies unanimously resolved to fight the battle of *Almanza*, for which my Lord *Galway* and the late Ministry have been so severely censured, though his Lordship was not Commander in chief there, nor did the Ministry send him orders to fight, as has been very ridiculously suggested; for neither could they have been capable of giving, or his Lordship of obeying any such directions at that distance, unless he had thought them apparently necessary, and for the benefit of the common cause. Though the success of this action proved different from what might have been wished, it is certain the ill fate of that day cannot, with the least colour of justice, be imputed to the Earl of *Galway*, since it is notoriously known, both his Lordship and the troops immediately under his command, as well as the *Dutch* that were present, did their duty to admiration; but wanting near five thousand of the King of *Spain's* forces, with part of the *Dutch*, that had been detached, contrary to my Lord *Galway's* opinion, to *Arragon*, and being oppressed by unequal numbers, part of our army were forced to give way, and the rest to surrender prisoners of war upon honourable terms. Yet as many regiments as we lost at *Almanza*, and as much noise as this misfortune has made in the world, it is certain it only reduced us to a necessity of acting upon the defensive."

(1) *English* regiments present at the battle of

ALMANZA.		
HORSE.		Number.
Harvey,	—	227
DRAGOONS.		
Killigrew,	—	51
Pearce,	—	273
Peterborough,	—	303
Gusford,	—	228
Carpenter,	} by detachments,	292
Effex,		
		1147
		Foot.

1707. work with the Miners. The Governor being told, from under the wall, what was doing, gave as bold an answer as he had done to the summons. There was then no thoughts of coming soon to a battle, for the Lord *Galway* gave leave, on the 9th, to the Queen's Royal regiment of dragoons, to go as far as *Denia* for their cloathing, and to refresh their horses; and ordered Brigadier *Carpenter*, with all the new-landed dragoons, *English* and *Dutch*, to go into quarters of refreshment above ten miles off, to try to recover their horses, which were almost dead by the fatigues of the sea, their long marches from *Alicant*, and the scarcity and difference of forage, having, instead of hay and oats, only straw and barley (the feed of the country) which was not thought good for the large *English* and *Dutch* horses. But the Brigadier received orders to return the very day he marched from the camp, upon an intelligence received by the Lord *Galway*, that the enemy had assembled all their forces, received the succours expected from *France*, and were marching, as they gave out, to attack us. This intelligence was brought to Lord *Galway* (who was so able an examiner of all *French* deserters, that he could not easily be imposed on) by two young *French* Gentlemen of a good Protestant family, who had been educated in the principles of the Reformed Religion by the care of their parents, a practice very common in *France* after the persecution. They told him, they had entered as Volunteers into the *French* service, in a regiment that was coming to *Spain*, in hopes of meeting with an opportunity to come over to the *English*. Lord *Galway*, after a very long conversation, was so well satisfied with the truth of what they said, that he gave full credit to their intelligence, and took his measures accordingly (1). He ordered

that night a new camp to be marked out in a plain, not far from *Villena*, designing to meet the enemy there, if they came to attack us. But, as they did not, it was resolved to go in search of them. The whole army marched in three columns, the 13th of *April*, from *Villena*, to *la Torre de Bougarres* near *Caudeta*, with an eager expectation to meet the enemy, but none appeared. News being brought, that the enemy were near the town of *Almanza*, a great Council of war was held, in which it was unanimously agreed to go the next day, and give them battle. Accordingly, about three in the morning, we began to march in four columns, till we had passed the hilly country, which was computed at six long miles, and then, coming into better ground, the army formed, and marched the other three miles in order of battle. About twelve, we saw, from some rising grounds, the town of *Almanza*, and soon after the enemy drawn up, and ready to receive us. They began to fire very briskly with two or three batteries, and we returned their fire with one. Lord *Galway*, having seen the disposition of the right and of the center, came to the left, which he commanded, as general *Erle* did the center, and the Marquis *das Minas* the right. He ordered the enemy's advanced guard to be attacked by a party of a hundred dragoons, who put them to flight. Being pursued beyond their second line, they left the army, and took to the high-road with such haste upon a full gallop, that they were soon got some miles from the field of battle; and meeting with the Duke of *Orleans*, who was coming to take the command upon him, told him, their army was beat, and all was lost. This put the Duke upon going back till night, when he received other news. Lord *Galway* viewed the right of the enemy, whole

FOOT.	Numb.
A battalion of guards, — — —	400
Lord <i>Portmore</i> , — — —	462
<i>Southwell</i> , — — —	505
<i>Stewart</i> , — — —	467
<i>Hill</i> , — — —	472
<i>Blond</i> , — — —	461
Lord <i>Mordaunt</i> , — — —	532
<i>Wade</i> , — — —	458
<i>George</i> , — — —	616
Lord <i>Montjoy</i> , — — —	508
<i>Maccartney</i> , — — —	494
<i>Bretton</i> , — — —	428
<i>Alcott</i> , — — —	412
<i>John Caulfield</i> , — — —	470
Lord <i>Mark Kerr</i> , — — —	429
Count <i>Nassau</i> , — — —	822
	7536
	8910

Regiments in Quarters, Garrisons, and Prisoners.

In Quarters and Garrisons.

DRAGOONS.

Royal at *Culera*, — — — 302

FOOT.

Royal Fusiliers, and two battalions of } 1200
1000 at *Girone*.

<i>Hotham</i> , <i>Syburgh</i> , and <i>Blisset</i> , and a bat-	
talion of marines at <i>Alicant</i> , — — —	1200
<i>Ellist</i> and <i>Watkins</i> at <i>Gibraltar</i> , — — —	800
A detachment from the army in <i>Denia</i> , — — —	200
PRISONERS.	3702

DRAGOONS.

Part of <i>Crombham's</i> , afterwards <i>Killingworth's</i> , regiment taken at <i>Elche</i> , — — —	150
A detachment from the garrison of <i>Alicant</i> at <i>Elche</i> , — — —	300
Lord <i>Dungannon's</i> regiment on their march from <i>Alicant</i> , — — —	400
Several other prisoners taken at different times and places, above — — —	1000
	1850

To which is to be added the Commission, Non-Commission Officers, and the Officers and Servants of the six regiments of *Farrington*, *Mohun*, *Hamilton*, *Allen*, *Brudenell*, and *Toby Caulfield*, which were reduced a little time before the battle of *Almanza*, — — —

15641

(1) Both these young Gentlemen were afterwards provided with Ensigns Commissions in our army. *M.S.*

(1) Bishop

1707. whose line was extended far beyond ours, having many more squadrons than we had in our left, and sent for Count *Alalaia*, who commanded in the second line, to bring up all the horse (which were eleven squadrons of *Portuguese*) and draw them up so on our left, as far as the center, that they might prevent the enemy's flanking us. Then he commanded *Carpenter's* and *Essex's* squadrons to go and attack the battery over-against our left, which did very much gall our horse. This was instantly executed very gallantly, but with ill success. Here the battle began about two. The battery was placed upon a steep rising ground, which covered every thing behind it; so that when the two squadrons came up with it, the guns were in a moment drawn away by the mules that continued fastened to them, and eight or ten squadrons of their best horse fell upon our two with incredible fury, and cut them all to pieces. Then they and the rest of their horse attacked our *English* and *Dutch* squadrons, who maintained a very obstinate and bloody fight near two hours, but were at last overpowered by their far superior number, and so cut off, that not above four or five officers, and ten or twelve private men, were left in each squadron. The squadron of *Guiscard's* dragoons stood their ground the longest of any, and no wonder, for they had thirty-four Officers in their front rank, most of them veterans, who had served in all King *William's* wars. They had charged three times, but, when they saw their friends were gone, the standard was ordered to be secured; after which they attacked three squadrons that faced them, having the Lords *Galway* and *Tyravoley*, and Brigadier *Carpenter*, at their head, of whom the Commander begged, as they came separately to him, that they would be pleased to take the command of the squadron, which they all declined. So the brave old Colonel *la Fabreque* (whose name ought to be mentioned with honour for his courage and conduct) having these three great Volunteers with him, fell upon the three squadrons with so much intrepidity, that he routed them, and retired in good order from the field of battle with the three Generals. Lord *Galway* received, in this last bold attack, a cut over his eye (having before lost his right hand, with which he might have parried the blow) and with such a long sword, as wounded his Aid de Camp in the forehead at the same time.

The center, that is, the *English* and *Dutch*, were engaged all this while, and drove the enemy with great success before them. They had pushed the first line upon the second, so that, though our left was routed, we still had some hopes, in case the *Portuguese* horse in the right behaved well, to get the day. But our hopes were soon defeated; for, as soon as the enemy marched up to them, and some battalions gave them a fire, they all galloped away, and the foot ran into some neighbouring woods upon our right, in which flight many of them fell, tho' none were killed in charging. The Duke of *Berwick*, having nothing to fear from our right and left, ordered all his horse to come and sustain his foot, who had been very severely beaten by ours, during three or four hours. The Generals to prevent their being surrounded,

ordered all the battalions to form themselves into a hollow square, which so well answered the design, that the enemy could gain no advantage of them, and by that means they retired from the field of battle with little or no loss, though still pursued till night parted them. And, if they could have continued their retreat a few miles farther, the enemy would have had no great reason to boast of a victory, nor would the battle of *Almanza* have been so much talked of, to say no worse, as it has been in this Nation. But the loss of twenty-three battalions *English* and *Dutch* was too great to be easily repaired at so great a distance. How these brave men, after having fought so gallantly for so many hours, and made so glorious a retreat, could at last come to the resolution of surrendering to an enemy that was some miles from them, and reckoned them quite out of his reach, is not so easy to be accounted for, unless their excuse be admitted, which was, that the soldiers, after marching nine hours without any refreshment, and fighting about six, could march no farther: They had spent all their ammunition, and had not so much as bread and water to refresh themselves with: They were all strangers to the country, and did not know of any place to retire to: Besides all this, they thought themselves in danger of being pursued and attacked the next morning by the enemy's whole army, against which they could not pretend to defend themselves, being abandoned by all the horse. Upon these considerations, after a long consultation, in which were very warm debates, they came to the resolution of surrendering themselves, as the *French* infantry had done at *Blenheim*, and of sending to the Duke of *Berwick* to desire honourable terms, which were gladly and readily granted; namely, that they should be prisoners of war, till they could be exchanged: That they should be all disarmed but the Officers, who should keep their swords: And that they should have liberty to send for their baggage, before they marched any farther.

The Duke of *Berwick* is said to have been astonished, and could hardly believe the Officer who brought him this welcome message, which did compleat his victory. For till then it might have been called a drawn battle, the number of the slain being reckoned very equal, our baggage safe, and only a *Portuguese* train of twenty field-pieces lost. But twenty-three battalions, carried prisoners into *France*, were marks of a triumph to all the places through which they passed. To their long and obstinate resistance, the safety of our baggage was certainly owing: for, had the enemy detached a thousand men to secure the very difficult pass of *Pont de la Guiera*, through which all the *Portuguese* horse made their escape, and the baggage after them, they must have all fallen into their hands. Two Officers of dragoons, that were taken prisoners by the fall of their horses, assured the Author of this account, that, when they were carried towards the town of *Almanza*, they found it in our hands, and above a thousand prisoners in it, the enemy's foot being pushed far beyond it by ours. *Almanza* was in the center of the field of battle, and the enemy's second line was on both sides of the town (1).

1707.

[(1) Bishop *Burnet*, p. 475, says, That the Confederates had about ten thousand killed or taken prisoners. Numb. 52. Vol. IV.

The next day the *Portuguese* horse, and part of the *English*, got into *Xativa*, with the foot that guarded the baggage; and the day after to *Alcira*, a very strong town on a river defended by almost inaccessible mountains. Here our broken army assembled, and Lord *Galway* joined it from *Obinaute*, with the dragoons that had secured his person and retreat (1).

From *Alcira* the worst of the wounded, and the baggage of the Officers killed in the battle, were sent to the grove of *Valencia*, to be embarked for *Barcelona*. Here a Trumpet arrived, with the shocking news of all our infantry

having surrendered, and several letters from the Officers, with the articles and the before-mentioned apology for their conduct, which was not much relished; for a great difference was made between the *French* battalions at *Blenheim*, and ours in the neighbourhood of *Almanza*. The *French* were surrounded by a victorious army in a village, and could not pretend to fight their way through it: But ours were in the open field, without any enemy near them. However, their baggage and money were sent to them. Many of our foot lifted among the enemy, desirous to come back to us as soon as they

Among the wounded and slain, these were the most remarkable: The Lord *Galway* was wounded in the face: Brigadier *Killigrew*, being wounded in the first assault, still kept the field, and was killed in a second charge: Lieutenant-Colonel *Raper* (of Major-General *Harvey's* horse) Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence* (of Brigadier *Carpenter's* regiment) Lieutenant-Colonel *Dorchester* (of the Lord *Essex's*) Lieutenant-Colonel *Deleches* (of Colonel *Pierce's*) and Lieutenant-Colonel *Green* (of the Lord *Peterborough's*) were killed at the head of their respective squadrons, having behaved themselves with extraordinary resolution and undauntedness: And Colonel *Pierce*, and Mr. *O'Hara*, son of the Lord *Tyravely*, were wounded. Of the foot, Lieutenant *Austin* of the Guards, Lieutenant-Colonel *Mac-Neale*, (of *Southwell's*) Lieutenant-Colonel *Woollet*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Withers* (of *Blood's*) Lieutenant-Colonel *Ramsey* (of *Macartney's*) Lieutenant-Colonel *Erskin* (of Lord *Mark Kerr's*) were among the slain; and Lord *Mark Kerr* was wounded in the arm, and Colonel *Clayton* in the body.

Father *Daniel's* account of the action is to this effect: The action began at three in the afternoon, and the victory stood long doubtful. The regiment of *Mayne* distinguished itself upon this occasion. Marshal *Berwick* shewed a great presence of mind, and a vast capacity in the art of war, by providing remedies wherever they were wanting, and guarding against all inconveniences. The enemy was pursued about two leagues. Thirteen battalions were made prisoners in the pursuit, besides five others, which were taken in the field of battle. Six Marshals de Camp, ten Brigadiers, twenty Colonels, and eight hundred other Officers were taken with all their artillery, and six-score colours and standards. Near five thousand men were killed on the spot, besides the wounded, which were very numerous, and, among the rest, the Lord *Galway* and the Marquis *das Minas*, General of the *Portuguese*. The Conquerors lost two thousand men, and, among others, the Marquis *de Silly* and Monsieur *de Polastron*, Brigadiers; and, among the wounded were the Duke of *Salerno*, General of the *Spanish* guards, who received eleven wounds with a broad sword, the Marquises *de St. Clair* and *de Silly*, Marshals de Camp: The Duke of *Orleans*, who was lately arrived from *France*, and was to have commanded the armies of the two Crowns, though he made all possible haste, after he had heard, that the two armies were not far distant from each other, could not come up till the action was over. The Marquis *de Feuquieres* in his *Memoirs* observes, that this was an action of the first species, since the two armies charged through the whole extent of their front; and that the Confederates were masters of the two entire Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, and of all *Catalonia*, and were preparing to enter *New-Castile*. "A few days before the battle (continues the Marquis) they had received a powerful reinforcement from *England* and *Holland*, and were determined to improve the time of the first campaign. With this intent they passed the *Xucar*, and advanced near *Almanza*. The Duke of *Berwick* marched up to them without the least hesitation, and the armies engaged. The *Portuguese* infantry being entirely broke

"in the first charge, and our cavalry having thrown "that of the enemy into disorder, we remained absolute masters of the field of battle. The Duke of *Berwick* likewise pursued with his cavalry thirteen "of the enemy's battalions, who were retreating in "good order through the mountains, with an intention to repass the *Xucar*, and retire to *Valencia*; "but, as the body of infantry was extremely fatigued "and destitute of bread, they were obliged to halt "before they could arrive at the *Xucar*. This discontinuance of their march gave our infantry time "to approach them; and they were all made prisoners of war. The recovery of the Kingdoms of " *Valencia* and *Aragon* was owing to the success of "this battle." Dr. *Hare*, in a letter to a *Tory-Member*, p. 13, fourth Edition, tells us, "That it was owing to "the reinforcement sent the Duke of *Anjou* after the "evacuation of *Milan*, that we owed the loss of the "battle of *Almanza*, which proved so fatal to our affairs "on that side. If these troops had not joined, we had "been superior to the enemy; and that battle had either "not been fought, or it had been won, and *Spain* with "it, considering the ill condition the Duke of *Anjou's* "affairs were then in; and the true reason we ventured that battle was to prevent the junction, which "we did not know, or, at least, did not believe, was "made at the time we fought; a mistake, we may "think, very easily made in *Spain*, when it is known, "we owe the victory of *Ramilles* to the *French* making the very same mistake in *Flanders*, where they "thought the *English* had not at that time joined the "Confederate army, and reckoned for certain, that "the *Danes* at least neither had nor could. And "this persuasion made them venture a battle, which "the *French* had so much reason to remember, without waiting for a considerable body of troops, that "were coming to them from the *Rhine*, the head of "which were actually at *Namur*, when Monsieur *Villeroi* began his march towards the Confederates. But "to return, it is plain the *French* had not gained the "battle of *Almanza* without that reinforcement from "Italy, and even with it, though the battle was fought "in April, and our army was in a manner ruined by "that blow, all they did that year was only to take "*Lerida*."

(1) And here (says our Author) I had the pleasure of being eased of a very troublesome burden, which had much endangered my life by the imprudence of the Officers, who had given me their purses at the head of the three squadrons; and very large they were, by the management of Earl *Rivers*, who, unwilling to carry the treasure back to *England*, had obliged the Paymasters of the regiments to take four months subsistence in advance, which, it was said, was no small perquisite to his Lordship, upon the account of the high price gold was at in *Spain*. When I returned their purses to the Officers, it was computed I had no less than fifteen hundred pounds about me, besides some gold watches: So that I should have been a good booty for some desperate deserter, which the owners of the money were more afraid of than myself. Manuscript account of the war in *Spain*, from 1706 to 1712, by a Chaplain in the army.

(1) Which

1707. they found an opportunity, which indeed hundreds of them did in a very short time, the *Valencians*, *Aragonese*, and *Catalans*, who were all very zealous in King *Charles's* interest, assisting them in their escape and march to us.

The day after the battle, the Duke of *Orleans* came to *Almanza*, and took upon him the command of the enemy's army, which, as will be related, was of some service to us. What foot we had left, remained at *Alicia* and *Xativa*, and we marched all our horse through the city of *Valencia*, and some other towns, as far as *Tortosa*. The enemy followed us, but very civilly, for they generally encamped in the evening on the ground we left in the morning, till we came to the *Ebro*, and marched over the bridge of *Tortosa*, to a camp about two miles from the City, up the river. The army did not continue here long, for, on the 11th of *May*, the enemy appeared on the hills, and an advanced party came down into the plain, a mile from the town, where they staid all that day in sight of our Horse-guard. The next day their whole army came down, and, having pushed in our Horse-guard, encamped in a long line over-against the town. Upon this we burnt the suburbs on that side the water, and manned a half-moon at the bridge-foot on the same side, whilst our cannon from the castle made a continual fire on their camp. The night of the 13th, they brought down some gabions and lodged themselves near our half-moon; but we made a sally and destroyed that work, which they soon replaced, and firing continued on both sides many days. There being no prospect of any succours to enable us to keep that advantageous post, the Lord *Galway*, after putting a good garrison into *Tortosa* and *Gironne*, and leaving the rest of the foot in *Tarragona*, marched up the river with the horse, and the Duke of *Orleans*, at the same time, ordered most of his cavalry to observe and follow us on the other side of the *Ebro*. We continued for three months in marches and counter-marches, observing one another's motions, our great care being to prevent the enemy passing the *Cinea*, which would have been of very bad consequence to us; for the country about *Tarragona* must have fallen into their hands, unless we were in a condition to make a vigorous stand, which we were not. But the Duke of *Orleans* proved a very pacific General for some time, having private views, and a very extraordinary scheme for a peace (1). Mr. *Stanhope*, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary, came to our camp near the *Cinea* to visit the General. During his stay the Duke of *Orleans* sent a let-

ter to the Lord *Galway*, to desire he would send two trusty persons, by whom he had some proposals of the highest nature to make to him. Mr. *Stanhope* was not long in suspense, but gladly accepted the offer Lord *Galway* made him of being one of the two, and the General's Aid de Camp was appointed for the other (2). These two Gentlemen went to the place assigned for a Conference, which lasted some hours, and was managed in such a manner, and with so much secrecy, that no one suspected any thing in either army. Lord *Galway* was not a little surprized at the overtures that were made, and dispatched his Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Orleans*, with the same answer in substance, General *Stanhope* had given him. This advantage we reaped from the Conference, that we lived some weeks like good neighbours, the enemy on the one side, and we on the other, of the river *Cinea*, and at a very small distance from one another; but not without great fatigue on both sides, for they made many motions to pass the river, which alarmed our camp, and kept us always, chiefly in the night, upon our guard, ready to mount, and our baggage to be loaded.

Brigadier *Carpenter* took this opportunity to have his own Squadron, *Essex's* and *Guisard's*, sent to *Manresa*, to refresh their horses, now almost dead, and unfit for service (3). From hence we soon marched to *las Borgues*, where we remained some time. About the beginning of *August*, the enemy detached a good number of horse and foot for *France*, and the Duke of *Berwick* quickly followed them. On the 30th of that month, they marched from *Belpuis* towards *Lerida* (having plundered several villages without sparing the Churches) and, passing the *Segre*, they invested the town the next day on both sides. General *Wills* commanded the garrison, with the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*. The Duke of *Berwick* returned to the army, but without any forces; and it was the 21st of *September* before they opened the trenches, and the 27th before they erected their batteries. Whilst the siege was carried on, all the forces, that could be drawn from all parts of *Catalonia*, the Lord *Galway* assembled at *las Borgues*, and encamped within a few miles of *Lerida*, with a resolution to attempt the relief of that place. But, before this resolution could be executed, news came that the garrison had capitulated, who marched out of *Lerida*, on the 2d of *November*, with all the marks of honour customary after a brave defence (4). In a few days, the horse went into winter-quarters, under the command of Major-General *Carpenter* (who had lately

(1) Which scheme (says our Author) I do not think prudent to divulge. His scheme, it is said, was to be made King of Spain himself, for which he offered very advantageous terms to England. But this is only conjecture.

(2) A man (says our Author) of tried capacity and integrity, who afterwards died Deputy-Governor of *Guernsey*.

(3) *Manresa* is a fine and rich town, in the mountains of *Catalonia*, famous for giving birth to *Ignatius Loyala*, founder of the order of *Jesuits*. The whole town is entirely devoted to that Saint, who had borne arms many years. The house where he was born is turned into a Nunnery, where the Inhabitants affirm, that on every *Whitunday*, when the Magistrates and

all the religious orders in the town make a procession to that Cloyster, the Holy Ghost appears, as a white dove, and perches a good while upon the cross on the top of the Chapel. This miracle, which is managed by the Priests, is firmly believed by these poor Mountaineers, who are pleased, beyond measure, to have so remarkable a token of the divine favour to boast of above their countrymen. *Manuscript account, &c.*

(4) *Burnet's* account of this affair is as follows: The Duke of *Orleans*, being reinforced with troops after the design upon *Toulon* had miscarried, sat down before *Lerida*, in the end of *September*, with an army of thirty-thousand men: The place was commanded by a Prince of *Hesse*, who held out above forty days: After some time, he was forced to abandon the town, and

1707. lately received a Commission from King Charles, appointing them to that rank) and the foot under Major-General Wills marched to the City of Tarragona. The Portuguese and Dutch marched likewise into their quarters, all in Catalonia, between Lerida and Barcelona. And thus ended this long and unfortunate campaign, which had been so unsuccessful, that the principality of Catalonia was all that remained in King Charles's obedience. The Lord Galway, General Erle, and the Marquis das Minas, with three other Portuguese Generals embarked at Barcelona for Lisbon, and Carpenter remained Commander of the English.

The Allies in Spain were in hopes the Portuguese would have favoured them with a diversion, but were disappointed. For, on the contrary, the Spaniards, under the Duke of Ossuna, took Serpa and Moura, and at the same time, the Marquis de Bay possessed himself of the bridge of Olivenza, threatening, with the assistance of the Duke of Ossuna, to lay siege to that place. The Portuguese, being reinforced with four English regiments⁽¹⁾, began to move on their frontiers. Upon which the Marquis thought fit to lay aside his enterprize, and, destroying part of the bridge of Olivenza, retired to Badajoz. The Portuguese excused themselves for the little resistance, they made, by their feebleness, since their best troops were in Catalonia.

to retire into the castle; the army suffered much in this long siege. When the Besieged saw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of Galway notice, upon which he intended to have raised the siege; and, if the King of Spain would have consented to his drawing, out of the other garrisons, such a force as might have been spared, he undertook to raise it, which was believed might have been easily done; and, if he had succeeded, it would have given a new turn to all the affairs of Spain. But Count Noyelles, who was well practised in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King Charles was alienated from the Earl of Galway, for the honest freedom he had used with him, in laying before him some errors in his conduct, set himself to oppose this, apprehending that success in it would have raised the Earl of Galway's reputation again, which had suffered a great diminution by the action of Almanza: He said, this would expose the little army they had left them to too great a hazard, for, if the design miscarried, it might occasion a revolt of the whole principality. Thus the humours of Princes are often more regarded than their interest; the design of relieving Lerida was laid aside. The French army was diminished a fourth part, and the long siege had so fatigued them, that it was visible the raising it would have been no difficult performance, but, the thoughts of that being over, Lerida capitulated in the beginning of November.

(1) These four regiments, namely, Pearce, Newton, Sankes, and Stanwix, were embarked at Cork for Portugal, about the latter end of April, and arrived at Lisbon the 4th of June, consisting of two thousand nine hundred men. These were all the forces then in the Queen's pay in that Kingdom.

(2) The substance of which was, "1. That there should be a universal and sincere peace between the Queen of Great-Britain and the King of Spain, their Heirs, Successors, and the Subjects of both Nations. 2. That all the treaties of peace, friendship, confederacy, free commerce and navigation between both Crowns, should be held to be as firmly renewed and established, by virtue of this present treaty, as if they were inserted therein *verbatim*, provided they were not contradictory to one an-

Mr. Stanbope, who, besides his post of Brigadier, had also the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, took the opportunity of King Charles's broken affairs, to conclude with him a treaty of commerce, which would have been of great advantage to the English Nation, had that Prince remained quiet possessor of the Spanish Throne. In order to effect this, Mr. Stanbope ingratiated himself with the Countess of Oropeza, a Lady of great wit, whose husband was one of the chief Grandees of Spain, but, who having abandoned all his great employments and vast estate, to follow King Charles's fortune, was reduced to extreme indigence; and therefore was the more liable to be managed by a Lady, for whom Mr. Stanbope had obtained a considerable present from the Queen. This Nobleman, who had the greatest weight in King Charles's Spanish Council, being gained, and appointed one of his Catholic Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, together with the Prince of Litchjenslein and Count de Cardona, Admiral of Arragon, a treaty was concluded and signed by them and Mr. Stanbope at Barcelona, on the 10th of July⁽²⁾.

After the signing of this treaty, King Charles was made sensible, that the concessions granted therein to the English Nation were too large, and such, as would not easily pass with his own subjects, in case he should ever be possessed of the Spanish Throne; and therefore it was not with

1707.

Treaty of commerce with King Charles. Lambari.

ther, nor any way lessen the force of these present articles: And that the Royal Cédulas or Patents, which contain divers privileges granted by Philip the Fourth, confirmed by the treaty of May 1st 1667, and all other grants formerly made by any King of Spain, should have the same force and effect with this present treaty. 3. That all the Subjects on both sides, who had been made prisoners by either, whether in America, or any where else, should be restored, and set at liberty, as speedily as possible, without charge or ransom. 4. That all merchandise and goods, which the Subjects of Great-Britain might bring and import into the Dominions of Spain, for which any Customs under the name of Consumption, or other tolls used to be demanded, should not be obliged to pay the said tolls till six months after the unloading, or sale and delivery of the said goods. 5. That the Subjects of Great-Britain might bring and import into the Dominions of Spain all sorts of goods, wares, manufactures and fruits, the produce of the Dominions of Morocco; nor should any greater toll be demanded for the same than usual. 6. That books of rate, commonly called *Pueros*, containing an exact account of the customs agreed on by the Commissioners from the Queen of Great-Britain and the King of Spain, should be adjudged and established within twelve months after the signing of this treaty, and be published through all the Spanish Dominions. Nor should the British Subjects be obliged to pay any greater duties than what is therein set down; and for all other goods not mentioned in these tables, the rate of seven per cent. should be demanded upon the credit of the instrument, declaring the charge and prizes of the merchandize and goods, which should be exhibited by the Merchant or Factor, confirmed by witnesses on oath. 7. That all goods taken as prize by ships of war, set out either by the Queen or private Subjects of Great-Britain, should, without any difference, be esteemed as merchandize and goods of the produce of the British islands. 8. That the Queen of Great-Britain and the King of Spain should confirm and ratify these articles within ten weeks." To this treaty

1707. without reluctance, and merely in compliance with the necessity of his affairs, that he confirmed and ratified the articles of it on the 9th of January 1707-8, six months after they had been concluded and signed. The person, who was intrusted to carry this important treaty to London, having embarked for Barcelona on board a small vessel for Genoa, that vessel was unluckily taken by a French frigate. The Express, as is usual in such cases, threw his mail over-board; but it being taken up by some divers, was transmitted to the Marquis de Torci at Versailles, who took care to send privately a copy of the treaty to the *States General*, in order to excite their jealousy of the *English*, who were endeavouring by it to engross the trade of the *West-Indies* (1).

Affairs of Germany. Brodrick. The affairs of the *Upper Rhine*, this campaign, were attended with no greater success to the Confederates than those of Spain. For the German forces were so inconsiderable in their numbers, and so ill provided, as not to be able to stand a sudden irruption of the enemy. Marshal de Villars, who had with great diligence and secrecy assembled his army early in *Alsatia*, resolved to pass the *Rhine*, and committed the execution of his design to the Marquis de Vi-

vans and the Count de Broglie. To this end, he caused a bridge of boats to be laid over an arm of the *Rhine*, and, having landed a great number of Grenadiers on the Island over-against *Newbourg* the Count de Broglie advanced to the Germans, and attacked them with considerable success. After that Marshal de Villars, May 22d, advanced to the lines of Bubl with forty squadrons and ten battalions; and in his march intirely defeated the Germans advanced guard of horse. On the 23d, at break of day, a fog made it difficult to discover whether the Germans, whose tents were standing, and who fired some cannon-shot, continued behind their intrenchments: But, as soon as it was cleared up, it appeared, that they had abandoned them, for fear of being attacked in the rear, having notice, that the whole body, commanded by the Marquis de Vivans and the Count de Broglie had passed the *Rhine*; so, at five in the morning, Marshal de Villars entered, without loss, those lines, which had been esteemed the rampart of Germany, and in which he found a great many pieces of cannon, and vast quantities of ammunition and provisions. The same day he advanced to *Rastadt*, took possession of the castle belonging to the Prince of Baden, and prepared to

1707.

was annexed a secret and most important article, importing, "That the Queen of Great-Britain and the King of Spain being desirous to knit the ties of the friendship and alliance now concluded in such a manner, as that the mutual advantages of it might redound so visibly to the benefit of the Subjects of both Crowns, that their common interests might cement an eternal and indissoluble Union between them; and considering, that the most effectual and proper means to this end would be to form a Company of commerce to the *Indies*, whereby these vast and rich Provinces of the Dominions of his Catholic Majesty would inable the Monarchies of Great-Britain and Spain to make such dispositions of force, as should, by curbing their enemies, secure to their Subjects an universal and lasting tranquillity: It was therefore agreed, that such a Company of commerce should be formed, consisting of the subjects of Great-Britain and Spain, in the Dominions of the Crown of Spain, in the *Indies*. But, because it was not possible, at present, to enter into the particulars of such a settlement, because the Duke of Anjou was, at this time, possessed of those Provinces of Spain, which are the principal seats of trade, it was referred to settle the form of the said Company of commerce to the *Indies*, till his Catholic Majesty should be possessed of the Court of Madrid. But, in case unforeseen accidents should hinder the settlement of such a Company, his Catholic Majesty obliged himself, and promised for himself, and all the Kings, his Successors, that he would grant to the Subjects of Great-Britain the same privileges, and the same liberty of a free trade to the *Indies*, which his Majesty's own Spanish Subjects should enjoy; a previous security being given for the payment of the Royal duties. That his Catholic Majesty likewise obliged himself, that from the day, that the general peace should be settled, and consequently, that he should be in possession of the Spanish *Indies*, to the day that the said Company of commerce should be settled, he would give licence and permission, that the Subjects of Great-Britain might send every year to all the ports and other places of the *Indies*, under the Dominion of the Crown of Spain, ten ships, of five hundred tons each or more, or fewer ships, provided their whole burden did not exceed in all five thousand tons; in which they should be at liberty to transport, sell, and traffick for all the merchan-

dizes and commodities, which the Spanish Subjects were permitted to transport and traffick for; provided, that they pay all the Royal duties, and that the said ten ships should be registered in the port of Cadix, or in such other port of Spain, as his Catholic Majesty should appoint, setting out from such port to sail to the *Indies*, and giving an obligation, that from the *Indies* they should return to the same port in Spain, without touching before at any other port of Spain, Great-Britain, or France, except in case of being forced to do so by storm. That his Catholic Majesty would likewise permit, that the said ten ships of trade be accompanied by such a number of British ships of war, as should be necessary for their greater protection and security, provided, that, on board the said ships of war, there might not be loaded any kind of merchandise: His Catholic Majesty declaring likewise, that he would not cause to be paid, or demand any indulto's, or any other kind of donative, on account of the trade of the said ships, contenting himself barely with the punctual satisfaction of the Royal duties. And the Queen of Great-Britain offered and promised on her part, that the said ships of war should, both in going to, and in returning from the *Indies*, take under their convoy such ships belonging to his Catholic Majesty, returning the same to the persons, to whom they should be consigned. That it being evident to all men, that the forces, with which the Crown of France had disturbed Europe, had been furnished and supplied by the great treasures it had drawn from the Spanish Dominions in the *Indies*, by the fraudulent introduction of their commodities, and their trade in those Countries; it was therefore agreed, that from this time forward, for ever, all Frenchmen, being Subjects of France, should be intirely excluded, as well out of the said Company of commerce, as out of all other kind of trade, within the Dominions of the King of Spain, obliging themselves never to consent, by any treaty, public or private, to any matter, which should be repugnant to this exclusion of the subjects of France."

(1) Dr. Swift means this treaty in his *Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry*, p. 38, fifth Edition, in the following passage: "Our trade with Spain was referred the same way: But this they will pretend to be of no consequence, because that Kingdom was to be under the House of Austria; and we had already made a treaty with King Charles. I

" have

1707.

to follow the *Germans* with all possible expedition. The Marshal having proceeded successfully thus far, continued four days at *Radstadt*, waiting for his waggons and artillery, and to give necessary directions; and, on the 28th, marched with his main army, and incamped at *Erlingen*, where he found a considerable quantity of provisions. The same day, the Marquis de *Vivans*, whom the Marshal had sent out with fifteen hundred horse on the road of *Pfortzheim*, having information, that a body of *German* horse were coming towards him, advanced to meet them, who, at his approach, posted themselves behind a rivulet; but he charged them so vigorously, that they were broke and intirely defeated, a hundred and fifty of them being killed, eighty made prisoners, particularly a Major of Count *Merc's* regiment, who commanded them, and Count de *Berlo*, together with all their officers, and above a hundred and fifty horses were taken. The *Germans* not being able to stand their ground, Marshal de *Villars* advanced to *Pfortzheim*, and there halted to wait for a convoy of bread and meal from fort *Louis*; and, on the 31st, marched before with the horse of the right wing, and all the dragoons, to follow the *Germans*, and observe their motions; and, on the first of *June*, advanced within two leagues of *Stutgard*, where he made and had his own demands. The contributions of the Duchy of *Wirtemberg* were regulated, at two millions and two hundred thousand livres, payable in three months; those of the little Imperial City of *Erlingen* on the *Neckar*, at one million and one hundred thousand, and six hundred thousand livres were demanded of the City of *Baden*. In *Stutgard* they found a magazine of four thousand Sacks of meal, besides ten thousand furnished by the Regency; and Marshal de *Villars*, not being able to come up with the flying enemy, marched towards *Schorndorf*, which he caused to be invested by the Marquis de *Fremont*. The next day, the Marshal came before the place with his whole army; but though the town was pretty strong, both by its fortifications and advantageous situation; yet, the inhabitants refusing to assist in the defence of it, the garrison, to the number of about five hundred men, surrendered the place, upon condition of their being conducted to the Imperial army. The *French* found in the place two mortars, fifty-four pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions. After this success, the Marshal being informed, that three thousand *Germans*, commanded by General *Janus*, had intrenched themselves near *Lorch*, very advantageously, he attacked, and totally defeated them. *Janus* made a brave resistance; but, being overpowered, his troops were broke, and pursued almost as far as *Gemund*, with the loss of about six hundred men killed, and as many taken prisoners, and among the latter General *Janus* himself, and twenty-seven Officers. The Mar-

June 6.
N. S.

shal afterwards did some execution on the rear of the Imperial army, who thought it proper to retire towards *Hailbron*.

The Marshal de *Villars* had certainly greater designs in view, no less than restoring the Elector of *Bavaria* to his Dominions. But, having been obliged to send considerable detachments towards *Provence* in *France*, he durst not venture further, nor undertake any considerable siege. While the Empire was thus expoled, all men's eyes turned toward the Elector of *Hanover*, as the only person that could recover their affairs out of those extremities, into which they were brought. The Emperor pressed him to accept of the supreme command. This was seconded by all the Allies, but most earnestly by the Queen and the *States*. The Elector used all the precaution that the embarking in such an affair required, and he had such assurances of assistance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; so he undertook the command. His first care was to restore military discipline, which had been very little considered or submitted to for some years past; and he established it with such impartial severity, that the face of affairs was soon changed. But the army was too weak, and the season too far spent to enter on great designs. One considerable action happened, which very much raised the reputation of his conduct. Being informed, that the *French* had seven regiments of horse and dragoons incamped near *Offenburg*, under the command of the Marquis de *Vivans*, he detached fourteen hundred men, and one hundred grenadiers under Count *Merc*, to surprize the enemy. That General executed his orders with great conduct; and attacked the Marquis, *Sept. 24*, by break of day, and intirely defeated them, killing several Officers, and eight hundred private men. As the *French* knew nothing of the march of the *Germans*, they had appointed that day for a forage, which facilitated their defeat. The General made his escape with no small difficulty, and his men finding themselves closely pursued, quitted their horses, and made their retreat through the hedges; so that the *Germans* brought away four standards, a hundred and fifty prisoners, and near thirteen hundred horses, having had only two Lieutenants and thirty private men killed. Soon after, Marshal de *Villars* took the opportunity to repass the *Rhine*, by the way of fort *Louis* and fort *Kebl*; and the Elector of *Hanover* separated his army, and disposed them so conveniently in their winter-quarters, that they might assemble in forty eight hours upon any emergent occasion.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, who had made so glorious a campaign the last summer, merited this year the public attention, chiefly by his important negotiations. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, he had a Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, wherein, among other particulars, he told them, "That the troubles of

The Duke of Marlborough was to the King of Sweden, April 17, N. S.

"S. N. 17

"have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. *Stanhope* that Prince for settling our commerce with *Spain*. But, whatever it were, there was another between us and *Holland*, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *Barrier*, wherein a clause was inserted, by which all advantages propo-

"sed for *Britain* are to be in common with *Holland*." The Doctor's assertion in this passage is a very groundless one; for the treaty of commerce with *Spain* and the *Barrier* treaty could not go hand in hand, since the former was signed on the 10th of *July* 1707, and the other on the 29th of *October* 1709.

(1) This

1707. "Saxony occasioning a great distraction in the Empire, which brought infinite prejudice to the common cause; the Queen, his Mistress, had thought fit to fend him thither, to pay a compliment to the King of Sweden, and endeavour to engage him to remove the just jealousies, which his long stay in the heart of Germany gave to some of the high Allies, for which purpose he had the necessary powers from her Majesty, and desired the same from the States." The Pensionary having acquainted the States of Holland and West-Friseland with the necessity of the Duke of Marlborough's journey, the matter was thought of so great importance to the common cause, that they readily concurred in those measures, and the Duke immediately set out for Leipzig by the way of Hanover. Monsieur Auverquerque, Velt-Marshall of the States forces, having had several Conferences with the Duke of Marlborough, set out the same day for Brussels, in order to assemble the Confederate troops, and observe the French, who began to be in motion about Namur.

Apr. 20.
N. S.

Character
of the
King of
Sweden.
Burnet.

The Court of England, it seems, had been advised by the Elector of Hanover to send the Duke of Marlborough to the King of Sweden. It was thought this would please him much, if it had no other effect. That King still remained with his army in Saxony, to the great oppression of that Country, and to the terror of the Court of Vienna, who were apprehensive of his quarrelling with them. His designs were kept so secret, that they could not be penetrated, which made the Allies very uneasy. The King of Sweden was very remarkable on many accounts. He affected a neglect of his person, both in cloaths, lodging and diet; all was simple, even to meanness; nay, he did not so much as allow a decent cleanliness: He appeared to have a real sense of Religion, and a zeal for it, but it was not much enlightened: He seemed to have no notion of public liberty; but thought Princes ought to keep their promises religiously, and to

1707. observe their treaties punctually: He rendered himself very acceptable to his army, by coming so near their way of living, and by his readiness to expose his own person, and to reward services done him: He had little tenderness in his nature, and was a fierce enemy, too rough and too savage: he looked on foreign Ministers as spies by their character, and treated them accordingly; for he kept himself on great reserves with them, nor would he suffer them to come near him, except when they had a particular message to deliver. He used his own Ministers rather as instruments to execute his orders, than as Counsellors.

Whilst the King of Sweden was in Saxony, the Czar over-ran Poland, so that King Stanislaus was forced to fly into Saxony to the King of Sweden, for protection. Both he and his Queen staid there all the winter of 1706, and a great part of this summer. The Czar pressed the Poles to proceed to the election of another King, but could not prevail with them. It was therefore generally believed, that they were resolved to come to a treaty with King Stanislaus, and to settle the quiet of the Kingdom, exhausted by a long and destructive war. The Czar tried, if it were possible to come to a peace with the King of Sweden, and made great offers to that purpose; but that King was implacable, and seemed resolved to pull him down as he had done King Augustus.

To discover this King's intentions was the Robin-son's letter chief aim of the Duke of Marlborough's journey to Alt-Ransbad, about two German leagues from Leipzig, where the King of Sweden had his head-quarters. The Duke was accompanied by Mr. Robinson, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary, and Monsieur Cronenburg, the Dutch Minister. Being informed on the way, that the King could not give him an audience till the next day, the Duke thought fit to go directly to Count Piper's quarters (1). The Count made ample protestations, how acceptable his coming would

(1) This is the account of Mr. Robinson, afterwards Bishop of London, in his letter from Leipzig, of May 1707, to the Earl of Manchester. But Mons. Voltaire, in his Life of Charles XII. King of Sweden, affirms, "That, as soon as the Duke of Marlborough arrived at Leipzig, where King Charles then was, he made his application privately, not to Count Piper, the first Minister, but to Baron Gortz, who began to have a share in the King's confidence with Count Piper. He told Gortz, that the design of the Allies was, in a short time, to propose to the King of Sweden his being once more Mediator between them and France. His motives for this were his hopes of discovering the King's intentions by Gortz's answer, and because he would much rather have had Charles for an Arbitrator, than an enemy." Mr. Lediard, in his Life of the Duke of Marlborough, Vol. I. p. 457. second Edition, observes, That this piece of private History of Monsieur Voltaire's is mentioned by no other Historian, and seems very improbable. "I was, says he, that night in the City of Leipzig, and the next morning in the camp; but no such thing ever came to my knowledge. Is it probable, that so remarkable an incident should escape the knowledge of every one, but Monsieur Voltaire's Informant? Were not the eyes of every one on the Duke at his arrival? Could this interview be so privately managed, as not to come to Count Piper's knowledge? Would not this have raised a jealousy in him, that must have put a stop

"to, or very much intangled, the whole negotiation? And can it be believed, that so great a Statesman, as the Duke was, would have thrown such a stumbling-block in his own way, as this would have been, at the very beginning of his treaty? Baron Gortz began indeed at this time to rise in the King's esteem and confidence; but he was not yet arrived to that height in his favour to be a rival to Piper, or to dare to enter into a secret negotiation without his knowledge." Monsiur de la Motraye, in his Remarks on Voltaire, carries the matter yet farther against that Writer, and says, "That Gortz was out of the question, he being then Grand-Marshal of the Bishop of Lubeck, Administrator of the Duchy of Holstein, and was certainly then very little known to the King of Sweden." But it is evident from Mr. Robinson's letter to the Earl of Manchester above-cited, that the Duke had a Conference, on the 28th in the afternoon, with Baron Gortz, as well as with Count Piper; though he limits that Conference with the Baron to the affairs of Holstein, in which, he says, things were concerted to mutual content. Monsiur de la Motraye mentions a remarkable incident upon the authority of a Gentleman, who was in the coach with the Duke, when he went to the audience he had demanded of Count Piper: "The Duke, says he, coming to the gate of Count Piper's quarters precisely at the time appointed, sent in his message, but was answered the Count was busy. The Duke waited a good half hour before he came down;

"but

1707.

would be to the King, his Master, and appointed eleven of the clock the next morning for his repairing to the head-quarters, when his Majesty came from Church. The Duke went thence to the quarters prepared for him about an *English* mile and a half from the King's; and the next morning, at the time appointed, went to wait upon his Majesty. The Intendant of the Court and other Officers received him, and in the Anti-chamber Count *Piper*, who conducted him into the Cabinet, where the King was, with several Senators, Generals, and other Officers about him. The Duke made a short compliment in *English* (1), which was interpreted by Mr. *Robinson*, as the King's answer was by Count *Piper* (2). Afterwards the Duke spoke in *French*, which the King understood, but did not speak; and the conversation was general for about an hour, when his Majesty took the Duke with him to dinner, placing him on his right hand, and Count *Piper* on his left. After dinner the Duke returned with the King to the audience-room, which, after a little while, was voided by the rest of the Company; and then the Duke spoke at large, his Majesty giving great attention to what was said, with all appearances of much content. Count *Piper*, who, together with Mr. *Harmelin*, staid with the King, could not refrain from shedding some tears at the very pathetic expressions, which the Duke used to assure the King of her Majesty's friendship, and, on the King's part, made suitable returns (3). Those discourses, and others about military matters, took up an hour and a half, when his Majesty went again to Church. Afterwards the Duke made a visit to the Countess *Piper*, and had then a conference with the Count, and from thence went to see the Veldt-Marshal *Reinsfeld's* Lady. On the 28th he went to *Leipsick*, to wait on King *Augustus*, with whom he had a

private Conference of about half an hour, and then returned to Count *Piper's* quarters, where he dined. He had that afternoon a Conference with Count *Piper* and Baron *Gortz* about the affairs of *Holstein*, in which things were concerted to mutual consent. In the evening he supped with Veldt-Marshal *Reinsfeld*. On the 29th he was visited by Count *Piper*, Veldt-Marshal *Ogilvy*, and many others; and, after having dined with Baron *Gortz*, had his audience of leave of the King of *Sweden*. Before it was ended, notice was given, that King *Stanislaus* was in the Anti chamber; whereupon the Duke saying, that he had no objection against his coming in, the King of *Sweden* went and brought him. Some civilities passed between that King and the Duke, who soon after took his leave, and went to *Leipsick*, and thence, without making any stay, proceeded on his journey to *Berlin*. On the 30th of *April*, he arrived at *Charlottenburg*, the King of *Prussia* having sent Monsieur *Grumkew* to desire him to pass that way. He supped that night with the King, and was lodged in the apartment belonging to the Margrave. The next day, being *Sunday*, he accompanied the King to Divine Service, and Monsieur *Lenfant*, the Author of the *Histories of the Councils of Basil* and *Constance*, by his Majesty's particular order, preached in *French* on that occasion. On the 2d of *May* the Duke left *Charlottenburg*, in order to proceed towards *Hanover*, where he arrived on the 3d; and, the day following, had a private Conference with the Elector. In the afternoon he set out for the *Hague*, where he arrived on the 8th, having received the highest marks of honour and esteem in the several Courts, through which he had passed since his departure from thence.

The next day, the Duke was in Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, to whom

1707.

"but he no sooner saw him at the gate ready to receive him, than he came out of his coach, and, putting on his hat, passed by the Count without saluting him, and went aside, as if to make water; and then, after having made him wait longer than was necessary for that purpose, he went up to him, and addressed him with that eloquence and politeness, which every one knows was natural to him."

(1) This is Mr. *Robinson's* own account, who was present, and interpreted it; and therefore Mr. *Boyer* is mistaken in asserting, that the Duke made his compliment in *French*. *Lamberti*, Vol. IV, p. 434, says, that it was in *English*, and to this purpose:

S I R,

"I present to your Majesty a letter, not from the Chancery, but from the heart of the Queen, my Mistress, and written with her own hand. Had not her sex prevented her from taking so long a journey, she would have crossed the sea, to see a Prince admired by the whole universe. I esteem myself happy in having the honour of assuring your Majesty of my regard; and I should think it a great happiness, if my affairs would allow me to learn under so great a General as your Majesty what I want to know in the art of war."

(2) It was, according to *Lamberti*, to this effect:

"The Queen of Great-Britain's letter and your person are both very acceptable to me; and I shall always have the utmost regard for the interposition of her Majesty of Great-Britain, and the interests

"of the Grand Alliance. It is likewise much against my will, that I have been obliged to give the least umbrage to any of the parties engaged in it: But your Excellency cannot but be convinced, that I had just cause to come into this country with my troops. On the other hand, you may assure the Queen, my sister, that my design is to depart from hence as soon as I have obtained the satisfaction I have demanded, but not sooner. However I shall do nothing, that can tend to the prejudice of the common cause in general, or to the Protestant Religion in particular, of which I shall always glory to be a zealous Protector."

Monsieur de *Limiers*, in his *Life of Lewis XIV.*, tells us, that the King of *Sweden* added, "That he was not accountable to any one for his actions; and that he would discover his designs, when he should think proper." This indeed agrees pretty well with the King's general character, but his whole deportment to the Duke seems to be a contradiction to it.

(3) Monsieur *Voltaire* says, "That the Duke, who was never hasty in making proposals, and had learned by a long experience the art of penetrating into the minds of men, as well as of diving into the secret connexion between their inmost thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, fixed his eyes attentively upon the King. When he spoke to him of the war in general, he imagined, that he saw in his Majesty a natural aversion towards France, and that he took a secret pleasure in speaking of the conquests of the Allies. He mentioned the Czar to him, and took notice, that his eyes kindled whenever he was named, notwithstanding the moderation

tion

1707. whom he communicated the assurances he had received from the King of Sweden. This entirely dissipated the jealousies, which some of the Allies had conceived of his Swedish Majesty's designs, which were industriously fomented by the emissaries of France, who, on the other hand, used all their endeavours to engage that King in an open rupture with the Emperor; for which he did not want plausible pretences. For, about this time, an unlucky quarrel happened between Baron Strahlenheim, Envoy of Sweden, and Count Zbor, an Hungarian Lord, son-in-law of Prince Adam of Litchenstein. The occasion was this: Being both at dinner at the Count de la Tour's, and discoursing of the affairs of Europe, Count Zbor said, *Three Knaves occasioned a great deal of mischief in the World. He named indeed only Prince Ragotzki for one, and King Stanislaus for another, but he made use of such expressions, as evidently shewed, that he meant the King of Sweden for the third: Upon which the Swedish Envoy thought himself in honour obliged to give him a box on the ear. The company prevented any farther mischief at that time, and Count Zbor was at first confined by order of the Emperor, and shortly after sent prisoner to the castle of Gratz in Stiria; the Commissaries appointed to make enquiry into that affair, having reported, that he had been guilty of disrespect towards the King of Prussia. Baron Strahlenheim having informed the King, his Master, of what had passed, his Swedish Majesty ordered him to declare, that he approved his conduct; and that he had orders to absent himself from Court, till he had received a just satisfaction, as well on that account, as for the affront offered to some Officers of his troops, who, being listing men at Breslau, were insulted by the people. The Imperial Ministers shewed a willingness, at this critical juncture, to give the King of Sweden all reasonable satisfaction: But, with regard to Count Zbor, they thought, that, Baron Strahlenheim having given a blow to a person of his quality, and his Imperial Majesty having since confined him close prisoner, the Swedish Court ought not to insist upon farther satisfaction.*

This was not, however, the most material point, that made the Court of Vienna uneasy; for the Swedes had started other pretensions of a more delicate nature; and, in a declaration,

which Count Piper had communicated to Count Zinzendorf, his Swedish Majesty insisting on the delivering up of the Muscovite troops, which, when they escaped the year before out of Saxony, were entertained in the Imperial army on the Upper Rhine. These troops being informed, what was in agitation in regard to them, disbanded themselves, and marched off, in parties of about twenty, through Bohemia and Moravia into Poland. This so exasperated the King of Sweden, that he renewed and strenuously insisted upon his Demand of the surrender of those troops; adding, that he expected a more ample satisfaction, as well for the affront offered to Baron Strahlenheim, as for the recruits which were raised for him in Silesia, and had been taken from his Officers at Breslau. The very day that these demands, which were made to Count Zinzendorf, were communicated by him to the Imperial Court, Baron Strahlenheim received orders from the King, his Master, to repair to him, without taking leave of that Court. He was prevailed upon to stay four days, that he might carry with him the Emperor's answer to his Master's demands; but that answer not being then ready, he left Vienna, and set out for Saxony. Two days after, the answer was, however, sent, and imported, in substance, "That the Emperor could not deliver up the Muscovites, they not being in his power: That Count Zbor should be prosecuted as a criminal in the course of law; and, as for what had happened in Silesia, with respect to the levies for his Swedish Majesty, sufficient satisfaction should be made, after due examination into the matter of fact." To give further satisfaction to his Swedish Majesty, the Imperial Court soon after declared, that some troops had been detached in pursuit of the Muscovites, in order to their being delivered up to the King of Sweden, but had not been able to overtake them; and, farther, solemnly averred, that the Muscovites made their escape from the Rhine, without their connivance or participation. This declaration was, however, contradicted by Baron Strahlenheim, who in his way from Vienna to Saxony, meeting some of those troops, and pretending to be Count Wackerbaert, a General in the service of King Augustus, they frankly owned, that their escape was concerted with the Imperial Court. This, being entirely believed by the King of Sweden,

"tion of the Conference. He moreover remarked, that the King had a map of Muscovy lying before him on the table. This was sufficient to determine him in his judgment, that the King of Sweden's real design and sole ambition were to dethrone the Czar, as he had already done the King of Poland. He found that he had no other views by remaining in Saxony, than, by that means, to impose some hard terms on the Emperor of Germany. He knew his Imperial Majesty would comply, and that thus matters would be easily brought to a conclusion. The Duke left Charles XII. to his natural Inclination; and, being satisfied with having discovered his intentions, he made him no proposal." Monsieur de la Motraye, in his remarks upon this passage of Monsieur Voltaire, says, "I never heard these circumstances mentioned; nor do I know it was ever surmised, that the Duke, by a bare view of the map of Muscovy lying before the King of Sweden, penetrated into the real design of that Monarch, which you yourself afterwards own the Swedes them-

"selves were ignorant of, even when they were actually on their march." In answer to which Monsieur Voltaire refers to Monsieur Fabricius as his Author, and an eye-witness. Monsieur de la Motraye adds: "I had the honour to be frequently in the presence of Charles XII. during his sojourning at Bender; but I never knew him shew any aversion towards France. On the contrary, he always employed Frenchmen in his army preferably to all other Foreigners, and could not conceal his concern for them, when he heard of their Losses. I never knew a Swedish Officer, but what wished well to France; and I never heard any complaints, but only that France had forsaken them in their misfortunes, and had never paid one penny of the subsidies stipulated between them after the battle of Pultowa." To this Monsieur Voltaire answers; "Cabinet Messengers are admitted to the presence of their Sovereigns, and are the Bearers of their secret Councils, and yet are never the better informed of them."

1707. Sweden, irritated him the more, and made him insist peremptorily upon full satisfaction, with regard to all the three points, before he left Saxony. The Emperor dreading the consequences of a rupture with the Swedes, who might easily have over-run his hereditary countries; and having nominated Count *Wratisslaw* to go to the King of Sweden, to adjust all differences, that Nobleman wrote to Count *Piper*, to know whether he should meet with a favourable reception. But Count *Piper* let him know, "That, if he came with power to give his Master real satisfaction, he would be welcome; but that, if he only came to enter into a discussion of his Swedish Majesty's pretensions, he might save himself the trouble of that journey." Upon this, the Imperial Court sent orders to Count *Zinzendorf* to urge Count *Piper* to declare, what satisfaction his Master insisted upon, since he refused to allow his Minister to discuss it, and to assure him, that the Emperor was ready to refer the controverted points to the arbitration of the Queen of Great-Britain (1). Her Majesty wrote likewise to the King of Sweden, to exhort him to forbear all hostilities; but his answer was, "That, seeing the Emperor did not give him the satisfaction he expected, he should be obliged to take it, since his delaying to do himself justice had encouraged people to offer him new affronts." Which last expression related to the escape of the Muscovites. The Imperial Court not only complied with the King of Sweden's demands, as to the delivering up both Count *Zabor*, and the Imperial Officers, who hindered the raising of the Swedish levies in Silesia, as preliminaries to the admission of Count *Wratisslaw* as Envoy from the Emperor; but declared likewise, that the City of *Breslau* should pay four thousand crowns to the widow of a Swedish Corporal, who was killed in that City, in a scuffle, occasioned by the seizure of those levies. But this forced compliance did not fully satisfy the King of Sweden, who, upon Count *Wratisslaw's* arrival at *Alt-Ransbach*, refused to admit him to his audience. This Minister was therefore obliged to content himself with conferring with Count *Piper* and Monsieur *Hermelin*, concerning the escape of the Muscovites, which the Imperial Court now thought was the only important point, that remained unadjusted. But they were deceived.

It seems the Protestants in Silesia had their Churches, and the free exercise of their Religion,

The King of Sweden gets the Protestant Churches in Silesia to be restored.

stipulated to them by the treaty of *Munster*, 1707. and the Crown of Sweden was the Guarantee for the observation of this article. Now, these Churches being taken from them, the King of Sweden, upon their application, very readily embraced the opportunity which had been long neglected or forgotten by his father, to restore them to their just rights and privileges. To this end, having sent four regiments of Swedish horse into that Country, he multiplied his demands into the following articles: "I. That the Emperor should give it under his hand, that he knew nothing of the march of the one thousand two hundred Muscovites, who escaped through the Hereditary Countries. II. That he should forthwith decide the affair of the election of *Lubeck* in favour of the Duke Administrator of *Holslein*, and confirm the agreement between that House and the Chapter for the two next Generations. III. That the Country of *Hadeln*, on the river *Elbe*, be sequestered into the hands of his Swedish Majesty, till the right of all the Pretenders to it be decided. IV. That the Protestant Religion in Silesia be restored according to the treaty of *Westphalia*. V. That his Imperial Majesty should renounce all pretences to the quora which the King of Sweden had not furnished towards the present war, and should draw no consequences from the Crown of Sweden's not having done homage for the Dominions they have in the Empire, since the year 1664. VI. That the whole Swedish army, in their return through Silesia into Poland, should be maintained at the Emperor's charge." There were about the same time certain other articles handed about privately in Holland, which, it was insinuated, the King of Sweden designed to propose to the diet, the chief of which were: "1. That the Elector of *Bavaria* should be restored, or, at least, his Electorate given to the King of Sweden, and he be declared Elector in his room, as being his nearest relation. 2. That, for the future, the Election of Emperor should be alternately out of the three Religions, since the Electoral College was composed of them. 3. That the Protestant Churches should be re-established in Silesia, Moravia, Bohemia, Hungaria, &c. on the same foot they were on at the time of his great Predecessor, *Gustavus Adolphus*. 4. That the King of Sweden should have the Sovereignty of the City of *Bremen*." These articles were probably forged in France; but, with

(1) This is confirmed by the following passage, in a letter of the Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland from Vienna, May 14, 1707, printed in Mr. Cole's *Memoirs of affairs of State*, p. 447.

"The Ministers (says Lord Manchester) have spoke to me of the proceedings of the King of Sweden towards this Court. This Envoy has again renewed with strong expressions his demands of having the Muscovites delivered to him by the Emperor, and satisfaction for what has passed between the Count *Zabor* and his Minister, which he carries so high, as to make it a capital crime, as also reparation in the matter of *Breslau*; and, in case he has not immediate satisfaction, he has orders to go away. These things make them very uneasy here, they lying so exposed. All this he has done within these few days; and since the Duke of Marlborough has been in Saxony, which they hoped had made all things

easy. I believe, they have not yet determined what measures to take; but I believe they have wrote this whole matter to England, and I cannot tell whether it will not stop the detachment for Naples, though by this time it should be marched. I do believe, that they wrote this whole matter to England, to be laid before the Queen; and I hear they have also sent an express to Holland. I wish it may not be the occasion of recalling some troops out of Italy for their own preservation." Here the Earl of Manchester seems doubtful, whether the Duke of Marlborough had been so effectually successful, as had been hoped; but the Earl of Sunderland, in a letter to his Lordship from Whitehall, May 6, 1707, says, "Lord Marlborough has, I hope, left matters with the King of Sweden in as good a way as one could expect, which will be a great ease on that side."

1707. with regard to the other six articles, they occasioned several Conferences between Count *Wraisslaw* and Count *Piper*; and the former, being convinced of the necessity of preventing a rupture, which would have proved fatal to the common cause, passed over several formalities, and granted some points, which, at any other time, would have been rejected by the Court of *Vienna*. The confirmation of the treaty between the Chapter of *Lubeck* and the Ducal House of *Gothorp* in the year, 1647, and the restoration of the exercise of the Protestant Religion in *Silesia*, were the two articles of hardest digestion with the Imperial Court, and therefore met with the greatest difficulty. The *Swedes* insisted, that they should be allowed to keep some troops in *Silesia*, till the Churches of the Protestants should be rebuilt, which the Imperial Court would not agree to; and, on the other hand, they refused to approve and ratify the treaty about the Bishoprick of *Lubeck*, till that affair was fully examined. But the Guaranty of the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General removed all obstacles, and on the 1st of September, N. S. all matters were agreed upon.

The next day the King of Sweden decamped very early from his quarters at *Alt-Ranstadt*, and Count *Wraisslaw*, having waited upon him, the treaty was signed at *Wolkwitz* that very day; and the Imperial Minister set out on the 3d, for *Vienna* to have the agreement ratified.

King *Augustus* being indisposed, the King of Sweden went to *Dresden*, and made him a visit, with whom he had a long Conference. His Swedish Majesty, being returned to his army, continued his march for *Silesia*, where the Imperial ratifications of the Convention, signed by Count *Wraisslaw*, were delivered to him. That Prince was so well pleased with the dispatch used at the Imperial Court in this affair, that he resolved to quit *Silesia* immediately, and march into *Poland*, so that all his forces were on the other side of the *Oder* before the 25th of September. However, his Swedish Majesty left the Baron de *Strahlenheim* in *Silesia* to see the execution of the treaty; and, before his departure from *Leibnitz*, he had the satisfaction to see several Churches restored to the Protestants, which was no small mortification to the Jesuits and Popish Priests, who made great opposition to the performance of what had been stipulated; but the Imperial Court would not provoke a Prince who they thought was seeking a colour to break with them. It is observable, that the Bishop of *Breslau*, fearing the resentment of the Pope, took a pretence to absent himself from that City, to avoid signing the orders given for restoring the Protestants to their former rights. But the King of Sweden, being displeased with that Prelate on this account, signified, that he expected, that he should sign and approve those orders; which formality he thought necessary, because the Bishop of *Breslau* is the chief person in the Regency of *Silesia* next to the Emperor; and therefore his refusing to subscribe the orders might afterwards have been drawn into ill consequence against the Protestants. As for Count *Zobor*, whom the King of Sweden had sent prisoner to *Stetin*, he was upon his humble submission set at liberty with great marks of generosity. Upon these proceedings the King of Sweden was highly magnified, and great endeavours were again used to engage him

in the Alliance; but he was so set against the Czar, whom he designed to dethrone, that nothing could divert him from it.

To return to the Duke of *Marlborough*. He arrived at *Brussels* the 13th of May, N. S. and having immediately held a Council of war with Monsieur *Auverquerque* and the Field-deputies of the States, orders were sent to the Confederate troops to march to their rendezvous at *Anderlach* near *Brussels*; from whence they moved to *Billigen* and *Lembeck*. Upon Intelligence, that the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Duke of *Vendosme*, who commanded the French army, were come out of their lines, the Allies marched to *Soignies*, with a design to engage them in the plain of *Flerus*: But being further informed, that the enemy were much superior in number, and had drained all their garrisons, with a design to plunder the rich open cities of *Brabant*, in case the Allies should undertake any siege; the Confederate Generals marched back from *Soignies* towards *Brussels*, and posted themselves at *Meldert*. At the same time, the French advanced to *Gemblours*; and so both armies continued above two months in their respective camps. At length, upon certain advice, that the French had detached thirteen battalions and twelve squadrons from their army towards *Provence*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, in concert with Monsieur *Auverquerque* and the Deputies of the States, resolved to march from *Meldert* towards *Genap*, in order to attack the enemy with less disadvantage, in their fortified camp at *Gemblours*. Accordingly, the disposition was made for the army to pass the *Zeule* at the Abbey of *Florival*; which being done, they marched towards *Genap*, where they incamped with their right at *Promettes*, and their left at *Davieres*. Here they had intelligence, that the enemy no sooner received advice, that the army of the Allies was in motion, than they were extremely alarmed, and immediately ordered their troops to their arms. They likewise cut down several trees in the roads and passages, which led to their camp, and, having got certain information which way the Allies were moving, they began their march with all imaginable precipitation towards *Flerus* and *Hespenay*, intending to be that evening at *Gosseliers*, and take possession of the strong camp at *Pieton*. The Confederate Generals received advice, that the French army had made but a short halt at *Gosseliers*, and were advanced to *Senéff*, the Elector of *Bavaria* having taken his head-quarters in the castle of *Vanderbeck*, and the Duke of *Vendosme* in the farm-house of *Rel*, between *Vanderbeck* and *Senéff*, with the river *Pieton* before them. The Duke of *Marlborough* and Monsieur *Auverquerque* having conferred together, it was resolved to march directly to *Nivelle*, and attack the enemy; but, coming too late to attack them that day, and having reason to believe, that they would attempt to retire in the night, in order to gain the camp at *Cambion*, all possible diligence was used to prevent their effecting it. To this end, Count *Tilly*, with forty squadrons of horse and dragoons, which were commanded, under him, by the Earl of *Albermarle*, and the Major-Generals Count d' *Erbach* and *Rofs*, and a detachment of between five and six thousand grenadiers, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Scholten* and Major-General *Zoutland*, was ordered to post himself between the two armies; and,

1707.

The campaign in Flanders was inconsiderable.

1707.

and, in case the enemy decamped, to fall upon their rear, and keep them in play, till the whole army should come up. These troops, notwithstanding they marched with all possible dispatch, could not reach their posts before midnight. The *French*, in the mean time, foreseeing what was the Duke of *Marlbrough's* design, and perceiving, that it would not be possible for them to avoid an engagement, if they continued in their camp till the morning, resolved to decamp in the night, and Count *Tilly*, advancing before break of day with his detachment, saw their army in full march, making their retreat in very good order from hedge to hedge, and observed the country to be so difficult, that it would be next to impossible to come at them. He gave immediate notice of this to the Duke of *Marlbrough*, and informed him, that he was marching to endeavour to attack their rear, according to his orders. Upon this the Duke detached twenty battalions, and thirty squadrons, under the command of General Count *Lottum*, to support Count *Tilly*; the horse being commanded by Lieutenant-General *Doppf*, the *Sieur Schwelburg*, and the Earl of *Athlone*, Major-Generals; and the foot by Lieutenant-General *Eagel*, and Major-General *Welderem*. Count *Tilly* marched with all possible speed, and had several skirmishes with the enemy's rear; but, having pursued them three or four hours, as far as the plains of *Marimont*, and observing, that it was to no purpose to fatigue the troops, he returned to the camp. The country was cut by many deep roads, which very much favoured the enemy's retreat; for there they posted some of their infantry, which hindered the Confederate horse from making openings to follow them. The Duke of *Marlbrough*, who was advanced with a detachment, being returned to the camp, resolved to remain there that day, to give the troops some repose, after the fatiguing march they had made; and, because he was under an uncertainty, whether the enemy marched towards their lines, or to *Cambren*, Monsieur *Auverquerque* sent one of his Aids de Camp, with one hundred and fifty *Hussars*, to post himself on the hills of the *Great-Roulx*, from whence they discovered the enemy's march at about half a league's distance. That Officer reported, that the Vanguard was advanced to *St. Dennis*, having the river *Haisne* behind them; which was confirmed by the spies, who added, that the Elector of *Bavaria* had his quarters at *St. Dennis*, and the Duke of *Vendome* at *Caslieux*. From this march the Generals concluded, that the enemy did not design to retire within their lines, but rather to possess the advantageous camp at *Cambren*: Upon which the Confederate army decamped from *Nivelle*; but, having the whole day a very violent rain, which made the roads almost unpassable, it was very late, when the right came to *Soignies*, and the left could not come up till the next morning, though a thousand pioneers had been three days at work to repair the road from *Arquennes* to *Soignies*. The Confederate army suffered very much in this march, but the enemy laboured under much greater difficulties; for, having lain on their arms at *St. Dennis* all night, they pursued their march early the next morning with great precipitation, and in the same confusion as before, to *Chievres*, where they arrived at the same time the Confederates came to *Soignies*. This hasty retreat, be-

sides the fatigue, occasioned a very great desertion among the *French*; for, their soldiers having been without bread for more than two days, and without rest for three, not having time to put up their tents between *Senef* and *Chievres*, about a thousand of them went over to the Confederate camp, and as many more at least to *Brussels* and other places. The enemy was, besides, in want of all sorts of necessaries, during their whole march from *Gemblours*, their baggage being sent away from thence, with their artillery to *Charleroy*, upon the first motion of their army to avoid an engagement.

The great rains, which continued for some days, having rendered the ways wholly unpassable, obliged the Duke of *Marlbrough* to give over the pursuit of the enemy, and detained the Confederate army in the camp at *Soignies*. The enemy, in the mean time, fortified the avenues to theirs, as well as the unseasonableness of the weather would allow them; and though their army was soon after reinforced with six battalions and two regiments of horse from the flying camp of Count de la *Moite*; yet they retired farther beyond the *Marque*, and incamped with their right at *Pont à Trefin*, and their left under the cannon of *Lisle*. Monsieur *Rouffet*, in his account of this march, observes, that the Confederate army left their camp at *Soignies*, on the 31st of *August*, and marched directly towards the enemy, who were at *Cambren*: That the Prince of *Orange*, as General of the Republic, put himself at the head of the *Dutch* Infantry; but that the *French* had no sooner advice of this march, than they quitted the camp at *Cambren* with great precipitation, notwithstanding the advantageous situation, passed at length the *Scheld*, and retired behind their lines between *Lisle* and *Pont à Trefin*: That, if the Allies had begun their march an hour or two sooner, they might have fallen upon the rear-guard of the *French* army, whom they saw following the body of it: And that the van of the Allies got into their camp, where they found beer, wine, and several other things, which the *French* had not time to carry away with them. The Allies advancing again towards them, the Duke of *Marlbrough* had intelligence, that the *French* had made a disposition to forage at *Templeuve* and the villages thereabouts: He therefore marched out by break of day with twenty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and twelve pieces of cannon, with a design to attack the guard, that covered them, and, by that means, endeavour to bring them to a general action; but the enemy, being informed of the Duke's intention, did not think fit to venture out of their camp. The Duke therefore ordered his troops to forage those places, that the enemy might have no farther benefit from them; which was done without the least opposition, though under the cannon of *Tournay*, within a league of the enemy's camp, and three from that of the Confederates; so fearful were the *French* of exposing themselves to any hazard, though with never so visible an advantage. The Duke of *Marlbrough* finding it impossible to bring the Duke of *Vendome* to an engagement, the *French* camp being covered with the *Scheld* and their intrenchments, he left the camp at *Helckim* on the 4th of *October*, N. S. and went to the *Hague*, where he arrived, on the 6th, at nine in the morning, and immediately made a visit

1707.

1707. visit to the Grand Pensionary and Monsieur de Slingerland, Secretary of the Council of State. The same afternoon he had a Conference with the Deputies of the *States-General*, wherein he communicated the orders he had received from the Queen of Great-Britain, to repair to *Frankfort*, and confer with the Electors of *Mentz* and *Hanover* about the operations of the next campaign. The next morning he had another Conference with these Deputies, and, in the evening, set out for the army, to give the necessary orders for the marching into winter-quarters. Immediately after his arrival there, the troops which were designed for the garrisons of *Menin*, *Courtray*, and *Oudenarde*, went into those places; and, when the rest of the army came to *Afche*, they continued there till they heard the French army was separated, upon which all the Confederate troops went into winter-quarters, being much the same as they had been the last year.

The armies
separate.
Octob. 20.

The Duke
of Marlborough
goes to
Germany.

The Duke of Marlborough set out for Germany, and was met by the Elector Palatine at *Bruck*, about a league from his castle of *Banfsberg*; and, the next day, he arriv'd at *Frankfort*, where the Electors of *Hanover* and *Mentz* being already come, they had several Conferences together, but nothing was concluded, till the arrival of Count *Wratisslaw*, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary; nor even then neither, because the Count declared, that he was not fully instructed. Upon this the Conferences broke off; and the two Electors left *Frankfort*, and the Duke of Marlborough return'd to the *Hague*, attended by Count *Wratisslaw*, and arrived there on the 3d of November. During his stay, he communicated to the *States-General* what had pass'd at *Frankfort*; and, their Deputies having had several Conferences with the Imperial Ministers, the *States* resolved to use all possible means to engage the Empire, to make greater efforts for the future than they had hitherto done. In order to this,

they wrote a pressing letter to the diet of *Ratisbon*, wherein, after having represented the great deficiencies and delays of the Germanic body from time to time in the performance of what they were by treaty bound to, and the ill consequences, which had hitherto attended them, they concluded with saying, "That their High Mightinesses would continue to contribute their utmost towards bringing about the great work, which they had, jointly with them, undertaken; but that they expected the like from his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, seeing they were obliged to it by their Alliances and the common Interest; and, in case of non-performance, their High Mightinesses protested against all the ill consequences thereof."

The Duke of Marlborough, having settled several other affairs with the *States*, embarked for England, and came to *St. James's* on the 7th of November, O. S.

and re-
turns to
England.

The Queen of Great-Britain, the *States-General*, and the Duke of Savoy had formed (as hath been said) a project of invading *Provence* in France, in order to take or destroy *Toulon* and *Marseilles*; which design, if it could have been effected, would have ruined the maritime power of France, and been of infinite advantage to Great-Britain and Holland, by securing and enlarging their trade, and to the whole Confederacy, by depriving the enemy of means to carry on their profitable commerce to the *West-Indies*, which alone enabled them to prosecute the war. But the Court of Vienna laid the design of reducing the Kingdom of *Naples*, which, as it tended to divide the Confederate army in Italy, clash'd with the other enterprize, and therefore was strongly oppos'd by Great-Britain and Holland, the Earl of Manchester, who pass'd thro' Vienna in his way to Venice, having remonstrated against it (1). These representations having proved ineffectual, and the Court of Vienna insisting,

Campaign
in Italy
and Pro-
vence.
Burnet.
Hist. of
Eur.

(1) In order to form a clear notion of this affair, it will be proper to transcribe such passages from the letters written by the Earl of Manchester and to him, as relate to this subject.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Manchester.

Whitehall, March 7, 1706-7. O. S.

Having received by the last post an account of an agreement between Prince Eugene and the Prince of Vaudemont, for the withdrawing left the Court of Vienna, upon this, may be more intent than ever, upon the design of sending troops into the Kingdom of Naples, and Monsieur *Vryberge* having, in a memorial to her Majesty, represented the same thing; her Majesty has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship, that it is her pleasure, that you hasten your journey to Vienna as much as possible; and that you do represent to that Court, in her Majesty's name, how destructive any such design would be to the carrying on the war in *Dauphine* and *Provence*, which is settled and concerted with the Duke of Savoy, and which is the only way, by which France can be affected, or a diversion made in favour of King Charles.

The Earl of Manchester to the Duke of Marlborough.

Hague, March 25, 1707.

I have waited on the Pensionary, and I told him, that I had orders to make what haste I could to Vienna. No. 53. Vol. IV.

na; and that her Majesty did intirely concur with the *States-General*, in relation to the project concerted with the Duke of Savoy. He seem'd to think, that the agreement, that is made in Italy, for the French troops to retire to *Susa*, may be of ill consequence; and this he supposes is the reason, why her Majesty nor the *States-General* were not made acquainted with it from the Imperial Court, lest they should have dissuaded them from it.

Marquis de Prié to Count Leichtenstein.

April 8, 1707.

We are at last come to the favourable moment to be able to undertake the conquest of *Naples*, with all the appearances of a speedy and happy success. The Kingdom is intirely unprovided with troops; the people shew openly enough a good disposition for the very August House, and they are at liberty to follow it. The retreat of the enemies out of *Lombardy* will give still more courage to the well-intentioned. We have even all the reason to believe, that France has already resolved to renounce that Kingdom, which she would, besides, have difficulty enough to support. The Cabinet of France will reflect without doubt, that the sending a small body of men would be sacrificing them with the Country; and she cannot send thither a great one without unarming the frontiers on the side of *Piedmont*, which is intirely open, after the demolition she has made of *Nice* and *Montmeilan*, rather to satisfy her animosity against his Royal Highness of Savoy, than to follow

1707

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

gisting, that the forces of the Allies were sufficient to carry on both these enterprizes at once; Count Thaurin, with a strong body of Imperialists, marched from Lombardy into the Ecclesiastical State, and struck no small terror into the Court of Rome, as they passed near it. It was

apprehended, that some resistance would have been made in Naples by those, who governed there under King Philip; but the inbred hatred, which the Neapolitans bore the French, together with the feverities of their Government, had put that whole Kingdom into such a disposition

to

follow her intentions. Our army will be stronger and in a better condition to act, than that of the last campaign, which has surmounted so many obstacles. All the troops of the Allies remain in Italy. The Imperial army will be reinforced considerably by the recruits and the remounting. That of his Royal Highness will be re-established to the number of seventeen thousand men. We are here almost ready to undertake the expedition of Naples, and the entry into France, both at the same time. The enemies will not be able in this uncertainty to send troops into the Kingdom of Naples, which they would hereafter not be able to withdraw, or to reinforce, as soon as the fleet shall appear in the Mediterranean. On our side, we can carry on that war with all sort of convenience and advantage. Our troops, and especially our horse, will go by land, whilst France will be obliged to immense difficulties and expences to embark their cavalry. She may remember the consequences of the engagements at Mysina: The too great distance caused her to great a diversion, that the Court of France was at last persuaded to abandon, scandalously enough, that enterprize, at a time when she made war every where else with advantage enough. But, if she would even make all sorts of efforts, we shall be always able to make detachments from this army great enough to maintain a superiority. So that she will either ruin herself in supporting a distant war, full of expence and difficulty, or we shall have fair play; and we can finish the expedition in one march, and even make use elsewhere of the troops, that will not be necessary to guard the Country; whence we can easily embark the foot, and transport them in a little time to Final, or perhaps into Provence. We could even, in case of necessity, send them into Spain. I have made good use of these reasons to persuade the Ministers of England and Holland of the facility of this enterprize. I have shewn, that it does not hinder us at all in any of the operations, and the view we have of entering into France, which they have much at heart; and, far from that, the conquest of these two Kingdoms will facilitate the means to push that war more vigorously, and to finish it perhaps more quickly, whilst it may chance to determine the Spaniards to return to their duty, to preserve the estates in Italy to their Monarchy. I have also endeavoured to confirm his Royal Highness in the first resolutions which were taken, and of which we formed the projects at the end of the last campaign, which were then sent to England; whilst he was very much attacked by the remonstrances and difficulties, which the two powers made, and by the zeal he has to push his point vigorously on the side of France, according to the desire and instances of England and Holland, and the hopes we have to cause some commotions. His Royal Highness has declared, that he would submit to what the Emperor should order about it, and that he will be ready to execute it.

The Earl of Manchester to Mr. Secretary Harley.

Vienna, April 25. 1707.

I arrived here on the 21st, and had been here sooner, had I not met with contrary winds on the Danube, tho' I find it would have been much the same thing, for this week every one is in devotion. I have, nevertheless, seen Monsieur de Zinzendorf and Monsieur Wratislaw, and did not fail to take the first opportunity to shew them the ill consequence to the intended design of prosecuting the war into France, should they first undertake that of Naples; and I did acquaint them with the orders I had received from her Majesty. As for Count Zinzendorf, he was not so positive as the latter;

but they both agreed in this, that it would not in the least prejudice that undertaking; for since the French were entirely out of Italy, there were troops sufficient for both. That Prince Eugene was to stay, though his presence would have been of very great consequence: That they had given their reasons to Monsieur Duff, which they hoped would satisfy her Majesty; as also the States-General. I had a great deal of discourse on that subject with the latter, who, I fear, has no great opinion of the project concerted with the Duke of Savoy. When I pressed that matter, he did say, that, by the Grand Alliance, that of Naples was first to be undertaken; and that the Emperor was not able to sustain this war without some assistance of that nature: That every thing was ready here, and they had reason to believe, they should succeed with a small number of troops. I do not doubt but her Majesty is already informed of the reasons they alleged; and I cannot but think, though they do not positively own it, that the orders are already gone to Italy.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, April 27. 1707.

Yesterday I had my audience of the Emperor, when, after I had made him the usual compliments on the part of her Majesty, and told him how great a satisfaction it was to her, as also to her Allies, that his Majesty had granted the investiture of the Duchy of Milan to the King of Spain, and that her Majesty had commanded me to receive his orders before I went to Italy; then I acquainted him, that the expedition into France was of the last consequence, not only in relation to the common cause, but also to the securing the crown of Spain to the King: That her Majesty did hope, that he had given all the necessary directions, in order to support it as far as it is possible: That it was a matter that so nearly concerned her Majesty, in regard it related to the King of Spain, that she did hope there would be no objections made to it. I also took notice of the orders I had received in relation to the Duke of Savoy. The Emperor answered me, in relation to her Majesty, with all the acknowledgments imaginable; but did not touch on any thing of the investiture of the Duchy of Milan. As to the Duke of Savoy, he said, that he had done, and would do what remained, not only in regard to him, whom he spoke extremely well of, but also in regard to the Queen. I have again pressed all the Ministers to lay aside for the present the sending a detachment to Naples, &c.—Yesterday arrived an express from Count Galas. The letters are of the 9th Instant, O. S. I perceive they do not please here, for they are much fet on the expedition to Naples. I asked Monsieur Zinzendorf, whether the reasons they had given Monsieur Duff had changed their minds in England, in the affair of Naples; but he seemed to own it had not.

Memorial of the Dutch Envoy.

The States-General of the United-Provinces have ordered the under-written Minister at the Imperial Court, under the date of the 11th of April 1707, to represent here, that they must judge, by the small preparations that are made by the said Court in Italy, for the concerted expedition against France from that side, that the Imperial Court takes the said expedition very little to heart; but that it seems rather, that they think here only on that of Naples; which their High Mightinesses can, however, not approve of, nor can they find the reasons alleged on the part of the said Court sufficient to justify it, because, the great aim of the war and the Alliance being to bring France to reason, the

invasion

1707. to revolt, that the small party, which adhered to King *Philip*, found it not advisable to offer any resistance, and had only time enough to convey their treasure, and all their richest goods to

Gaeta, and to retire thither. They reckoned, 1707. that they should either be relieved from *France* by sea, or obtain a good capitulation; or, if that failed, they had some ships and galleys, in which

invasion of *France* is the most certain and the most likely method to do it; and the more the forces, that are to be employed in this, shall be considerable, so much greater will be the effect hoped from it, whilst the expedition for *Naples* deviates from it, and cannot but lessen the success of it, by lessening the forces, without causing the enemy any diversion; and whilst we shall by this put ourselves in danger of losing *Spain*, which would be a loss by no means to be made up by all the advantages, that can be obtained by the expedition of *Naples*. It is therefore, that their High Mightinesses hope, that his Imperial Majesty would still be pleased to desist from the said enterprize to *Naples*; and they have ordered their underwritten Minister to make the most pressing instances, that all the forces, that are in *Italy*, may be employed in the expedition against *France*; and that all the necessary preparations for this may be forthwith made, with more seriousness and application, than could hitherto be perceived.

Vienna, April 25, J. J. HAMEL BRUYNINX.
1707.

The Earl of Manchester to Mr. Secretary Harley.

Vienna, April 30, 1707.

Here are no letters yet from *England*; so that I continue, as often as I see the Ministers, to persuade them to lay aside the expedition of *Naples*, which I believe they will do, unless it be approved of by her Majesty. What makes them more zealous in that matter is the apprehension, that in *Holland* they might be brought, at a general peace, to consent to the dismembering it from the *Spanish* Monarchy; and, if once they are in possession of it, *England* will never consent to it. They flatter themselves, that, upon their appearing, the people will declare. As to the intended expedition into *France*, it is certain, that this Court has sent the recruits they promised, as also the mounting for their horse. They also assure me, that they are doing what is necessary in relation to their magazines; but I am confident, that in this they will fall short; and I can easily perceive, that their meaning is, only till their troops can enter into *France*; and then they must subside themselves, or we must do it: which I find is the true reason, which makes them say, that of *Provence* is most practicable, because, as I suppose, they think they can be subsisted by our fleet. They assure me, that what is agreed on will be performed.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, May 4, 1707.

They are still zealous for the expedition of *Naples*. These troops, as they promise, shall not exceed seven thousand men; and that, in case they do not succeed, they will not send a man more; but those troops are to canton, and to keep their ground, till a more favourable opportunity. General *Thaun* is to command them, and under him General *Kriegbaum*, who set out yesterday with orders to Prince *Eugene* to have the troops ready; and it may be to march, for there is no time to be lost. But I am still of opinion, they will wait till they see what the King of *Sweden* will do, and what assurances the Duke of *Marborough* has. Here are letters come from thence, which mention, that his Grace was in conference with Count *Piper* for several hours; that my Lord Duke arrived there on the 26th, and was to go away on the 29th, but they could not tell any particulars. No express is come here from the Emperor's Ministers, which makes them fear here, that things are not right. The letters all agree, that they very much doubt it, which, I believe, will be the

only inducement to prevent sending a detachment to *Naples*. For the present, I take all occasions to dissuade them from it; but their answer is always what I have already mentioned; as also that there will be more troops left, after this detachment shall be made, than can be employed. The Emperor will have thirty-five thousand men in *Italy*, and in our pay, as they say, twenty-thousand. There should be twenty-eight thousand. But the *Hessians*, *Sax-Gotha*, and *Palatines* will not be complacit. The Duke of *Savoy* has thirteen thousand. So that the army will consist of about sixty-eight thousand men. Now the conclusion is, that, if seven thousand out of this army go, there will still remain troops sufficient for garrisons, and a very great army for the expedition, and more than can be subsisted. These are the arguments they make use of, both to the Envoy of *Holland* and to myself. We still persist to persuade them to lay aside this expedition for the present. What they will do, time must shew; for nothing is certain here, as your Lordship cannot but know very well.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, May 7, 1707.

Here are no letters from *England* by the *Dutch* post; but the orders, the Envoy of *Holland* has received, continue the same in relation to the expedition of *Naples*, which, they continue to say, cannot fail to succeed, all things being prepared there for a general revolution, and that, if they should not go, they would expose all their friends. Here are some persons of quality of *Naples*, to whom they give pensions. These are to go with the troops, but I do not find as yet, that they have any orders. The arguments here are still, that the Duke of *Savoy* does not propose for this expedition more than thirty-five thousand men: That there will be left a great body of men, after what is intended is executed: That they are very much surprized at our being so much against this expedition; but they give me to understand, that they know from whence all this comes: That there may be a particular view in a certain Prince, that the Duke of *Anjou* should have *Naples* at a general peace. They are very well satisfied by what I have said, that this can never be the intention of *England*, or that they can ever agree to it: I must confess, that, by all the informations I can get, I cannot see, but there will be seventy thousand men in *Italy*; and if the detachment to *Naples* should amount to ten thousand men, and the garrisons in *Lombardy* to ten thousand more, there will still remain a very great army: What there is to be apprehended is, that there are not those magazines prepared, as, in case this Court is to do it, are necessary.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, May 11, 1707.

I believe you will have received, before this comes to your Lordship, the certainty of the detachment's going to *Naples*. It consists of five regiments of foot, and five of horse, which, though not complete, will amount to ten thousand men, as you will see by the inclosed. They are at present in the *Moldenese*; and, about the 16th instant, they begin their march to *Naples*. I have done all I could to persuade them to defer it. Their arguments are still the same; only they say farther, that Prince *Eugene* has wrote to *England* to satisfy the Queen, that it will not prejudice the great design against *France*. They have all often repeated, and do still promise, that there shall not be a man more sent, let the success be what it will, till they see the event of the other expedition, which, as I can perceive, they have no great opinion of, though they agree, that it ought to be attempted.

The

1707.

which they might hope to escape. The Imperialists took possession of *Naples*, where they were received with great rejoicing. But their ill conduct quickly moderated that joy, and very

much disposed the *Neapolitans* to a second revolt; but, upon applications made to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the excesses of the Imperialists, who carried the ravenous disposition with

1707.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Manchester.

Whitehall, May 6, 1707.

I have the honour of your Lordship's letters of the 27th and 30th of *April*, N. S. and am very glad to find you have some hopes, that that Court will lay aside their thoughts of the expedition to *Naples*. It was always very unreasonable, but particularly so now, since our great misfortune in *Spain*.—Upon these accounts her Majesty would have your Lordship insist, in the strongest manner possible, against this expedition to *Naples*, as that, which will very much obstruct, if not totally defeat the main design of entering *France* by *Dauphiné* or *Provence*, which seems to be the only means of bringing *France* to reason, and retrieving our misfortune in *Spain*.

M^r. Secretary Harley to the Earl of Manchester.

May 6, 1707.

I received this morning the honour of your Excellency's letter of *April* 30. I am heartily glad your Excellency has had so much success, as to shake that Court from their speculative expedition against *Naples*. But I am very sorry, that the misfortune of our army in *Spain* is an irresistible argument to lay aside wholly that project. The accounts we have of this disaster are only got from *France*; yet they bring too many marks of truth not to be credited so far, as that we have received a very great loss there. The Queen has done all that is possible on the sudden event, and in this great uncertainty. Orders are gone this night to encourage the King of *Portugal* to keep firm to the Alliance; and likewise to *Holland*, to consult with them the best way to recover the blow. But all will be to no purpose, unless the Emperor will exert himself upon this occasion, not only to lay aside the expedition to *Naples*, to push vigorously into *France*, but also to act offensively upon the *Rhine*. These are points which the Queen hath so much at heart, that her Majesty hath wrote to the Emperor with her own hand, which I inclose herewith to your Excellency, that you may please to deliver it with all possible speed; and that you may be better apprized of it, I inclose also a copy for your own perusal. Your Excellency will enforce it with such arguments, as you will find, according to your great sagacity, may best incline his Imperial Majesty to comply with so reasonable a desire; and you will be pleased also to press the Emperor to send his Brother the King of *Spain* some troops. Without that, it will be hard for her Majesty to prevail with the *States-General* to join with her in sending more troops.

The Queen to the Emperor.

SIR, my Brother,

The advantage, which the enemy has now obtained in *Spain*, might have such dismal consequences, that I could not forbear to tell you, that it is of the utmost importance, that all your troops, that are in *Italy*, should be employed to make an invasion in *France*; and that, at the same time, the army in the Empire should act with vigour on the *Rhine*. *Spain* is so far from the countries, in which my troops, and those of the *States-General*, are, that there is no remedy so quick nor so powerful, as that of making this invasion. Your Majesty is too well informed, to amuse yourself with a little expedition for some member or dependency of that Kingdom, when the noble and principal parts of the Monarchy in question, the honour and welfare of my Brother the Catholic King, and in his person the dignity of the August House of *Austria*, are concerned. I promise myself therefore from your prudence, that you will think only on the re-establishment of the af-

fairs of that Prince, by obliging his enemies to recall their troops for the defence of their own Dominions.

Kennington, May 6, 1707.

I am
Your Majesty's most affectionate Sister,

ANNE R.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Earl of Manchester.

Brussels, May 17, 1707.

I did not receive the honour of your Excellency's letter of the 27th of last month, till my return from *Saxony* to the *Hague*, where I made so short a stay, that I hope you will excuse my not answering it sooner. I have seen by other letters from *Vienna* of later date, how obstinately they pursue the expedition against *Naples*, notwithstanding all the representations, that have been made to dissuade them from it. A jealous humour prevails so much at that Court, that they will not seriously weigh and consider their own interest, so that the best arguments are thrown away. I expect soon to hear, whether our misfortune in *Spain* has made such impression, as it ought, with them.

The Earl of *Manchester* received on the 18th of *May* 1707, a note from Mr. *Hamel Bryxins*, Envoy from the *States-General* at *Vienna*, to let his Excellency know, that he had received from the Prince of *Salm* an extract of a letter, wherein it was said, among other things, that the detachment for *Naples* was great enough to maintain a superiority, which the Envoy said would by no means please his Masters at the *Hague*. "It was then pretty plain," says Mr. Cole, that the Germans "had no great desire for *Spain*, but wanted only *Italy*;" and that they had not the expedition of *Torin* at heart, fearing the aggrandizing the Duke of *Savoy*, whilst they spread reports, as if that Prince was not to be trusted, and prepared to lay the blame on him, if, according to their wish, the expedition should not succeed.

The Earl of Manchester to the Lord-Treasurer Godolphin.

Vienna, May 18, 1707.

I was unwilling to leave this place without acquainting your Lordship with the situation of affairs here, where there are so many Ministers, each opposing the other, that every thing, how reasonable soever the matter is, meets with delays, and sometimes fatal ones. This has made the Emperor sling himself more than ever entirely into the hands of the Prince of *Salm*, who is so troubled with the gout, that the Emperor comes to him. The whole business of the rest is to bring their own designs about through his means. I do not find one of them, but what was extremely bent on the expedition to *Naples*, and speaking very doubtfully of that of *France*, and of the difficulties it would meet with; not but they all agree, it ought to be attempted; and the Emperor did assure me he had given the necessary orders to Prince *Eugene*. I find, that the subsisting of this army is still one of the arguments against that expedition, which makes me fear, that they do not intend, or cannot contribute much towards it.

The Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Manchester.

Whitehall, May 9, 1707, O. S.

I have the honour of your Lordship's from *Vienna* of the 4th of *May*, N. S. and I am sorry to find that Court continues to obstinate in their wrong measures;

but

1707. with them wherever they went, were somewhat corrected, so that they became more tolerable (1). As soon as a Government could be settled at Naples, they undertook the siege of *Gasta*, which went on at first very slowly; so that those within seemed to apprehend nothing so much as the want of provisions, upon which they sent the few ships they had to *Sicily*, to bring them supplies. When these were sent away, the Imperialists, knowing what a rich booty was lodged in the place, pressed it very hard, and in conclusion, took it by storm, and so were masters of all the wealth that was in it. The garrison retired into the castle, but they were soon after forced to surrender, and were all made prisoners of war. It was proposed to follow this success, with an attempt upon *Sicily*; but it was not easy to supply Naples with bread; nor was the *English* fleet at liberty to assist them; for they were ordered to lie on the coast of *Spain*, and to wait there for orders; which, when they arrived, required them to carry the Marquis *das Minas*, and the Earl of *Galway*, with the forces of *Portugal*, to *Lisbon*: The thoughts of attempting *Sicily* were therefore laid aside for this time; tho' the *Sicilians* were known to be in a very good disposition to entertain it. A small force was sent from *Naples* to seize on those places, which

lay on the coast of *Tuscany*, and belonged to the Crown of *Spain*; some of which were soon taken; but *Porto Longone* and *Port Hercule* made a better resistance.

In the month of *June*, the design upon *Toulon* began to appear. The Queen and the *States-General* sent a strong fleet thither commanded by Sir *Cloudesly Shovel*. Prince *Eugene* had the command of the Imperial army, which was to second the Duke of *Savoy* in this undertaking, upon the success of which the final conclusion of the war depended. The army was not so strong, as it was intended it should have been, on account of the detachment, which was sent to *Naples*, and the stopping in *Germany* of eight or ten thousand recruits, that had been promised to be sent to reinforce Prince *Eugene*; for the Emperor was under such apprehensions of a rupture with *Sweden*, that he pretended it was absolutely necessary, for his own safety, to keep a good force at home. Prince *Eugene* had likewise orders not to expose his troops too much; by which means they were the less serviceable (2). Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Duke of *Savoy*, after he had for some weeks covered his true design by a feint upon *Dauphiné*, by which he drew most of the *French* troops to that side; as soon as he heard, that the Confede-

rate

but I will still hope, that the news of the fatal blow we have had in *Spain*, will bring them to their senses, so as not to divert their arms from the only part, where we may hope to retrieve that misfortune; at least they must never hope to have the Queen's consent to it; and this your Lordship will let them know in the strongest manner, if you are yet there.

The Dutch Envoy to the Earl of Manchester,

Vienna, May 28, 1707.

I hope, that this will find your Excellency happily arrived at *Turin*. The Count of *Rechteren* arrived here the 25th instant; and though we have, according to our orders newly received from their High Mightinesses, again opposed the expedition of *Naples*, and even protested against the bad consequences, which it may have, especially after the melancholy news of a defeat in *Spain*; we have not been able to obtain, that this expedition be countermanded; these Ministers make use of the same reasons, which they alledged, when your Excellency was here; which makes me with the more to hear from your Excellency, how you have found things in *Italy*; and if the conjectures of this Court are true in their utmost extent; and, above all, whether there be so many troops, as they persuade themselves here; whether they apply themselves with vigour to the expedition against *France*; whether they be ready; and agreed in regard to the magazines; when the passage of the mountains will be practicable; and whether the expedition to *Naples* will cause no prejudice to the other. They had even given out, on the part of this Court, in *England* and *Holland*, that your Excellency was entirely come into the same sentiments with them in this affair, which their High-Mightinesses can scarce believe, whilst they have seen the contrary in my advices; and I do again this day justice to your Excellency upon that in writing to my Masters.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland,

Turin, June 8, 1707.

The Envoy of *Spain* presses for five thousand men to be sent to *Spain*; but since the detachment for *Naples* does proceed according to the positive order from the Court of *Vienna* to Prince *Eugene*, I cannot see,

that any can be spared from this side; neither do I think, that they will be inclined to send their troops, unless it be from *Naples*, if they succeed, as they imagine they shall. I received here your Lordship's of May 6, O. S. as also one of the same date from Mr. Secretary *Harley*. I am satisfied, that, had I been at *Vienna*, nothing could have prevailed with them to alter their design of *Naples*.—The Duke of *Savoy* is not in the least pleased with the Imperial Court, of which I shall soon acquaint you more fully.

(1) The Earl of *Manchester*, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland*, dated at *Venice, August 19, 1707*, writes thus: "I fear the *Germans* begin to make the most of the Kingdom of *Naples*. They laid a duty on fruit and herbs, which so incensed the people at *Naples*, that there has been a tumult, which might have had worse consequences, but was prevented by revoking it." And Mr. *Cardonnel*, in a letter to Mr. *Cole* from the camp at *Helchin*, dated *October 2, 1707*, and printed in the *Memoirs* of the latter, has these words: "It looks as if the *Germans* were resolved to ruin the Kingdom of *Naples*, as they have done the Electorate of *Bavaria*; but in all likelihood they may repent it, when it is too late. It is a miserable Council governs that Court of *Vienna*. In the mean time we are sufferers; for, instead of assisting the King of *Spain*, as the revenues of *Milan* and *Naples* ought certainly to do, they do not stick to say, it is none of their concern; and that we must carry on the war in *Spain* for our own interest. God preserve us hereafter from such Allies."

(2) Mr. *Cole* informs us in his *Memoirs*, page 457, that the Earl of *Manchester* told him, That he had been with the Duke of *Savoy*, when Prince *Eugene* made many difficulties about the expedition against *Toulon*, and the Duke of *Savoy* answered them all. When Prince *Eugene* was gone, his Royal Highness asked my Lord *Manchester*, what he thought now of Prince *Eugene*. His Excellency answered, that he was sorry to hear him make so many difficulties. Then the Duke said, I will tell you, my Lord, what I think of him and all the *Germans*. I believe they have no great mind to take *Toulon*, and their whole mind is set on *Italy*. But his Excellency attributed this to the warmth of that Prince, and believed Prince *Eugene* would do his best.

1707. rate fleet was come upon the Coast, he made a quick march through ways, that were thought impracticable, to the river *Var*, where the *French* had cast up such works, that it was reckoned these must have stopped his passing the river; and they would have done it effectually, if some ships had not been sent in from the fleet into the mouth of the river, to attack these works where there was no defence, because no attack from that side was apprehended. By this means the works were abandoned, and so the passage over the river was free.

July 11.

Upon this the Duke of *Savoy* entered *Provence*, and made all the haste he could towards *Toulon*. The artillery and ammunition were on board the fleet, and were to be landed near the place, so the march of the army was as little encumbered as was possible; yet it was impossible to advance with much haste in an enemy's country, where the provisions were either destroyed or carried into fortified places, which, though they might have easily been taken, yet no time was to be lost in executing the great design; so this retarded the march for some days: Yet, in conclusion, they came before the place, and were quickly masters of some of the eminencies, that commanded it. At their first coming, they might have possessed themselves of another called *St Anne's Hill*, if Prince *Eugene* had executed the Duke of *Savoy's* orders: He did it not, which raised a high discontent; but he excused himself, by shewing the orders he had received, not to expose the Emperor's troops (1). Some days were lost by the roughness of the sea, which hindered the ships from landing the artillery and ammunition. In the mean while, the troops of *France* were ordered to march from all parts of *Toulon*: The garrison within was very strong; the forces that were on their march to *Spain*, to prosecute the victory of *Almanza*,

were countermanded; and so great a part of *Pilar's* army was called away, that he could not make any further progress in *Germany*. So that a great force was, from all hands, marching to raise this siege; and it was declared, in the Court of *France*, that the Duke of *Burgundy* would go and lead on the army. The Duke of *Savoy* lost no time, but continued cannonading the place, while the fleet came up to bombard it: They attacked the two forts, that commanded the entrance into the mole with such fury, that they made themselves masters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up. Those within the town were not idle: They sunk some ships, in the entrance into the mole, and fired furiously at the fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of *Savoy* out of one of his most important posts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; who, not being supported in time, was cut to pieces. This post was afterwards regained, and the fleet continued for some days to bombard the place, with so good success, that a great number of houses were destroyed, several magazines blown up, and eight men of war either burnt or rendered unserviceable (2). But, in the end, the Duke of *Savoy*, whose strength had never been above thirty thousand men, seeing so great a force marching towards him, who might intercept his passage, and so destroy his whole army, and there being no hope of carrying the place, found it necessary to march home in time. Accordingly, having ordered all the artillery and the sick and wounded to be embarked, he decamped in the night, retiring in very good order the same way he came, without being the least insulted by the enemy (3). After his return into *Piedmont*, he concluded the campaign on that side, with the recovery of his important place of *Susa*, which the *French* had left unprovided,

(1) On the 3d of *August*, Mr. *J. Chetwind* wrote the following letter from the camp there to the Earl of *Manchester*, printed in *Cole's Memoirs*, p. 465: The situation of affairs here is somewhat changed since I left, but not so much as I could wish, or indeed as I did expect. This is the 9th day, that our army has been before *Toulon*; and all that we have done has been to oblige the enemies to quit us some small posts, where we design to make our batteries; but their camp before the town is in the same place where it was when we came, though most people will have it, that they might easily have been forced away. I do not know, my Lord, what is the meaning of it, but things do not go as they ought to do. Of our great men, I only find his Royal Highness hearty. I fear, if we do not make better haste, that we shall pass our time but ill, since we are informed, that the enemies are gathering together from all parts to drive us from hence.

(2) Namely, *Le Triumphant* of eighty-two guns; *Le Sceptre*, ninety; *Le Vainqueur*, eighty-six; *Le Neptune*, seventy-six; *L'Invincible*, seventy; *Le Serieux*, sixty; *Le Laurier*, sixty; and *Le Sage*, fifty-four.

(3) The progress of the siege will appear from the following *Journal* of Mr. *Chetwind*, dated at the camp at *la Valette*, *August* 20, 1707, and printed in Mr. *Cole's Memoirs*, p. 470:

The 14th. My last to you was this day, since when I hear, that some deserters from *Toulon* bring word, that the enemies have given out powder and ball to every soldier; upon which orders are now given to reinforce the guard upon the left of our line with three battalions, the right having already a reserve of four battalions ordered for some days before. The 15th

the enemies, as the deserters had reported, marched all night to gain the hill above our camp upon our right, and that with so much diligence and secrecy, that they seized on our advanced guards, and began their true attack on our right by break of day, after having made their signal for the attack by firing three guns, making at the same time a false attack on our left. Our troops on the right received the enemies very well at first; but being over-powered by their superiority, and the situation of the ground being such, that the reserve could not immediately come up, they were obliged to give way, and retire into the other posts on the right, which they did in very good order, till the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, who was General of the day, was killed; and this, though they were exposed to the fire of the place, and of three ships, which did not cease firing during the whole action. The enemies endeavoured to push their good fortune farther; but, after a dispute of about two hours, at a little cañon in the middle of our communication, they were obliged to stop in the post of *St. Catherine*, for fear the troops, which his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene*, who arrived a little after the action was begun, had ordered to march to the top of the hills, should cut off the retreat to the camp; which they had great reason to apprehend, since they could not but perceive our whole army in motion, which our Generals had ordered so, in view of a general action, upon the news we had received the day before, that the enemies had above sixty battalions in their camp. But things went no further, and towards the evening the enemies abandoned all they had taken, after having set fire to our batteries, and ruined all the works we had made on the right.—A detachment of horse we had in the valley

1707. vided, and which surrendered to him at discretion; by which means he shut up that inlet into his own Dominions, and opened himself a free passage into *Dauphiné*.

Remark on the expedition into Provence. Thus ended the expedition into *Provence*, on which the eyes of all *Europe* were fixed, and

which failed in the execution, chiefly by the Emperor's means (1). *England* and the *States General* performed all that was expected of them; nor was the Duke of *Savoy* wanting on his part, though many suspected him as backward, or at least told in the undertaking. But though this great

1707.

valley of *Ardenne*s on the right of our camp, with a small body of foot, was attacked by the enemies at the same time, but came off without any loss, Colonel *Pheffercorn*, who commanded them, having been killed the day before, as he went to reconnoitre the enemy. We do not know the loss of the enemy in the attacks of our works on the right, but to judge by our own loss, and the resistance our troops made at first, methinks it cannot be less than two thousand or fifteen hundred men. We had between five and six hundred men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Besides the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*, we had a Lieutenant Colonel of the *Hessians*, a Major of the *Palatines*, with several Captains and Under-Officers killed; General *Efeldt*, a *Palatine* Brigadier, with several Under-Officers wounded; a *Piedmontese*, and a *Saxe-Gotha* Colonel taken prisoners, with one or two Captains; besides which, we lost two small field-pieces, which our gunner had forgot to carry off from the post of *St. Catherine*. At night we began to bombard the town with six mortars, which immediately set fire in two places. This evening the Fort *St. Marguerite*, the outmost near to the sea, surrendered at discretion. The garrison was composed of a Lieutenant-Colonel, and three other Officers, with one hundred and thirty soldiers. We found in the place some provisions, and fourteen pieces of iron cannon, four of which were forty-eight pounders. By the reddition of this castle our ships can come near the shore, and the artillery, &c. which was landed at *Hieres*, may be re-embarked here with much more ease, which was ordered to be done to-morrow, the siege of *Toulon* not being practicable, because of the reinforcements the enemies have received since we are here, and by reason of the works they have had time to make. The 16th our batteries on the left continued to play against the town and ships, as also against Fort *Louis*, where the breach is near made. Our bombardiers flung several bombs last night, and all this day, into the town with very good success; but no ship has yet been touched, as we know of. We continue to embark our artillery, &c. The Admiral commanded ships to attack Fort *Louis*, but the wind was so strong, that our ships could do little service. However they lay so near, that one of our ships had thirty men killed or wounded. This day the wind blew so hard, that the Royal *Anne* lost one of her masts, was drove from her anchor, and ran foul upon a Dutch man of war, who was somewhat damaged. The 17th drummers and trumpeters were sent to and from *Toulon*, to inquire after several Officers and soldiers; and the enemies did desire to exchange their prisoners made at *St. Marguerite*, to which his Royal Highness and Prince *Eugene* do consent. The 18th the greatest part of the artillery, which is not on batteries, and almost all the powder, balls, &c. are re-embarked. Our bombs destroy the town of *Toulon* very much; but none have yet been flung into the basin among the ships. The breach of Fort *Louis* is practicable, and orders will be given to attack it to-night. All our sick and wounded are ordered to *Hieres*, where they are to be embarked to be carried to *Nice*, *Oneglia*, and *Finale*. The 19th, last night we took the Fort *St. Louis*, the enemies having abandoned it as our grenadiers mounted the breach. By the fall of this place, I believe our bomb-vessels may come to bombard the town and ships, which is the only hurt we can now pretend to do here.

Mr. *Chetwynd* likewise, in a letter to the Earl of *Manchester*, dated *August 20*, writes thus: All things have been so managed with us, that I had not spirit nor courage enough to write to you, knowing how

much you had the good success of our designs at heart. Our scene is not yet finished, for we are to steal away as we can, and as soon as we can. Now every thing is in the greatest confusion, and I fear will continue so till we are got on the other side of the *Var*.

Sir *Claudefly Shovel* wrote the following letter to the Earl of *Manchester*, dated on board the *Association* before *Toulon*, *August 22*, 1707.

My Lord,

After all the hopes we had entertained of success in our enterprise on *Toulon*, the enemy, on the 1st instant, made a vigorous salley with a great number of troops, and attacked our works, and took great part of them, and kept them all that day, and destroyed what they had possession of, and drew off four or five of our cannon into the town. The killed and wounded on our side is said to be about one thousand, and among the slain is the Prince of *Saxe-Gotha*; and since that time it has not been thought proper to carry on the siege; the enemies, as our army say, growing everyday more numerous, and our troops continually deserting. And the 2nd his Royal Highness the Duke of *Savoy* sent to me to embark the sick and wounded, and to take off the cannon, mortars, ammunition, provisions, &c. in order to raise the siege, which is now only a cannonading and bombardment, and we are getting every thing a-board, his Royal Highness having informed me, he designs to decamp with the army to-morrow morning. Before the enemies had made this salley, and destroyed our works, they were so frightened, that they sunk twenty of their ships; ten of them or more we reckon to be three-deck ships; and we believe some of them can never be recovered. The Duke has desired me to accompany him back with the fleet, which I design to do as far as the *Var*.

P. S. *August 22*, about ten in the morning.

Our sea-bombs last night fired very briskly, and beyond any expectation about midnight set the town on fire, which burnt very furiously all night, and is not yet extinguished; and, in the opinion of every body here, it is somewhat more than dwelling-houses, that are on fire, we suppose store-houses. We cannot see the town or basin by reason of a hill between us. Our army being decamped, they have brought guns and mortars against our bomb-vessels, and have obliged them to come off, being pretty much shattered by the enemy's shot.

Mr. *Chetwynd* concludes his account of the siege in a letter to the Earl of *Manchester*, dated from the camp at *Sealín*, *September 16*, 1707, with these words:

The difficulties we met with at *Toulon* were very great, but they were made much more so by the indolence and ill-will of some of our Generals. If we had pushed upon our arrival, there was a very great probability of success; but, as things went, it was almost impracticable to do any good three or four days after our arrival; and I do not know the reasons, why we did not then set to bombarding the town and ships, instead of amusing ourselves about what we were sure could do us no good.

(1) Dr. *Swift*, in his conduct of the *Allies* and of the late *Ministry*, p. 27, fifth Edition, asserts, That one instance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather dislike of the common cause, was the business of *Toulon*; his design, says he, was indeed discovered here at home

1707. great design failed in the main point, it proved of great service to the Allies, and was attended with many good consequences, which, perhaps, ought to balance the expence: For, besides the great damage, which the *French* sustained in their shipping; the blowing up of several magazines; the burning of above one hundred and sixty houses in *Toulon*; and the devastations committed in *Provence* by both armies, to the value of thirty millions of *French* livres; this enterprise, which had struck a greater terror throughout all *France*, than had been known there during the whole reign of *Louis XIV.*, brought

this further advantage to the Common Cause, 1707. that it gave great diversion to the enemy's forces, whereby their army in *Germany* was weakened; the Duke of *Orleans's* progress after the battle of *Almanza* retarded in *Spain*; the succouring of *Naples* prevented; and the conquests of the Allies in *Italy* secured.

Admiral *Shovel*, who was not a little chagrin'd at the miscarriage of an expedition, upon which he had set his heart; having assigned Sir *Thomas Dilkes* a Squadron of thirteen sail for the *Mediterranean* service, sailed from *Gibraltar* with the rest of the fleet, containing fifteen men of war

Sir Cloudesly Shovel drowned. Oct. 22. Hist. of Europe.

home by a person, who every body knows to be the creature of a certain *Great Man*, at least as much noted for his skill in gaming as in politics, upon the base mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then so common a practice, that I remember a Gentleman in employment, who, having the curiosity to inquire how wagers went upon the *Exchange*, found some people deep in the secret, to have been concerned in that kind of traffic, as appeared by premiums named for towns, which no body but those behind the curtain could suspect. However, although this project had gotten wind by so scandalous a proceeding, yet *Toulon* might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thousand men to seize *Naples*, as an enterprise, that was more his private and immediate interest. But it was manifest, that his Imperial Majesty had no mind to see *Toulon* in possession of the Allies; for even with these discouragements, the attempt might have yet succeeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it, which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to some politic reasons of his Court. The Duke of *Savoy* was for attacking the enemy as soon as our army arrived; but, when the Marshal de *Théflé's* troops were all come up, to pretend to besiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jest. Had *Toulon* fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of *France* would in a great measure have been destroy'd.

But Dr. *Harris*, in his piece, intitled, *The Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France*, Part III. p. 13, gives a particular answer to this passage of Dr. *Swift*, and observes, That every proposition advanced by him is false in whole, or in part. First, he tells us the design was discovered here by a creature of a certain *Great Man* laying wagers about the taking of it. This is a very odd preamble to a proof, that this design was lost by the Emperor's fault, to tell us, that probably it was not; the design was discovered here. But these inconsistencies are nothing with this Writer, if he can but bring in one or two certain *Great Men*, whose reputation stands cruelly in his way, and will do so, let him employ never so many pens to blacken them. Now, in answer to this, I affirm, that this design was not discovered by the creature of this *Great Man*, but by the Clerk of another great man, who was then Secretary of State. But to go on; our Author argues, that the Emperor had no mind *Toulon* should be taken, because he detached twelve thousand men to seize *Naples*, as he ingeniously expresses it. That the Emperor did, at that time, make an expedition to *Naples*, is true; but was it, because he had no mind *Toulon* should be taken? No, it was because those, who would make a scandalous peace now, were attempting the same thing then; and he was afraid, the interest of his family in *Italy* would have been sacrificed to other views. This was the true reason of that expedition, and this Writer knows it was, which makes his virulence and malice the more unpardonable. As things were managed, it is plain, there was a want of troops. But, when the Emperor was pressed to put off that expedition, he did not want an answer. He told them, that without those twelve thousand men, they had as many, as they had before desired; and indeed as many, as would be able to find

substance, and that more would be but a burden to them: That, while they were employed in the reduction of *Toulon*, the other troops should, by great marches, hasten to *Naples*, and then return to join them for any further services. But, it is manifest, says our Author, that the Emperor had no mind we should take *Toulon*, because the attempt might have succeeded, if Prince *Eugene* had not thought fit to oppose it. This is false again. The Duke of *Savoy* had the chief command in that expedition, and not Prince *Eugene*. What was the true reason they delay'd so long the beginning of that march, I cannot pretend to say; but, when they had pass'd the *Var*, I desire this Author would tell us, who it was, that propos'd the holding a Council of war on board the fleet, and did hold one, to consider, whether they should proceed directly to *Toulon*, or besiege *Antibes*? A man must be a very ill judge in affairs, that could not from that step see, what was likely to come of the expedition. Again, to clear up this affair, I would fain know, who govern'd the motions of the army, till they came before the place; for it is incredible, how so small an army could be so many days making to short a march. And, if they had advanced with half the speed that they retired, it is certain they might have invested the place, before the works the enemy were making would have been finish'd, and before any considerable number of the enemy's troops were arriv'd. But the slowness of our motions made our arrival too late in both these respects. And the enemy's troops were in possession of the high ground about the place, before we came in sight of it. And therefore, if the Duke of *Savoy* did not seem willing to attack the enemy, that is not very hard to account for; nor might it be any fault in Prince *Eugene*, that he did not think it reasonable. But, beside, there was particular reason at that time to think, the Prince might have strict orders from *Vienna*, to be very cautious how he expos'd that body of troops; and that was the neighbourhood of the King of *Sweden*, who was pleas'd to pick many quarrels with the Emperor; and nobody could tell where his demands would stop, or what would satisfy him. This gave very great umbrage to the Imperial Court; and, had they lost that body of troops before *Toulon*, they had reason to fear they should soon feel the want of them. This was certainly a good reason for not venturing a battle to disadvantage, where the least misfortune would have been the ruin of them all. But, had that expedition either begun ten days sooner, or the march from the *Var* had been made in less time, the design would have succeeded without the hazard of a battle. There is more might be said upon this subject; but I am not in so much haste to discover some truths, as our Author is to tell the most pernicious lies. Upon this instance then I must observe, 1. That the expedition to *Naples* was not the effect of any disregard to the Allies, but of self-preservation. 2. That Prince *Eugene's* declining a battle was not the cause of our ill success against *Toulon*. 3. That it is no way chargeable on the late Ministry, who formed the design with the greatest secrecy, and made the most effectual preparations for it, and did all they could to put off the expedition to *Naples*, and remove every difficulty, that might hinder the success of it. And, lastly, That it was not discovered first by any creature of the late Ministry, nor

had

1707. war of the line, five of a less rank, and one yacht (1). On the 22d of *October*, he had ninety fathom water in the *Soundings*, and brought the fleet to, and lay by from twelve till about six in the afternoon, the weather being hazy; but then, the wind coming up fresh at South South-west, he made the signal for sailing. The fleet steered East by North, supposing they had the Channel open, when some of the ships were upon the rocks to the Westward of *Scilly*, before they were aware, about eight of the clock at night, and made a signal of distress. The *Association*, in which Sir *Cloudeſly* was, struck upon the rocks called *The Biſhop and his Clerks*, and was lost, with all the men in it; as were also the *Eagle* and the *Romney*. The *Firebrand* was likewise dashed on the rocks, and founder'd; but the Captain and four and twenty of his men saved themselves in the boat. Captain *Sansom*, who commanded the *Phoenix*, being driven on the rocks within the Island, saved all his men, but was forced to run his ship a-shore. The *Royal Anne* was saved by a great presence of mind, both in Sir *George Byng*, and his officers and men, who, in a minute's time, set her top-sails, one of the rocks not being a ship's length to the leeward of her, and the other, on which Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was lost, as near as in a breach of the sea. Nor had the Lord *Durſley*, Commander of the *St. George*, a less strange escape; for his ship was dashed on the same ridge of rocks with the *Association*, and the same wave, which he saw beat out all Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel's* lights, set his own ship a-boat. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel's* body being, the next day after this misfortune, taken up by some country-fellows, was stripped and buried in the sand; but, on enquiry made by the boats of the *Salisbury* and *Antelope*, it was discovered where he was hid;

from whence being taken out, and brought on board the *Salisbury* into *Plymouth* on the 28th of *October*, it was afterwards carried to *London*, and decently interred in *Westminster Abbey*, where a monument was erected in honour of the Admiral, who was one of the greatest Sea-Commanders of that, or any other age; of undaunted courage and resolution, and, at the same time eminent for his generosity, frankness, and integrity. He was the artificer of his own fortune; and, by his personal merit alone, from the lowest beginnings, raised himself to almost the highest station in the navy. He was born in the County of *Suffolk* of mean parentage, and, having an early inclination to the sea, became a cabin-boy to Sir *Christopher Mingo*, and, improving daily by quick progress in the knowledge of naval affairs, was soon advanced to the rank of Lieutenant; and gave early proofs of his valour on the 14th of *January* 1673-4, when, being Lieutenant to Sir *John Narborough*, Admiral of the *English* fleet in the *Mediterranean*, he burnt in the harbour, and under the castle of *Tripoli*, four men of war belonging to the *Pirates* of that place, which forced them to accept such conditions of peace, as Sir *John Narborough* was pleased to prescribe them. He distinguished himself in the first sea-engagement, that happened after the Revolution, in *Bantry-Bay*, on the 1st of *May* 1689, for which he received the honour of Knighthood, being the Commander of the *Edgar*. He was soon after advanced to the post of a Flag-officer; and upon, the breaking out of the war in 1702, he was sent, with a Squadron of about twenty men of war to join the grand fleet, and bring home the *Galleons*, and other rich booty, taken by the Duke of *Ormond* and Sir *George Rooke* at *Vigo*. The next year he was appointed to command in chief

1707.

His character.

had *France* any suspicion, till the expedition was actually begun, as any one may see, that will look back into the history of that affair. Dr. *Hare*, in the *Postscript* to the *Fourth Part of the Allies* and the late *Ministry* defended, p. 78, 79, observes, That in the passage above-cited, where he mentions, That the design on *Toulon* was discovered by the Clerk of a Great Man, who was then Secretary of State, he did not mean *Gregg*, who was afterwards hanged, but another person then alive; nor did he mean a direct discovery made to *France*, but such a one, as was occasioned by laying wagers; a folly, which the person hinted at has paid dearly for.

A late Writer pretends to have discovered the secret springs of raising the siege of *Toulon*, and the peaceable retreat of the Duke of *Savoy's* army. 'France (says he) perceiving the loss of *Toulon* would be a mortal blow, ordered *Buzenval* (her Minister to the King of *Sweden* then in *Saxony*) to try to engage that victorious Prince to declare against the Emperor. Count *Monasterelli*, the *Bavarian* Minister, had the same orders. These two Ministers gained Count *Piper*, who had a great ascendancy over his Master. The King of *Sweden*, who had given repeated assurances not to undertake any thing against the Allies, was very much embarrassed. He fought a quarrel with the Emperor, and to that end made exorbitant demands, accompanied with threatnings to invade *Silesia* and *Bohemia*. The Emperor laid the storm by agreeing to all his demands. Whilst the treaty was negotiating, the siege of *Toulon* was undertaken. The King of *Sweden*, who wished to hinder the loss of that place, caused it to be insinuated with great secrecy to the Duke of *Savoy*, not to persist in the siege of *Toulon*, because, if it was taken, he should be obliged to invade the Emperor's Heredita-

ry Dominions. The Duke of *Savoy*, who had a great penetration and foresight, reflected, that the King of *Sweden* was steadfast in his resolutions, and that his success had given him that steadfastness; that, after all, the matter was only the taking of a town, which perhaps it would be difficult to keep, and would be demolished. These weighty considerations induced the Duke, by an unparallel'd generosity, to prefer the interests of the common cause to the advantage of taking *Toulon*. Hence the secret reason of raising the siege. This circumstance is said to be warrantable by the Duke himself, who was pleased to declare it to some persons of distinction. *French continuation of Rapin*, Vol. II. 172.

- (1) Namely, The *Association*, Admiral, The *Royal Anne*, Sir *George Byng*, Commander, *St. George*, Lord *Durſley*, *Somerset*, Captain *John Price*, *Torbo*, Sir *John Norris*, *Eagle*, Captain *Hancok*, *Monmouth*, Captain *Baker*, *Swiffure*, Captain *Hubbart*, *Orford*, Captain *Cornwall*, *Rye*, Captain *Vernon*, *Lenox*, Sir *William Jumper*, *La Valeur*, Captain *Johnſon*, *Cruizer*, Captain *Shales*, The *Firebrand*, Captain *Piercy*, The *Vulcan*, Captain *Hockman*, The *Phoenix*, Captain *Sansom*, The *Grafton*, Captain *Holden*, The *Wexel*, Captain *Gulman*, The *Jabellia* Yatch, Captain *Riddel*.

H

(1) The

1707.

chief the Confederate fleet designed for the *Streights*, consisting of thirty-five *English*, and fourteen *Dutch* men of war; and, being come into *Leghorn* road, maintained the honour of the *English* Union-flag, and forced the Governor of that City to give him a royal salute, which he had at first refused. In that expedition, Sir *Claude* endeavoured to supply the *Cevennois* with money, arms, and ammunition; but, for want of intelligence, the *Cevennois* not coming to the sea-shore, the Admiral expressed a great concern, that he could not relieve them, having been always zealous for Liberty and the Protestant Religion. In June 1704, he joined the grand fleet, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, in the *Mediterranean*, had his share in the honour of taking *Gibraltar*, and by his bravery and admirable conduct in the sea-fight, that happened soon after, obliged the enemy's van to bear away out of the reach of his cannon; and, tho' but the second in command, yet he got the principal honour of the day, and contributed most to the preservation of the Confederate fleet. For this signal piece of service, he was, some months after, appointed Rear-Admiral of *England*, and Admiral and Commander in chief of her Majesty's fleet, in conjunction with the Earl of *Peterborough*. In 1706, he commanded the whole Confederate fleet, which had on board ten thousand men, under the command of Earl *Rivers*, designed for a descent upon *France*; but, being detained by contrary winds in *Torbay*, till the 1st of *October*, the Admiral, according to his new orders, failed for *Lisbon*, and from thence to *Alicant*, where having set on shore the land-forces, he returned to *Lisbon*, to prepare for a greater expedition in the year 1707; and, accordingly, in the latter end of *June* that year, he cast anchor in the road of *Nice*, where he nobly entertained the Duke of *Savoy*, Prince *Eugene*, and the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers on board his ship, and with them concerted measures for the attack of *Toulon*; and had the satisfaction of seeing eight of the enemy's capital ships burnt and destroyed.

Affairs at
sea.

France set out no fleet this year, and yet the *British* Nation never had greater losses on that element. The Prince of *Denmark's* Council was very unhappy in the whole conduct of the cruisers and convoys. The Merchants made

heavy complaints, and, not without reason. Convoys were sometimes denied them; and, when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the time limited for the Merchants to get their ships in readiness; and the sailing orders were sometimes sent them so unhappily (but, as many said, so treacherously) that a *French* Squadron was then lying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very severe reflections; for many of the Convoys, as well as the Merchants ship, were taken.

However, about this time an account was brought of the success of Captain *Underdown*, Commander of the *Falkland*, in his expedition against the *French* fisheries in the North of *America*, in which the *French* sustained the following damage: Two ships taken, one of thirty guns, and an hundred men; one ship taken and burnt, of twenty guns, and eighty men; two ships burnt by the enemy, one of thirty-two, and another of twenty-six guns; two hundred and twenty-eight fishing boats burnt; four hundred and seventy boats and sloops, that were not employed in the fishery this season; twenty-three stages, and twenty-three train fats burnt; seventy-seven thousand two hundred and eighty quintals of fish; and one thousand five hundred and sixty eight hogheads of train oil destroyed. But all this was too inconsiderable, to alleviate the loss of the men and ships that perished with Sir *Claude* *Schovel*.

This year there was carried on a negotiation, in which the Allies were greatly concerned, and in which the Queen of *Great-Britain*, in particular, made not the least figure. The Dukes of *Nemours*, Princes of *Neuchâtel* and *Valangin*, dying at *Paris* on the 16th of *June*, N. S. no less than thirteen Competitors laid claim to that Sovereignty.

Among these Competitors, were the King of *Prussia*, and several of the *French* Nation, of whom the Prince of *Conti* was the chief (1). Upon news of the Dukes's death (in whom the House of *Longueville* ended) the Prince of *Conti*, and some other of the *French* Competitors, repaired to *Neuchâtel*; and others sent their Ministers and Agents thither, to prosecute their respective claims.

A letter from the Marquis de *Torcy*, Secretary of State in *France*, wherein he threatened the

French

(1) The Competitors were: 1. The King of *Prussia*, as Heir to the House of *Orange*, and consequently of that of *Châlons*. 2. The Marquis of *Maily*, in the name of his Lady, who stiled herself Princess of *Orange*, and pretended to be Heiress of the House of *Châlons*. 3. The Prince of *Baden Durlach*, by virtue of an agreement, made in the year 1490. between the families of *Hochberg-Neuchâtel* and *Hochberg-Baden*. 4. The Prince of *Conti*, as universal Heir to the late Duke of *Longueville*. 5. The Chevalier de *Saifons*'s relict, who stiled herself Princess of *Neuchâtel*, by virtue of a deed or gift, made by the late Dukes of *Nemours*, of that principality to the said Chevalier, although he could not be ignorant of the decree of the three Estates, dated *March* the 8th, 1694, whereby they declared the said deed and gift void and illegal, and acknowledged the said Dukes of *Nemours*, merely as the only sister, and the next Heir to the late Duke of *Longueville*. 6. The Prince of *Carignan*, as nephew, on the mother's side, to the late Dukes of *Nemours*; but, this Sovereignty being devolved to her by the right of her father, the Count of *Matignon*,

and the Dukes of *Lesdiguières*, who set up the seventh and eighth Candidates, objected, that being Heirs by right of consanguinity, viz. the first, nephew to the Dukes of *Nemours*, in the third degree, and the Dukes in the fourth, the said Count pretended, that the principality ought to be adjudged to him, as the next Heir, though of a later descent; and, on the other hand, the Dukes of *Lesdiguières* contended, that the Lineal Succession being to take place, the principality ought to be conferred on her by right of *Primogeniture*, as being descended from the eldest. 9. The Count of *Montbelliard*. 10. The Baron of *Montjoy*, as a descendant of the House of *Châlons*. 11. The Prince of *Furstenburgh*, by titles, which he could not produce. 12. The Marquis d' *Allegre*, in the right of his Lady, as descended from the House of *Châlons*. 13. The *Swiss* Canton of *Uri* claimed the City and County of *Neuchâtel*, because when that State, which formerly belonged to the thirteen Cantons of *Switzerland*, was yielded by twelve of them, the Canton of *Uri* refused to subscribe the deed of resignation.

Under-
down's
expedition
in the
West In-
dies.

The King
of Prussia
as subject
Prince of
Neuchâtel.
Hist. of
Eur.
Bornet.
Lamberti.

1707. French King's resentment towards the inhabitants of *Neuchâtel*, if they admitted a stranger in competition with his subjects, having been industriously spread among the people, and other artifices used, to induce them to make choice of a *Frenchman*; Count *Metternich*, the *Prussian* Ambassador, acquainted the Magistracy, that the King, his Master, would be supported by the whole Confederacy in the justice of his pretensions. Accordingly, Mr. *Abraham Stanyan*, the Queen of *Great-Britain's* Envoy Extraordinary to the Protestant Cantons, in a memorial to the Magistrates of *Bern*, recommended his *Prussian* Majesty's right, and repaired to *Neuchâtel*. The day after his arrival, he delivered by his Secretary two letters from the Queen; in the first of which, directed to the Governor and Counsellors of State of the Sovereignty of *Neuchâtel* and *Valengin*, she said, "That, having been informed of the death of the Dutchess of *Nemours*, her Majesty thought there was an indispensable obligation incumbent upon her to write to them in favour of his *Prussian* Majesty, that, by virtue of his right to the City and Country of *Neuchâtel*, both by hereditary title, and by the cession of the late King of *Great-Britain*, *William* the Third, her Brother, they would acknowledge and admit him for their lawful Sovereign. That she hoped they would do it the more readily, not only because that Prince was united with them by the sacred bond of the Reformed Religion, which both he and they equally professed; but also because he had hitherto shewn the same care and affection for their interests, which he ever expressed for the good and advantage of his own good subjects. Wherefore her Majesty did not doubt, that, being mindful of their country's welfare, and endowed with so much prudence as they were, they would carefully avoid chusing for their Prince a person, who being a subject, and intirely devoted to the Government of *France*, ought, for that reason, to be as suspected to them, as he would be to her Majesty, and to all her other Allies: Which persuaded her at the same time, that, without any delay, they would grant his *Prussian* Majesty's just demand; and, as the same would give her Majesty a singular satisfaction, so, on her part, she would ever be disposed to shew them the effects of her friendship." The Queen's letter to the *Ministres* and Counsellors of *Neuchâtel* was much to the same purpose; and the Secretary presented at the same time to the Council of State a memorial in behalf of the King of *Prussia*. Not long after Mr. *Runckell*, Envoy from the *States-General*, arrived at *Neuchâtel*, with instructions to join with Mr. *Stanyan* in all proper measures to assist Count *Metternich*; and a letter from the King of *Sweden* to the Canton of *Bern*, in favour of the King of *Prussia*, added no small weight to the interposition of *Great-Britain* and *Holland*.

The Allies looked on this as a matter of great consequence; since it might end in a rupture between the Protestant Cantons and *France*, for the Popish Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading and a long debate, the States of the Principality gave judgment in favour of the King of *Prussia*, to whom the Investiture of *Neuchâtel* was solemnly granted on the 3d of November, N. S. The French Competitors pro-

tested against this, and left the place in high discontent: The French Ambassador threatened that little State with an invasion, and all commerce with them was forbid. The Canton of *Bern* espoused their concern with a spirit and a zeal, which was not expected from them, and declaring, they were in a *Comburghership* with them, came to an unanimous resolution, to defend the Principality of *Neuchâtel* with all their forces; pursuant to which resolution, they sent, a few days after, four thousand five hundred of their men to the frontiers of *Neuchâtel*. The French continued to threaten, and Marshal *de Villars* had orders to march a great part of his army towards them. But, when the Court of *France* saw, that the Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* were not terrified by those marches, they let the whole matter fall, very little to their honour; and so the intercourse between the French Dominions and that State was again opened, and the peace of the Cantons was secured. The King of *Prussia* engaged his honour, that he would govern that State with a particular zeal for advancing both Religion and Learning in it; and upon these assurances he persuaded the Bishops of *England*, and the Bishop of *Sarum* in particular, to use their best endeavours to promote his pretensions; upon which they wrote, in the most effectual manner they could, to Monsieur *Ostervald*, who was the most eminent Ecclesiastic of that State, and one of the best and most judicious Divines of the age. He was bringing that Church to a near agreement with the forms of worship in the Church of *England*. The King of *Prussia* was well disposed in all matters of Religion, and had made a great step, in order to reconcile the *Lutherans* and the *Calvinists* in his Dominions, by requiring them not to preach to the people on those points, in which they differed, and by obliging them to communicate together, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions; which was indeed the only wise and honest way of making up their breach.

The Protestant Cantons of *Switzerland* observing the zeal, which the King of *Sweden* shewed in favour of their Religion, in supporting the pretensions of the King of *Prussia* to the Principality of *Neuchâtel*, by his letter to the King of *France*, as well as to the Cantons, sent to him a French Gentleman of Quality, the Marquis *de Rochegude*, to let him know, what regard they had to his recommendations, and to desire him to interpose his good offices with the French King, for setting at liberty about three hundred persons, who were condemned to the galleys, and treated most cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but because they would not change their Religion, and had endeavoured to make their escape out of *France*. The King of *Sweden* received this message with a particular civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Minister at the Court of *France*, to make it his desire to that King, that these Confessors might be delivered to him. But the Ministers of *France* said, That was a point of the King's Government at home, in which he could not suffer foreign Princes to meddle. The King of *Sweden* seemed sensible of this neglect; and it was hoped, that, when his affairs would admit of it, he would express a due resentment of it.

Whilst the House of *Austria* was struggling this year with great difficulties, two pieces of

Marriages
of the
Kings of
Spain and
pomp Portugal.

1707. pomp and magnificence consumed a great part of their treasure. An embassy was sent from *Lisbon* to demand the Emperor's sister for that King, which was done with an unusual and extravagant expence. A wife was to be sought for King *Charles* among the Protestant Courts, for there was not a suitable match in the Popish. He had seen the Princess of *Anspach*, and was much pleased with her; so that great applications were made to persuade her to change her Religion; but she could not be prevailed on to buy a Crown at so dear a rate; and, soon after, she was married to the Electoral Prince of *Brunswick*, and her firmness to the Protestant Religion rewarded with the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The Princess of *Wulsenbuttle* was not so firm; she was brought therefore to *Vienna*, and some time after married by proxy to King *Charles*, and sent to *Italy* in her way to *Spain*. The solemnity, with which these matters were managed, amidst all the distress of the *Austrian* affairs, consumed a vast deal of treasure; for such was the pride of those Courts on such occasions, that, rather than fail in a point of splendor, they would let their most important affairs go to wreck. That Princess was landed at *Barcelona*; and the Queen of *Portugal*, the same year, came to *Holland*, to be carried to *Lisbon* by a squadron of the English fleet.

A riotous
in Ham-
burgh.
Burnet.

The City of *Hamburg* was this year thrown into great confusion by a contest, which arose between some private persons, one of whom was a *Lutheran* Minister, and gave occasion to a division there. One side was protected by the Senate, which so highly disgusted the other, that it was like to end in a revolt against the Magistrates, and a civil war within the City; and it being known, that the King of *Denmark* had, for many years, an eye on that place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from those commotions, or that the weaker side might chuse rather to fall under his power, than under the revenge of the adverse party. The Kings of *Sweden* and *Prussia*, with the House of *Brunswick*, resolved therefore to send troops thither, to quiet this distraction, and to chastise the more refractory; while the Emperor's Ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate matters, without suffering them to run to extremities.

An at-
tempt to
carry off
the Dau-
phin.
Mil. Hist.

Before the opening the campaign this year in *Flanders*, a very extraordinary attempt was made by a partizan in the Imperial army for carrying off the Dauphin, or some other Prince of the blood of *France*, which very narrowly missed of success. This man's name was *Queintem*; he had served the Prince of *Conti*, as a Valet de *Chambre*, when he went to *Hungary*; he afterwards became one of the Elector of *Bavaria's* band of music, and then his huntsman. Some of the Princes of *Germany* used to have a great number of those huntsmen, whom in time they incorporated into their troops. This man going over to the Imperialists served as a partizan, and was honoured with a brevet as a Colonel for some good services he had performed. This animated him to do still greater things; and, the alterations produced by the battle of *Ramillies* making it no difficult matter to get from *Flanders* into *France*, he formed a project of carrying off some Prince of the blood from the road between *Verfailles* and *Paris*; and, it was generally believed, that his view was particularly

upon the Dauphin. In order to effect this, he made choice of sixteen Officers and fourteen Dragoons, all enterprizing men, and of great resolution. He procured three passports, each for ten men; and having given them to persons, whom he could trust, he divided his troop into three small corps, each of which entered *France* by a different route, joining in the neighbourhood of *Paris*. The two Commanders of his small squadrons were directed by him, that ten should post themselves in the wood of *Chantilly*, ten at *St. Ouen*, and the other ten at *Seve*, on the road from *Paris* to *Verfailles*; these last, to prevent discovery, were lodged in different public houses. One of them, who was a Lieutenant, went frequently to *Paris*, where he sold two English horses. He walked from time to time in the street of *Seve*, and on the bridge, that crosses the *Seine* there. He one day met the Duke of *Oleams*, but it happened to be too light for him to undertake any thing. Two days after the Dauphin and the Princesses passed him, going to hunt in the wood *Boulogne*; but they were too well attended for the partizan to hope any thing from an attack. At last, on the 24th of *March*, he, who was sentinel, perceiving Monsieur de *Berrington*, first Equerry to the King, in a coach and six, with the King's liveries, with a few attendants, it being but half an hour past seven in the evening, took him for some Prince of the blood, and immediately made a signal for the nine others, who passed the bridge. As for the sentinel, those, who guarded the bridge, seeing him cross it three or four times in a hurry, at last threw down the barrier, stopped him, and gave notice to the Grand Provost. In the mean time his nine companions, among whom was the partizan *Queintem*, stopped the coach, and put out the flambeaux; and then the partizan taking Monsieur le Premier (so in *France* they style the King's first equerry) by the sleeve, told him, that they arrested him by the King's order. Monsieur le Premier answered, that he just came from his Majesty; that he would be glad to know who he (the partizan) was, and whether he had not some Officer with him, to whom he might speak. The partizan, without making him any answer, obliged him to get out of the coach, and mount a spare horse, which one of the servants rid. Monsieur le Premier's Valet de *Chambre* would have followed him, had not one of the soldiers threatened to shoot him, upon which his master bid him go back; but he desired, that he might have his cloak; upon which one of the men took it from his servant, and threw it upon his shoulders. He, who was stopped at *Seve*, was their guide; and his loss proved a great misfortune to them, because it retarded them very much in their journey. They turned by the walls of the wood of *Boulogne*, from whence they went to *St. Ouen*, where they had left a post-chaise, with the ten men above-mentioned; but, as they did not know the roads perfectly, they lost a good deal of time in getting to that place. Monsieur le Premier's Valet de *Chambre* soon carried the news of his Master's misfortune to *Verfailles*, so that the King heard of it by nine o'clock, and sent an order to Monsieur *Chamillard* to dispatch Couriers immediately to the Intendants to stop all the passages. He sent likewise an exempt with twenty lie-guards to follow the partizan. Monsieur

1707: *d'Epines* and all the other *Equerries* mounted and rode, some towards *Normandy*, some towards *Flanders*, and others towards *Germany*. They learned, that, *Monseigneur le Premier* finding himself much out of order, the *Partizan* made a halt for three hours to give him time to rest, and had even cut and lowered the back of the chaise, which hindered its going, that his prisoner might be the less incommoded. The Guards and *Equerries* rode so fast, and spread intelligence so quick, that the *Partizan*, as he got out of the forest of *Chanilli*, heard the alarm-bell ring in all the villages; upon which he began to doubt of the success of his expedition: However, he went on boldly and undisturbed as far as *Ham*, where he was discovered by a Quarter-Master, who rode up to him, and clapped a pistol to his throat. The *Partizan*, finding himself surrounded on all sides, was obliged to surrender. *Monseigneur le Premier* immediately cried out, *That he had been extremely well used, and desired, that the man might not be hurt*. He kept him that night to supper with him, carried him on his parole back to *Versailles*, and lodged him there in his own apartments. *Madam de Beringsben*, who happened to be gone before her husband in another coach, made the *Partizan* a very considerable present for the civilities which he had shewn *Monseigneur le Premier*. It is certain, that nothing but his condescension in stopping those three hours hindered him from getting clear off, since, at the place where he was stopped, he was within three hours march of a place of safety; and on this account it was, that he and his companions were discharged.

The affairs of Ireland. This was the state of our affairs abroad, both by sea and land. During these transactions, a Parliament was held at *Dublin* by the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. At the opening of the Session, on the 7th of *July*, he made a speech, wherein, among other things, he said, "That the Queen, considering the number of Papists in *Ireland*, would be glad of any expedient for the strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects. That, the public service requiring that several regiments should be sent abroad, the Queen intended to supply the like number of forces, for the security of that Kingdom; and he did not doubt, but they would provide Supplies for them, as well as for defraying the expence of the Government."

Both Houses addressing the Queen, the Lords, it is said*, omitted congratulating her upon the late Union of *England* and *Scotland*, which the so much valued herself upon; whilst the Commons not only mentioned the glory she had acquired by it, but hinted at a much more *Comprehensive Union*. To this the Queen answered, "They might be sure, nothing should be wanting to make the Union of all her subjects as extensive as possible." Some thought this related to a comprehension in matters of Religion; but others more reasonably supposed, that, by their *Comprehensive Union*, the Commons meant the uniting of *Ireland* as well as *Scotland* with *England*, and forming the three Kingdoms into one.

Pursuant to the Queen's desire, expressed in his Excellency's speech, for strengthening the Protestant interest, a bill was brought in by the Commons, for explaining an act to prevent

Numb. LIV. Vol. IV.

the farther growth of Popery, and it was resolved, I. That any Protestant Guardian, that permits a Papist to educate and dispose of his ward, does thereby betray the trust reposed in him, evade the law, and propagate Popery. II. That any Papist, who shall take upon him to manage and dispose of the substance and person of any infant committed to a Protestant Guardian, is guilty of a notorious breach of the law. III. That altering a Protestant Guardian duly appointed, without sufficient reason, is a discouragement to the execution of the act against the further growth of Popery. However, when the Committee had gone through the bill, and agreed to every paragraph except one (by which the sons of Papists that should turn Protestants might be injured) the House disagreed to that, and rejected the bill. But it was unanimously resolved, that all Popish Priests were obliged to take the oath of abjuration by the laws in force, and that it was the indispensable duty of all Judges and Magistrates to put those laws in execution.

The House of Commons having appointed a Committee to inspect the public accounts, upon their report being read, it was resolved, I. That this Kingdom had been put to excessive charge, by means of great arrears of rent, returned by the late Trustees, to be due out of the forfeited estates of this Kingdom; and that most of the said arrears returned appear to be unjust charges on the subject, and false returns, by receipts under the hand of the Trustees, or their Receivers, or entries in their own books. II. That an humble representation be laid before her Majesty, of the great charge and pressure the Kingdom lies under, by the said returns, and several other the oppressive proceedings of the late Trustees.

The House also resolved, *That it would greatly conduce to the relief of the poor, and the good of that Kingdom, that the inhabitants should use no other than their own manufactures in their apparel, and the furniture of their houses; and all the Members mutually agreed and engaged their Honours to each other, that they would conform to the said resolution.*

The Commons having granted the necessary Supplies, and the several bills they were upon being ready for the Royal assent, the Lord-Lieutenant gave it to

An act for registering lands, deeds, &c.

An act to explain an act to prevent Papists being Solicitors.

An act for explaining and limiting the privileges of Parliament.

An act for the more effectual preventing the taking away, and marrying Children against the wills of their parents.

And several other acts public and private.

This done, the Parliament was prorogued from the 29th of *October* to the 6th of *May*, and the Earl of *Pembroke* returned to *England*.

During the campaign, things went in *England* Proceeding in their ordinary channel. But the conduct, with relation to *Scotland*, was more unaccountable. For whereas it might have been reasonably expected, that the management of the newly-united part of this Island should have been particularly taken care of, so as to give no just distaste to the *Scots*, nor offer an handle to those, who were still endeavouring to inflame that Nation, and to increase their aversion to the Union; things

1707. things were, on the contrary, so ordered, as if the design had been to contrive methods to exasperate the spirits of the people there. Though the management of the *Scots* revenue was to fall into the Lord Treasurer's hands on the first of May, no care was taken to have all the Commissions ready at the day, with new officers to serve in them; so that the whole trade of *Scotland* was stopped for almost two months for want of orders, to put it into the new course, in which it was to be carried on. Three months passed before the *Equivalent* was sent to *Scotland*; and, when wines and other merchandize were imported into *England* from thence, seizures were every where made; and this was managed with a particular affectation of roughness. All these things heightened the prejudices, with which that Nation had been possessed against the Union. It was also known, that many messages passed between *Scotland* and *France*; and that there were many meetings and much consultation among the discontented party there. A great body appeared openly for the Pretender, and celebrated his birth-day very publicly, both

at *Edinburgh*, and in other places of the Kingdom; and it was openly talked, that there was now an opportunity, that was not to be lost, of invading the Kingdom, though with a small force; and that a general concurrence from the body of that Nation might be depended upon. These things were done in so public a manner, that no check being given to them, nor enquiry made after them, by those, who were in the Government, it gave occasion to many melancholy speculations. The management from *England* looked like a thing concerted to heighten that distemper; and the whole conduct of the fleet afforded great cause of jealousy.

But, to open this more clearly, it will be necessary to give an account of a new scene at Court. It was observed, that Mr. *Harley*, who had been for some years Secretary of State, had gained great credit with the Queen, and began to set up for himself, and to act no more under the direction of the Lord Treasurer. There was one of the Bed-chamber-women, Mrs. *Abigail Hill* (1), who, being nearly related to the Duchess of *Marlborough*, had been taken care of by her, together

A new party at Court.

(1) The Duchess of *Marlborough*, in the account of her Conduct, p. 177, &c. gives the following account of Mrs. *Hill* and her practices. She was the daughter of Mr. *Hill*, a Merchant in *London*, by a sister of the Duchess's father. Mr. *Hill* lived very well for many years, till turning projector, he brought ruin upon himself and his family. The Duchess of *Marlborough* never knew, that there were such people in the world, till after the Princess *Anne* was married, and when she lived at the *Cockpit*; at which time an acquaintance of the Duchess came to her, and said, That she believed she did not know, that she had relations, who were in want; and gave her an account of them. The Duchess answered, That indeed she had never heard before of any such relations; and immediately gave out of her purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying, she would do what she could for them; and afterwards sent Mrs. *Hill* more money, and saw her.

Mrs. *Hill* told the Duchess, that her husband was in the same relation to Mr. *Harley*, as she was to the Duchess, but that he had never done any thing for her. Mr. *Hill* and his wife died not long after this, and left two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs. *Mafham*) was a grown woman. The Duchess took her to *St. Albans*, where she lived with her Grace and her children, and was treated by her Grace with as great kindness, as if she had been her sister. After some time a Bed-chamber-woman of the Princess of *Denmark* died; and, as in that reign (after the Princesses were grown up) rockers, though not Gentlewomen, had been advanced to be Bed-chamber-women, the Duchess procured the vacant place for Mrs. *Hill*, whose younger sister she likewise took care of, and got to be made laundress to the Duke of *Glocester*, and afterwards obtained a pension for her of two hundred pounds a year. The elder brother was, at the Duchess's request, put into a place at the *Custom-House*; the younger, whom the bottlemen, says the Duchess, afterwards called *Honest Jack Hill*, was a tall boy, whom I clothed (for he was all in rags) put to school at *St. Albans* to one Mr. *James*, who had been an Usher under Dr. *Busby* of *Westminster*; and, whenever I went to *St. Albans*, I sent for him, and was as kind to him, as if he had been my own child. After he had learned what he could there, a vacancy happening of Page of Honour to the Prince of *Denmark*, his Highness was pleased, at my request, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord *Marlborough* to make him Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Duke of *Glocester*; and though my Lord always said, that *Jack Hill* was good for nothing, yet, to oblige me, he made him his *Aid de camp*, and afterwards gave him a regiment.

But it was his sister's interest, that raised him to be a General, and to command in that ever-memorable expedition to *Quebec*. I had no share in doing him these honours. To finish what I have to say upon this subject; when Mr. *Harley* thought it useful to attack the Duke of *Marlborough* in Parliament, this *Quebec* General, this honest *Jack Hill*, this once ragged boy, whom I clothed, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his sister to get up, wrap himself in warmer clothes than those I had given him, and go to the House to vote against the Duke. I may add here, that even the husband of Mrs. *Mafham* had several obligations to me. It was at my instance, that he was first made a Page, then a Querry, and afterwards Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; for all which he himself thanked me, as for favours procured by my means.

As for Mrs. *Mafham* herself, I had so much kindness for her, and had done so much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think her other than a true friend, or forbear rejecting at an instance of favour shewn her by the Queen. I observed indeed at length, that she was grown more shy of coming to me, and more reserved than usual, when she was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar moroseness of temper, and for some time made no other reflection upon it. The first thing, which led me into enquiries about her conduct, was the being told, in the summer of 1707, that my cousin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Mafham*. I went to her, and asked her, if it were true. She owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reason as I had to take ill this reserve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to bashfulness and want of breeding, rather than to any thing worse. I embraced her with my usual tenderness, and very heartily wished her joy; and then, turning the discourse, entred into her concerns in as friendly a manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings, by removing her sister into some of my own. I then inquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her marriage, and very innocently offered her my service, if she needed it, to make that matter easy. She had by this time learned the art of dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an air of uncertainty, that the Bed-chamber-woman had already acquainted the Queen with it, hoping, by this answer to divert any further examination into the matter. But I went presently to the Queen, and asked her, *Why she had not been so kind, as to tell me of my Cousin's marriage*, expostulating with her upon the point,

1707. together with her whole family (for they were fallen very low) in a most particular manner. She brought her not only into that post, but had treated her with such a confidence, that it had introduced her into a high degree of favour with the Queen; which, for some years, was considered as an effect of the Duchess's credit with her Majesty. She was also nearly related to Mr. Harley; and they two entered into a close correspondence. She learned the arts of a Court, and observed the Queen's temper with so much application, that she got far into her heart. She employed all her credit to establish Mr. Harley in the supreme confidence with the Queen, and to alienate her affections from the Duchess of Marlborough, who studied no other method of pre-

serving her favour, than by pursuing the true interest of the Queen and of the Kingdom. It was said, that Prince George was brought into the concert, and that he was made to apprehend, that he had too small a share in the Government, and that he was shut out from it by the great power, which the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer had drawn into their hands; that all depended upon them; that the Queen was only a cypher in the Government; that she was in the Duchess of Marlborough's hands, as her affairs were in the Duke's. It was likewise talked among those, who made their Court to the new Favourites, that there was not now a Jaobite in the Nation; that all were for the Queen; and that, without doubt, she would reign

point, and putting her in mind of what she used often to say to me out of *Montaigne*, That it was no breach of promise of secrecy to tell such a friend any thing, because it was no more than telling it to one's self. All the answer I could obtain from her Majesty was this, I have a hundred times bid Matham tell it you, and she would not.

The Conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs. Masham convinced me, that there was some mystery in the affair; and thereupon I set myself to enquire as particularly as I could into it; and, in less than a week's time, I discovered, That my Cousin was become an absolute favourite; that the Queen herself was present at her Marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her Majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy-purse; that Mrs. Matham came often to the Queen, when the Prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her: And I likewise then discovered Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at Court by means of this woman.

I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have believed it, if there had been any room left for doubting.

My Lord Marlborough was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears from the following paragraph of a letter from him, in answer to one from me on this subject.

Meldest, June 3, 1707.

The wisest thing is to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure that Mrs. Matham speaks of business to the Queen, I should think, you might, with some caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say.

It became easy now to decypher many particulars, which had hitherto remained mysterious; and my reflections quickly brought to my mind many passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no impressions of suspicion or jealousy. Particularly I remembered, that a long while before this, being with the Queen (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage from my lodgings to the bed chamber) on a sudden this woman, not knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible, but, upon sight of me, stopped, and immediately changing her manner, and making a most solemn courtesy, *Did your Majesty ring?* and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter now to make it understood. But, not to dwell on such trifling incidents, as soon as I had got a thorough insight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter:

September 23, 1707.

Since the conversation I had with you at your lodgings, several things have happened to confirm me in what I was hard to believe, that you have made me returns very unfavourable to what I might have expected. I always speak my mind so plainly, that I should have told you so myself, if I had had the opportunity, which

I hoped for. But, being now so near parting, think this way of letting you know it, is like to be the least uneasy to you, as well as to

Your humble Servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

Though I was to go to Woodstock the next day, I staid at Windsor almost all the morning to wait her answer. But this could not be had so soon, it being necessary to consult with her great director in so nice a matter. At length, however, an answer was sent after me, the whole frame and stile of which shewed it to be the genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of such an affair.

Windsor, September 24, 1707.

‘While I was expecting a message from your Grace, to wait upon you according to your commands, last night, I received a letter, which surprizes me no less than it afflicts me, because it lays a most heavy charge upon me of an ungrateful behaviour to your Grace. Her Majesty was pleased to tell me, that you was angry with me for not acquainting you with my marriage. I did believe, after so generous a pardon, your Grace would think no more of that. I am very confident by the expression of your letter, that somebody has told some malicious lye of me to your Grace, from which it is impossible for me to vindicate myself till I know the crime I am accused of. I am sure, Madam, your goodness cannot deny me what the meanest may ask the greatest; I mean justice, to know my accuser. Without that, all friendship must be at the mercy of every malicious liar, as they are, who have so barbarously and unjustly brought me under your displeasure, the greatest unhappiness, that could befall me. I therefore make it my most humble request to your Grace, that, if ever I had the least share of your friendship, you would be pleased to give me that parting token to let me know, who this wicked person is; and then I do not doubt but I shall make it plain how much they have wronged me, as well as imposed upon your Grace. As my affliction is very great, you will, I hope, in compassion let me hear from you, and believe me what I really am,

Madam,

Your Grace's most humble and faithful Servant,]

A. HILL.

As I believe nobody at this time doubts, whether the Writer of this letter was practising with the Queen to undermine me, I shall make no reflections upon it. My answer was in these terms:

‘I received your letter upon the road to this place; and I can assure you the occasion of my complaints did not proceed from any ill offices, that had been done you to me by any body, but from my own observation, which

1707. reign out peaceably her whole life, but she need not concern herself for a *German* family. These discourtesies began to break out, and gave melancholy apprehensions to those, to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded. The Duchefs of *Marlborough* seemed secure of her interest in the Queen, and shewed no jealousy of a favour, to which herself gave the first rise. This was the state of the Court at the opening of the Parliament.

Promotions
in the
Church.

There were at that time three Bishopricks vacant. Sir *Jonathan Trelawney*, considerable for his birth and interest in *Cornwall*, had been removed the summer before from *Exeter* to *Win-*

chester. The Lord-Treasurer had promised, that preferments should be bestowed on men well-principled with relation to the present Constitution, and on men of merit. The Queen, without regarding this, secretly engaged herself to Dr. *Blackall* for *Exeter*; and for *Chester* (being at the same time void by the death of Dr. *Stratford*) to Sir *William Dawes*. These Divines were in themselves men of merit, but their notions were all on the other side. They had submitted to the Government; but they, at least Dr. *Blackall*, seemed to condemn the Revolution, and all that had been done pursuant to it. Sir *William Dawes* was likewise looked on

1707.

as

which makes the impression much the stronger. But I think the subject is not very proper for a letter; and therefore I must defer it till we meet, and give you no farther trouble at this time from

Your most humble Servant,

S. MARLBOROUGH.

About the same time, that I made this discovery of Mrs. *Masbam's* intriguing, my Lord *Godolphin* (as I before-mentioned) got notice of Mr. *Harley's* practices, both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the Whigs jealousies of Lord *Godolphin* and Lord *Marlborough*; and at the same time, assuring the Tories, that they might depend upon the Queen's inward affection to them; and that it was wholly owing to those two great Lords, that the Tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. His design was to ruin the Whigs, by disuniting them from the Ministry, and so to pave the way for the Tories to rise again, whom he thought to unite in himself, as their head, after he had made it impossible for them to think of a reconciliation with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*. But, that this able Politician might in all things act suitably to his parts and genius, he, at the same time, that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of those whose destruction he aimed at, by the most elaborate compliments, and the most nauseous professions of affection and duty.

The Duchefs then gives several letters of Mr. *Harley* to the Duke and herself, wherein he extolled the Duke's services to his Country, spoke of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and professed a peculiar joy in the contemplation of it, while, at the same time, *joy's* she, he was contriving how to ruin that glorious man, in order to raise himself upon his ruins. The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of such designs, though it is certain he never had entertained the same good opinion of him, as my Lord *Godolphin* had; and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of Mr. *Harley's*, dated March 25, 1707, the Duke had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains these words:

‘ I return your Grace most hearty and humble thanks for the favourable expressions in your letter. I beg leave to assure you, that I serve you by inclination and principle, and a very little time will make that manifest, as well as that I have no views or aims of my own.’

The conduct, which Mr. *Harley* observed, after these assurances, was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that my Lord *Godolphin* could not help representing it to the Queen as of the utmost prejudice to her affairs. And when he found, that her Majesty would believe nothing of it, he went so far as to say, that, if Mr. *Harley* continued to act the part he did, and yet to have so much credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord *Marlborough* and himself

must of necessity quit her service. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and presently wrote a letter to me, in which were several expressions of great kindness.

Kensington, October 30.

‘ If I have not answered all my dear Mrs. *Freeman's* letters (as indeed I should have done) I beg she would not impute it to any thing but the apprehension I was in of saying what might add to the ill impression she has of me. For, though I believe we are both of the same opinion in the main, I have the misfortune, that I cannot exactly agree in every thing; and therefore what I say is not thought to have the least colour of reason in it, which makes me really not care to enter into particulars. But, though I am unwilling to do it, it is impossible for me to help giving you some answer to your last letter, in which I find you think me insensible of every thing. I am very sorry, you, who have known me so long, can give way to such a thought, as that I do not think the parting with my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord-Treasurer of much consequence, because I did not mention any thing of my Lord *Marlborough's* kind letter concerning me. The reason of this was, I really was in a great hurry, when I write to you, and, not having time to write on that subject to both, I thought it was the most necessary to endeavour to let him see he had no reason to have suspicions of any one's having power with me, besides himself and my Lord-Treasurer; and I hope they will believe me. Can dear Mrs. *Freeman* think, that I can be so stupid, as not to be sensible of the great services that my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord-Treasurer have done me, nor of the great misfortune it would be, if they should quit my service? No, sure, you cannot believe me to be so void of sense and gratitude. I never did, nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me; and they have too much honour and too sincere a love for their Country, to leave me without a cause. And I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes, of pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action. I think I had best say no more for fear of being too troublesome. But, whatever becomes of me, I shall always preserve a most sincere and tender passion for my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, to my last moment.’

After my return to *London*, I had another kind letter from her Majesty in the following terms:

Saturday night.

‘ My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot go to bed without renewing a request, that I have often made, that you would banish all unkind and unjust thoughts of your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, which I saw by the glimpse I had of you yesterday, you were full of. Indeed I do not deserve them; and, if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender, and passionately fond of you as ever, and as truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind freely upon all occasions. Nothing shall ever alter me. Though we have the misfortune to differ in some things, I will ever be the same to my dear, dear Mrs.

1707. as an aspiring man, who would set himself at the head of the Tory party. This nomination therefore gave great disgust. To qualify this a little, Dr. Patrick, the pious and learned Bishop of Ely, dying at this time, the Queen advanced Bishop *Mere* from *Norwich* to that See; and Dr. *Trimmel*, a worthy person in all respects, was named for *Norwich*; yet this did not quiet the uneasiness, which many were under, by reason of the other nominations, which seemed to

flow from the Queen herself, and so discovered her inclinations.

To prevent the ill effects, that this might have in the approaching Session, some of the eminent Members of the House of Commons were called to a meeting, with the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Devonshire*. These Lords assured them, in the Queen's name, that she was very sensible of the services, which the Whigs did her; and, though she had engaged herself so far

Mrs. *Freeman*, whom I do assure once more, I am more tenderly and sincerely her's than it is possible ever to express.

I was every day in expectation of hearing from Mrs. *Majham*, who, I supposed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created so much uneasiness between us. But, to my great surprize, I was twelve days at St. James's under the same roof with her, before I had so much as any message from her. At length, having one night passed by her window in my return home, she sent one of her maids to my woman to ask her how I did, and to let me know, that she was gone to *Kenington*. This behaviour was so very ridiculous, that, the next time I saw the Queen, I could not forbear speaking of it, and at the same time telling her all that had passed between us. The Queen looked grave, and said, *She was mighty in the right not to come near me*. I answered, that I did not understand that, since she had expressed such a concern at my displeasure, and since the clearing up of matters had been referred to our meeting. The Queen replied, that it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when she saw I was angry with her. To this I answered, that she could have no reason to be afraid, unless she knew herself guilty of some crime. It was the Queen's usual way, on any occasion, where she was predetermined (as my Lord *Marlborough* has told me, that it was her Father's) to repeat over and over some principal words she had resolved to use, and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say, *It was very natural, and she was very much in the right*. So that this conversation with her Majesty produced nothing but an undeniable proof, that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections; and that it was thought more advisable to let the breach between me and Mrs. *Majham* grow wider and wider, than to use any method to make it up.

But now within two days Mrs. *Majham* contrived to make me a visit, when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our meeting could be to no purpose, but to draw fruitless and false professions from her, I gave a general order to my servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at home. After some time it was thought proper, that she should write to me, and desire I would see her; to which I consented, and appointed her a time. When she came, I began to tell her, that it was very plain, the Queen was much changed towards me; and that I could not attribute this to any thing but her secret management. That I knew she had been very frequently with her Majesty in private; and that the very attempt to conceal this by artifice, from such a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill sign, and enough to prove a very bad purpose at bottom. To this she very gravely answered, That she was sure the Queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me. It was some minutes before I could recover from the surprize, with which so extraordinary an answer struck me. To see a woman, whom I had raised out of the dust, put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me by way of consolation, that the Queen would be always very kind to me! At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude, and her secret management with the Queen to undermine those, who had so long, and with so much honour, served her Majesty. To this she answered, That she never spoke to the Queen about business, but that she sometimes gave her petitions, which

came to the back-stairs, and with which she knew I did not care to be troubled. And with such insincere answers she thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain, she had before this, obtained pensions for several of her friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the privy-purse, sums of money, which the Queen had ordered me to bring her; and that she was every day long with her Majesty in private. But thus our conversation ended; and, when we had fate a while silent, she rose up and said, *She hoped I would give her leave to come sometimes, and enquire after my health*: Which, however, it is plain she did not design to do, for she never once came near me after this. Notwithstanding this, when she owned her marriage publicly, I went with Lady *Sunderland* to visit her; not that I intended to have any farther intercourse with her, or to dissemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully resolved to let her then know, in case I found an opportunity of speaking to her privately) but purely out of respect to the Queen, and to avoid any noise or disagreeable discourse, which my refusing that ordinary part of civility might occasion.

Not many days after this I went to pay my respects to the Queen in the Christmas holidays; and, before I went in, I learnt from the Page, that Mrs. *Majham* was just then sent for. The moment I saw her Majesty, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her intention was, that I should no longer doubt of my loss of her affections. Upon observing what reception I had, I said, *I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably*. I was making my courtesy to go away, when the Queen, with a great deal of disorder in her face, and without speaking one word, took me by the hand; and, when thereupon I stooped to kiss her's, she took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So strange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful services, and after such repeated assurances from her Majesty of an unalterable affection, made me think, that I ought, in justice to myself, as well as in regard to my Mistress's interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest manner possible, and expostulate with her upon her change to me, and upon the new counsels, by which she seemed to be wholly governed. My letter was in these terms:

December 27, 1707.

' If Mrs. *Morley* will be so just as to reflect and examine impartially her last reception of Mrs. *Freeman*, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to see her come in, and sorry when she went away; certainly you cannot wonder at her reproaches upon an embrace, that seemed to have no satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the conversation of one, that has the good fortune to please you much better, though I am sure nobody did ever endeavour it with more sincerity than Mrs. *Freeman* had done. And if I had considered only my interest, and that of my family, I might have borne this change without any complaint. For I believe Mrs. *Morley* would be sincere in doing us any good. But I have once been honoured with an open kind confidence and trust, and that made all my services agreeable; and it is not possible to lose it without a mortification too great to be passed with silence, being sure, that I have never done any thing to forfeit

K it,

1707.

far with relation to those two Bishopricks, that she could not recall the promises she had made, yet for the future she was resolved to give them full content (1). But, while this was said to some Whigs, Mr. Harley, and his friends Mr. St. John and Sir Simon Harcourt, took great pains with the leaders of the Tories, particularly Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr. Bromley, and Mr. Freeman, to engage them in the Queen's interests, assuring them, that her heart was with them; that she was weary of the tyranny of the Whigs, and longed to be delivered from it. But they were not wrought upon by that management; they either mistrusted it, as done only to ensnare them; or they had other views, which they did not think fit to own. This double-dealing came to be known, and gave occasion to much jealousy and distrust.

Four men
of war left

A little before the Session was opened, an eminent misfortune happened at sea. A convoy of five ships of the line (the *Cumberland* of eighty guns, Captain Richard Edwards Commandore; the *Devonshire* of like force; the *Royal Oak* of seventy guns; and the *Chester* and *Ruby* of fifty) were sent to *Lisbon*, to convoy thither a fleet of about a hundred and thirty sail of Merchant-ships, with merchandize, provisions, stores of war, and a thousand horses bought in *England* for the King of *Portugal*. They left *Plymouth*

on the 9th of *October*, being ordered to sail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a squadron from *Dunkirk* had joined another from *Brest*, and lay in the way, waiting for them under the command of Monsieur *Forbin*, and Monsieur *du Gué Trouin*, and making in all fourteen sail; one of seventy-two guns, others of sixty, some of fifty, and none under forty. Some advertisements were brought to the Admiralty of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the *French* set upon the *English* ships off the *Lizard*, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were almost three to one. One of the *English* men of war was blown up, and three of them were taken, so that only one escaped much shattered; but they had fought so long, that most of the Merchant ships had time to get away, and sailed on, not being pursued, and got safe to *Lisbon*. This coming almost at the same time with the loss of Admiral *Shovel*, the Session of Parliament begun with a melancholy face, and a dispute, upon the opening, had almost put the Houses into great disorder.

It was generally thought, that, though this was a Parliament that had now sat two years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reason it had been let fall, and was revived by a proclamation, as has been said. The consequence of this was,

1707.

Oct. 10.

Dispute
about the
Parliament.

it, having never betrayed nor abused that confidence, by giving you a false representation of any body. My temper is naturally plain and sincere, and Mrs. Morley did like it for many years. It is not the least altered. But I cannot help thinking those things reasonable, that appear to be so. And I appeal to God Almighty, that I never designed or pursued any thing, but as I was thoroughly convinced it was for Mrs. Morley's true interest and honour: And, I think, I may safely put it to that trial, if any thing has yet proved unsuccessful, that was of any public consequence, that Mrs. Freeman has been earnest to persuade Mrs. Morley to. And it is not possible for me to dissemble, so as to appear what I am not.

So much by way of apology for what happened upon *Wednesday* last. And, if Mrs. Morley has any remains of the tenderness she once professed for her faithful Freeman, I would beg she might be treated one of these two ways, either with the openness and confidence of a friend, as she was for twenty years (for to pretend kindness without trust and openness of heart is a treatment for children, not friends) or else in that manner, that is necessary for the post she is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. Morley upon the account of others. And if she pleases to chuse which of these two ways, or any other she likes to have Mrs. Freeman live in, she promises to follow any rule, that is laid down, that is possible, and is resolved to her life's end, and, upon all occasions, to shew, that Mrs. Morley never had a more faithful servant.

My Lord *Marlborough*, or my Lord *Godolphin* (I have forgot which) carried my letter. The Queen took no notice of it to either of those Lords. But some days after she wrote me an answer, in which she very much softened what had passed. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that disposition, and once more put on as easy an appearance as I could.

(1) The Duchess of *Marlborough*, in the account of her Conduct, p. 174, observes, that, notwithstanding the promotion of Lord *Sunderland* to the post of Secretary of State was carried by the Whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the Queen's choice of two High-Church Divines to fill two vacant Bishopricks. Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betrayed by the Ministry; whereas the truth was, that the Queen's inclination to the Tories, being now

soothed by the flatteries and insinuations of her private Counsellors, had begun to make it irksome to her to consult with her Ministers upon any promotions, either in the Church or the State. The first artifice of those Counsellors was to insinuate into the Queen notions of the high Prerogative of acting without her Ministers, and (as they expressed it) of being Queen indeed. And the nomination of persons to Bishopricks against the Judgment and Remonstrances of her Ministers, being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than with any thing else they could propose, they began with that; and they took care, that these Remonstrances should be interpreted by the world, and received by herself, as hard usage, a denial of common civility, and even the making her no Queen.

Her Majesty, however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the Whigs for the late promotions, ordered her Ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the Cabinet-Council. And she was offered by her secret Counsellors so far to observe this promise, as to give, about the same time, the Bishopricks of *Norwich* to Dr. *Timmels*, a particular friend of Lord *Sunderland's*. And the also, some time after, gave the Professorship of Divinity at *Oxford* to Dr. *Potter*, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had Dr. *Smaridge* for his Competitor, recommended by the Tories. But this latter favour to the Whigs was not so easily obtained as the former. And, upon the delays, that were made in bestowing it, my Lord *Marlborough* thought it proper to try what credit he had with the Queen, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her Predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion he had promised, of the person recommended by her Ministry, as a faithful friend to her Government, adding, that the only way was to make her reign easy, was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those, who appeared against her service and the Nation's interest, &c. He wrote at the same time to the same effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen; and at length by much sollicitation this matter was obtained, and Dr. *Potter* fixed in the Professorship.

1707. was, that they, who had got places, were to be re-elected. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, since it was not summoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clause in an act of Parliament. Mr. Secretary *Harley* was for maintaining it to be an old Parliament; but the Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new one.

The first Session of the first Parliament of Great-Britain. Oct. 23.

Accordingly, when, on the 23d of *October*, the first Parliament of *Great-Britain* met at *Westminster*, all the forms usual in the beginning of a new Parliament were observed. The Queen came to the House of Peers, and, the Commons being sent for, they were directed by the Lord-Chancellor to return to their House, and chuse a Speaker, and present him that day se'nnight. They unanimously made choice of Mr. *Smith* their former Speaker, and then adjourned to the 30th of the same month. The Lords also adjourned to the same day, after thirteen Peers, of that part of *Great-Britain* called *Scotland*, had been admitted to their places, by virtue of their respective writs, each being introduced by two *English* Peers of the same rank.

On the 30th, the Queen came again to the House of Peers, and the Commons, being sent for, presented their Speaker, whose election was approved. Then the Lord-Chancellor acquainted both Houses with her Majesty's pleasure, that they should adjourn to the 6th of *November*; on which day the Queen made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's Speech to the first British Parliament. Nov. 6. P. H. C. IV. 70.

" I T is with all humble thankfulness to Almighty God, and entire satisfaction to myself, that I meet you here in this first Parliament of *Great-Britain*, not doubting, but you come with hearts prepared, as mine is, to make this Union so prosperous, as may answer the well grounded hopes of all my good subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of our enemies.

" To this end nothing is so immediately material, as to convince, as soon as possible, both our friends and our enemies, that the uniting of our interests has not only improved our abilities, but our resolutions also, to prosecute this just and necessary war, till we obtain a safe and honourable peace for Ourselves and for our Allies.

" In so great and extensive a war as this is, many things may be usefully undertaken, which are not fit to be communicated beforehand. The attempt upon *Toulon* was of this nature; and, though it had not wholly its desired effect, has nevertheless been attended with many great and obvious advantages to the common cause in this year, and has made our way more easy, I hope, to greater in the next.

" As the *French* have gained ground upon us in *Spain*, so they have been wholly driven out of *Italy*, by which it is become more easy for all the Allies to join their Assistance next year for enabling the King of *Spain* to recover his affairs in that Kingdom, and to reduce the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to his obedience.

" The Weakness and ill posture of affairs upon the *Rhine*, in the beginning of the year, has given an opportunity to the *French* to make themselves stronger in all other parts:

" But this defect seems in a very promising way of being fully remedied against next campaign, by the conduct and authority of the Elector of *Hanover*, whose reasonable acceptance of that command has strengthened and obliged the whole Confederacy.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The just application of the sums given me by former Parliaments, the plain necessity of continuing this war, the reasonable prospect of putting a good end to it, if we be not wanting to ourselves, and the honour of the first Parliament of *Great Britain*, are, I make no doubt, sufficient arguments to incite you to provide the necessary Supplies, which I am obliged to desire of you for the ensuing campaign in all parts, and particularly for the timely support of the King of *Spain*, and the making good our treaty with *Portugal*; as also for strengthening the Confederate army under the Command of the Duke of *Savoy*; all which services, I do not doubt, but you will think so necessary, that they ought not to be neglected, even though they should require an augmentation.

" The sums already expended in this war have been very great; and they are sufficient proofs how well satisfied my subjects have always been with the ends of my Government; of which I am so sensible, as never to ask any Supplies from them, but what are absolutely necessary for the preservation of Religion and Liberty. I look upon it as my great happiness, that I have not the least interest separate from that of all my good subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" In a work so great and new in its kind as that of the Union, it is impossible, but that some doubts and difficulties must have arisen, which, however, I hope, are so far overcome, as to have defeated the design of those, who would have made use of that handle to foment disturbances.

" There are several matters expressly made liable, by the articles of the Union, to the consideration of the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, which, together with such others, as may reasonably produce those advantages, that, with due care, must certainly arise from that treaty, I earnestly recommend to your serious consideration.

" On my part, nothing shall be wanting to procure to my people all the blessings, which can follow from this happy circumstance of my Reign, and to extinguish by all proper means the least occasions of jealousy, that either the civil or religious rights of any part of this my united Kingdom can suffer by the consequences of this Union.

" Such a suggestion shall never, in my time, have any foundation, how restless soever our enemies may be in their endeavours and artifices to disturb our peace and happiness. Those great and valuable blessings cannot but be always secure to us, if we heartily endeavour to confirm and improve our present Union. I hope therefore you will suffer nothing to prevail with you to disunite among yourselves,

" or

1707. "or abate your zeal in opposing the common enemy."

Address of
the Com-
mons.
Pr. H. L.
IV. 72.

Pr. H. L.
II. 179.

The Queen's speech variously affected both Houses. The Commons unanimously voted and presented an address of thanks, wherein they assured her Majesty, "That no disappointments should discourage them from making their utmost efforts to enable her, in conjunction with her Allies, to reduce the whole Spanish Monarchy to the obedience of the King of Spain, to make good the treaty with Portugal, and to strengthen the Confederate army under the command of the Duke of Savoy." But in the House of Lords, when the Queen's speech came first under consideration, instead of voting immediately an address of thanks, the Earl of Wharton made a speech, wherein, among other things, he took notice of the great decay of trade and scarcity of money, which he had observed in travelling in the country, so that the farmers were not able to pay their rents to their landlords. He was seconded by the Lord Sommers, who enlarged on the ill state and mismanagements of the navy, and on the great losses of the merchants at sea the last summer. The Earl of Stamford (at that time made one of the Commissioners of trade) endeavoured to put a stop to the prosecution of this subject, by moving and postponing the consideration of the state of the Nation till a more proper occasion, and proposing the returning thanks to the Queen for her speech. This was opposed by the Duke of Buckinghamshire, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Guernsey; who urged, that they ought, in the first place, to consider the state of the Nation; insinuating, at the same time, that addresses had before been made to little purpose; meaning, with relation to the navy. After some other speeches, it was ordered, that the state of the Nation should be taken into consideration, Nov. 19, in a Committee of the whole House, where the Queen was present incognito. The Lord Herbert of Chisbury being chosen Chairman, a petition

given in by the two Sheriffs of London, and subscribed by about two hundred of the most eminent Merchants of the City, was read, complaining of the great losses, which they had lately sustained at sea, for want of convoys and cruisers, and begging a speedy remedy. After the reading of this petition, which was presented to the Committee by the Earl of Wharton, he began the debate, by laying open the miserable condition of the Nation, and the great decay of trade. Several other Peers spoke to the same effect; and, among the rest, the Lord Haverham, in his usual manner, made a long speech (1).

The debate growing high, some Lords endeavoured to allay it, by proposing ways and means to retrieve our losses at sea; and, among the rest, the Lord Halifax moved, That a Committee be appointed to receive proposals for encouraging of Trade and Privateers in the West-Indies; which motion being seconded by the Lord-Treasurer, and the question put, the same was carried in the affirmative. After which, a day was appointed to hear, in a grand Committee, what the Merchants had to alledge, to prove the Suggestions of their petition. It was observed, that, as soon as the debate was over, the Duke of Marlborough took the Earl of Wharton aside, and there passed some warm expostulations between them.

The Commons, in a great measure, made good their assurances to the Queen, and cheerfully voted the necessary Supplies for the navy, land-forces, and some other occasions. But, at the same time, upon a petition of several Merchants of London, complaining of the want of cruisers in the Channel and Soundings, the Commons, in a grand Committee, took into consideration the state of the navy and trade of the nation; and, a great many Merchants being admitted into the House, to make good the allegations in their petition, Mr. Heatbote, son of Sir Gilbert Heatbote, and Mr. Dawson, his Partner, two Russia Merchants, made long speeches against the Admiralty, whom they charged with frauds, malice,

1707.

Supply
voted.Com-
plaints of
the Admi-
rality.

(1). The most material passages of this speech were these: "My Lord Herbert, — The two things you have now under your consideration, your Fleet and your Trade, have so near a relation, and such mutual influence upon each other, they cannot well be separated. Your trade is the mother and nurse of your seamen; your seamen are the life of your fleet, and your fleet is the security and protection of your trade; and both together are the wealth, strength, security, and glory of Britain.

And this is so manifest, that those, who have writ upon these subjects, whether foreigners, or among ourselves, have all owned it: Which makes it astonishing, that a thing so clear and evident, and wherein our interest and safety do so much consist, should be postponed to any foreign consideration whatsoever; wherein we are less concerned. But we are so unhappy as to struggle with so many complicated difficulties, that what is proper for one thing, is prejudicial to another.

My Lord, — Your disasters at sea have been so many, a man scarce knows where to begin. Your ships have been taken by your enemies, as the Dutch take your herrings, by shoals upon your own coasts: Nay, your Royal navy itself has not escaped. And these are pregnant misfortunes, and big with innumerable mischiefs. Your Merchants are beggared; your commerce is broke; your trade is gone; your staple and manufacture ruined: The Queen has lost her customs, and

the Parliament must make good the deficiencies, while, in the mean time, our Allies have an open and flourishing trade, and our enemies make use both of our own ships and seamen too against us!

There is yet a farther grievance: When, through a thousand difficulties and dangers, the honest trader has brought home some small effects, he is fallen upon and oppressed by vexatious and unjust prosecutions. I mention this with relation to the Union, and to shew, that, though I was always against it, yet, since it is made, I am for keeping firm and exactly to it.

My Lord, The face of our affairs is visibly changed in the space of one year's time, and the temper of the Nation too. Formerly men stifled their misfortunes, and were afraid of whispering them out, for fear of being over-heard and undone. Now it is hard to stop their mouths, or keep them within any bounds. The moving objects of sorrow we meet with every where, the tears of the fatherless, and cries of the widows, have raised both a compassion for the distressed, and a resentment and indignation against the Authors of those misfortunes; and the very fumes, which of late have flew abroad, no body knows from whence, and papers, which have been cried in your streets, are all marks of the great ferment the Nation is in.

My Lord, you are now upon the inquiry, by what ways and persons we have been brought into this miserable condition. I think it very indifferent which way you

1707. malice, and ignorance, particularly in relation to the *Ruffia* fleet. Some Members endeavoured to interrupt them; but Sir *Richard Onslow*, the Chairman of the Committee, desired them to proceed, which they did with great freedom, and offered to prove what they had advanced, both by papers, and the testimony of many Merchants there present. However, this debate was adjourned to the 4th of *December*, when Admiral *Woolstone* was ordered to attend, with the journal of his voyage towards *Russia*. But, after all, the affair ended only in this resolution, "That for the better securing the trade of this Kingdom, over and above the ships of war for the line, and the convoys to remote parts, a sufficient number of ships (which was afterwards settled to four) be appointed to cruise in proper stations." And a bill was ordered to be brought in for that purpose.

The losses at sea complained of were imputed to the weakness, or to a worse disposition in some, who had great credit with the Prince of *Denmark*, and were believed to govern that whole matter (particularly Mr. *George Churchill*) for, as they were entirely possessed of the Prince's confidence, so, when the Prince's Council was divided in their opinions, the decision was left to the Prince, who understood very little of those matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the laws for errors and miscarriages. This Council was not a legal Court, warranted by any law, though they assumed that to themselves: Being Counsellors, they were bound to answer only for their fidelity. The complaints were feebly managed at the bar of the Commons; for it was soon understood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewise concerned herself much in this matter; and both looked on it as a design levelled at their authority. Both Whigs and Tories seemed to be at first equally zealous in the matter; but, by reason of the opposition of the Court, all those, who intended to recommend themselves to favour, abated of their zeal. Some

were vehement in their endeavours to baffle the complaints. They had great advantages from the Merchants managing their complaints but poorly; some were frightened, and others were practised upon, and carried even to magnify the conduct of the fleet, and to make excuses for all the misfortunes that had happened. That, which had the chief operation on the whole Tory party, was, that it was set round among them, that the design of all these complaints was to put the Earl of *Orford* again at the head of the fleet: Upon which they all changed their note, and they, in concurrence with those, who were in offices, or pretended to them, managed the matter so, that it was let fall very little to their honour; and severe remarks were made on some, who had changed their conduct upon their being preferred at Court.

The affair was prosecuted with more zeal and courage in the House of Lords. The Committee appointed to examine the complaints, called the Merchants, who had signed the petition, before them, and treated them not with the scorn, that was very indecently offered them by some of the House of Commons, but with great patience and gentleness. They obliged them to prove all their complaints by witnesses upon oath. In the prosecution of the inquiry it appeared, that many ships of war were not fitted out to be put to sea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay: That convoys had been often flatly denied the Merchants; and that, when they were promised, they were so long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charge, and, when they had perishable goods, suffered great damage in them. The cruisers were not ordered to proper stations in the Channel; and when convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to sea, they had not their sailing orders sent them, till the enemies ships were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them; which had often happened. Many advertisements, by which those misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the Admiralty, but had not only been neglected

Their complaints examined by the Lords.

you proceed. It seems reasonable, that those Lords, who first moved this order, should put it into what method they please; but I must take leave to say, that, begin where you will; if you do not end with the Ministry, we shall be in a worse condition, in my opinion, than we were before.

As to the Admiralty, if the Prince's Council have committed any fault, it is very fit they should have what they deserve; but, I hope, no persuasion will prevail with the Prince himself to lay down that Commission. The navy, I think, is safer in his hands, than in any other man's hands whatsoever, and I will give your Lordship my reason for it. He has advantages no other person can pretend to. He owes not his Commission to the favour of any great Minister whatsoever, nor is he within the reach of their power. He stands upon a much more unshaken and firm foundation; and, if there be any mistake, it is impossible to be the effect either of the fear, or the anger of a Great Minister, or a care to please him.

My Lord, I take the root of all our misfortunes to lie in the Ministry; and without a change of Ministry, in my opinion, no other remedy will be effectual. I may perhaps be told by some Lord, that I arraign the Ministry. I know that is not proper here; yet every Lord has liberty of speaking his thoughts freely, and taking notice of any thing he thinks a grievance to the Nation; And it is under this notion of complaint,

Numb. LV. Vol. IV.

and from a sense of our miserable condition, that I say this to your Lordship; and, if I were not confident I stand upon sure ground, I should not venture thus far; but I have my justification in my hand. And now, my Lord, it is fit I should prove what I say.

Should I mention the breach of the first, fourth, and last articles of the Union, I am within your order; and those Lords, who serve, at present, for the North part of *Britain*, I am confident have heard of a complaint and address of the Royal Boroughs. And I might remember the disappointment we have met with in *Spain*. But I hope those two points will be some time or other considered. I will therefore keep myself for proof strictly to your petition; and, I think, nothing is more evident, than that your Ministry has been the cause of these misfortunes; and the argument, which convinces me of it, is drawn from an address of your Lordships in 1704, which I have in my hand. I know before whom I speak: The Queen is a Princess of that consummate wisdom, as not to do any thing without the advice of her Ministry. Your Lordships did then most humbly advise and address her Majesty, that particular care might be taken of these points. None but those, that have her Majesty's ear, could prevail to the contrary; and the want of following your Lordships advice has lost the Nation near ten millions since; and therefore it evidently follows, that your Ministry have been the occasion of those losses.

L

(1) 18

1707.

Jan. 8.

lected by them, but those, who offered them, had been ill treated for doing it. The Committee made a report of all this to the House of Lords; upon which the Lord-Treasurer moved, that a copy of the report might be sent to the Lord-Admiral, which was done, and, in a few days, an answer sent to the House, excusing or justifying the conduct of the Admiralty in all the branches of it. The chief foundation of the answer was, that the great fleets, which were kept in the *Mediterranean*, obliged them to send so many of the ships and seamen thither, that there was not a sufficient number left to guard all the trade, while the enemy turned all their forces at sea into squadrons for destroying it; and that all the ships, that could be spared from the public service abroad, were employed to secure the trade. That the promise of convoys had often been delayed by reason of cross winds, and other accidents, that had hindered the return of the men of war longer than had been expected, they being then abroad, convoying other Merchant-ships: And it was said, that there was not a sufficient number of ships for cruisers and convoys both. The paper ended with some severe reflections on the last Reign, in which great sums had been given for the building of ships, and yet the fleet was at that time much diminished, and four thousand Merchant-ships had been taken during that war. This was believed to have been suggested by Mr. Secretary Harley, on design to mortify King William's Ministry. Upon reading of this answer, a newer and fuller examination of the particulars was again resumed by the same Committee; and all the allegations in it were exactly considered. It appeared, that the half of those seamen, whom the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the *Mediterranean*; that many ships lay idle in the Port, and were not made use of; and that in the last war, in which it appeared there were more seamen, though not more ships, employed in the *Mediterranean* than were now kept there, yet the trade was so carefully looked after by cruisers and convoys, that few complaints were then made. And as to the reflections made on the last Reign, it was found, that not one half the sum, that was named, was given for the building of ships; and, that instead of the fleet's being diminished during that war, as had been affirmed, it was increased by above forty ships; nor could any proof be given, that four thousand ships were taken during that

war. That all the seamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed fifteen thousand; and in the present war eighteen thousand were already exchanged, and there were two thousand still remaining in the enemy's hands; so much had the Prince been imposed upon in that paper, that was sent to the Lords in his name.

When the examination was ended, and reported to the House, it was resolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen in an address; and then the Tories discovered the design, that they drove at; for they moved in the Committee, that prepared the address, that the blame of all the miscarriages might be laid upon the Ministry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often said in the House of Lords, that it was not intended to make any complaint of the Prince himself; and it not being admitted, that his Council was of a legal Constitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their authority; the blame therefore could be regularly laid no where, but on the Ministry. This was much pressed by the Duke of Buckinghamshire, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Haversham. But to this it was answered by the Earl of Orford, the Lord Sommers, and the Lord Hallifax, that the House ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon oath; and therefore, since in the whole examination the Ministry and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of fell on the Navy-board, which was a body acting by a legal authority. The Lords ought to lay before the Queen such miscarriages, as were proved to them, and leave it to her to find out, on whom the blame ought to be cast. So far was the Ministry from appearing to be in fault, that they found several advertisements were sent by the Secretaries of State to the Admiralty, which, as appeared afterwards, were but too well-grounded; and yet these were neglected by them; and that, which raised the clamour higher, was, that, during the winter, there were no cruisers lying in the Channel; so that many ships, which had run through all dangers at sea, were taken in sight of land; for the Privateers came up boldly to our Ports. All this was digested into a full and clear address laid by the House before the Queen (1); who, in her answer, assured their Lordships, "That she would take care to make

1707.

(1) It was dated on the 25th of February, 1707-8, and began thus:

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do humbly acquaint your Majesty, that early in this Session of Parliament a petition of several Merchants, on behalf of themselves and others, traders of the City of London, was presented to the House, whereby they complained of great losses by the ill-timing of convoys, and for want of cruisers; so that they durst no longer engage the remainder of their estates to carry on their several trades, unless immediate care was taken to remedy these two main causes of their misfortunes.

"This petition containing complaints of great consequence to your Majesty's Subjects; and we being sensible, that nothing but a strict and impartial enquiry into matters of fact could put them in a due

light, and enable us to distinguish between ill-grounded clamours and a just cause of complaint, in order to take the usual method of being rightly and fully informed, did refer the petition to a Committee, and did also refer to the same Committee several papers, which the House had found necessary to call for from the proper Officers, for their better information in divers things relating to the navy.

"The Committee having prepared a report, and presented it to the House, upon a mature consideration it was approved and agreed to; and we think it our duty humbly to lay the same before your Majesty.

"The Lords Committees have heard many of the Petitioners upon their oaths, and have caused them to put their depositions into writing and sign the same.

"The Lords Committees observing, that the complaints of the Petitioners naturally fell under several

"ra

1707. "the most useful observations on the several particulars contained and referred to in their address: That it was always her opinion, that the encouragement of trade and seamen, and the good management of the navy, were of the greatest importance to the prosperity of this Kingdom: And that therefore she would use her utmost endeavours to encourage all those, whose duty it was effectually to perform those services." But nothing followed upon this answer; and the Queen seemed to be highly offended at the whole proceeding.

Scotch Merchants relieved. Pr. H. C. IV. 74.

On the 22d of November, upon a petition of several Merchants of Scotland, complaining, "That goods and merchandizes (particularly French wines) brought by them into England, since the first of May last, had been seized; and that the Petitioners were under a prosecution in the Exchequer for the value thereof, and praying relief touching the same;" the Commons resolved to address the Queen, that she would order the Attorney-General to enter a *Noli prosequi*, to discharge the several informations relating to the goods imported, custom-free, from Scotland, before the first day of May last. The Queen readily complied with this address, both the Court and Parliament being willing, by this indulgence, to abate the discontents of the Scots against the Union.

The acts of security, and about peace and war, ordered to be repealed.

But, on the other hand, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to repeal the acts passed in Scotland, for the security of that Kingdom, and about peace and war, which had given so great a jealousy to the English Nation, that the rescinding of them was one of the principal views of the Ministry, in the prosecution of the

treaty of Union. This done, the Commons considered those parts of the Queen's speech relating to the making the Union more complete, and resolved, on the 11th of December, "1. That there be but one Privy-Council in the Kingdom of Great-Britain. 2. That the militia of that part of Great-Britain called Scotland be regulated, in the same manner as the militia of that part of Great Britain called England is regulated. 3. That the Powers of Justices of Peace for preserving the public peace be the same throughout the whole united Kingdom. 4. That, for the better administration of justice, and preservation of the public peace, the Lords of Justiciary be appointed to go circuits twice in the year. 5. That the writs for electing Members to serve in the House of Commons, for that part of Great-Britain called Scotland, be directed to the Sheriffs of the respective Counties, and that the returns be made of such writs, in like manner as returns are made of such writs in that part of Great Britain called England." And they ordered a bill to be brought in upon these resolutions. Two days after they took into consideration the report from the Committee, to whom the petition of several Merchants trading to Portugal, Italy, and Spain, was referred; which resolutions were agreed to by the House, viz. "First, That the Merchants had fully made out the several allegations of their petitions: Secondly, That the preserving the Portugal trade was of the utmost concern to this Nation, being, at present, the greatest mart for vent of our woollen manufactures, corn, fish, and other British commodities."

1707. Resolutions to make the Union more complete.

and about the trade of Portugal, Italy, and Spain.

"ral heads, for the greater ease of the house, have endeavoured in their report to reduce the evidence, to the following method, always referring, as they proceed, to the depositions themselves.

"One thing complained of was, the insufficiency of convoys appointed for the Merchants, whereby their ships had from time to time become a prey to the superior force of the enemy.

"A second point was, The Merchants suffered great discouragement by their being forced to wait long for convoys, even after the time promised and prefixed for their sailing; whereby the charge of seamen's wages and victuals, demurrage of shipping, damage of goods, and loss of markets made trading insupportable.

"A third ground of complaint was, The untimely and unseasonable sailing of convoys, whereby trade to the West-Indies especially, was in a manner ruined.

"A fourth was, The great want of cruisers in the Channel and Soundings.

"A fifth complaint was, Concerning the arbitrary proceedings of the Captains of the Queen's ships of war, in impressing seamen out of the Merchant-ships in the West-Indies; as also upon their return into the ports of Great-Britain, to the endangering of many, and loss of several ships."

The address concludes in these terms:

"We, having thus performed what we took ourselves to be indispensibly obliged to, cannot doubt but it will be graciously accepted by your Majesty, as coming from most dutiful Subjects, who sincerely wish they may never have occasion hereafter of making addresses to your Majesty, but to congratulate your successes, or to return our humble acknowledgments for the blessings of your Reign.

"We beseech your Majesty to believe, that none of your subjects do exceed us in true respect to his Royal Highness the Lord-High-Admiral. His great personal virtues require it; and his near relation to your Majesty makes it our duty. And as we do not mean any thing in this address should in the least reflect upon him; so we are very well assured, his Royal Highness will never suffer other persons to protect themselves under his name from a just pursuit of such faults and neglects, as immediately tend to the ruin of trade and the destruction of Britain.

"There cannot be a plainer proof, that some persons, employed by the Lord-High-Admiral, have made the worst use imaginable of the trust he honours them with, than in their presuming to lay such an answer before the House of Lords in his name. For, not to take notice of the many things (which in the second report have been already laid before your Majesty) throughout the whole paper, there is not the least hopes given, that for the future any better care shall be taken of the trade. On the contrary, the whole turn of the answer seems to be intended for exposing the complaints of the Merchants, rather than pitying their losses. We are sure nothing can be more remote from the goodness and compassion of the Lord-High-Admiral's temper, and the tender regard he has always shewn for your Majesty's Subjects.

May it please your Majesty,

"It is a most undoubted maxim, that the honour, security, and wealth of this Kingdom does depend upon the protection and encouragement of trade, and the improving and right managing the naval strength. Other Nations, who were formerly great and powerful at sea, have by negligence and mismanagement lost their trade, and seen their maritime time

1707.

“ commodities. Thirdly, That there was a considerable collusive trade in *French* prize-wines carried on before, and more increased since the falling of the fifteen pounds *per tun*. Fourthly, That except effectual provision were made to prevent the like practices, with relation to the collusive trade of bringing in *French* wines, as if they were prize-wines, it would not only be a great discouragement to the *Portugal* trade, and traders, but indanger the intire loss thereof.” And a bill was ordered to be brought in upon the last resolutions. Then, the state, accounts, and lists relating to the forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, having been laid before the House, the consideration of the state of the war in those parts was deferred till the 7th of *January*; and several other papers relating to those affairs were ordered to be laid before the House (1).

On the 18th of *December*, the Queen came to the House of Lords, and having passed some money-bills, and the act for repealing the *Scotch* acts of security, and about peace and war, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Am very well pleased with the occasion of my coming hither at this time, and desirous to take this opportunity of expressing to you the satisfaction I have in seeing so good a progress made in the public business.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I am extremely sensible of the readiness and affection, with which you have provided

“ so considerable a part of the Supplies. As I am fully persuaded it must needs give the greatest satisfaction to all our Allies; so I look upon it as a sure pledge of your being disposed to make good those hearty assurances, which you gave me in the beginning of the Session.

“ I told you, at the opening of this Parliament, that I did hope you would look upon the services relating to *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the army under the command of the Duke of *Savoy*, to be of so much importance in the prosecution of this war, that they might deserve an augmentation; which I cannot but think will be of the greatest use to the common cause (2), both with regard to those particular services, and to the putting ourselves in a condition to improve such favourable opportunities, as may arise in the ensuing year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I shall only add, that as nothing is more essential to my own quiet, and the happiness of all my good subjects, than the bringing this war to a safe and honourable conclusion; so I must think myself obliged to look upon all those, who are willing and desirous to support me in it for attaining that end, as the most proper objects of my favour and encouragement.

“ I cannot conclude, without once more recommending to you to confirm and improve the advantages of our happy Union, not doubting, but, at the same time, you will have
“ a due

“ time strength intirely ruined. Therefore we do in the most earnest manner beseech your Majesty, that the sea-affairs may be your first and most peculiar care. We humbly hope, that it shall be your Majesty's chief and constant instruction to all, who shall have the honour to be employ'd in your Councils, and in the administration of affairs, that they be continually intent and watchful in what concerns the trade and fleet; and that every one of them may be made to know it is his particular charge to take care, that the seamen be encouraged, the trade protected, discipline restored, and a new spirit and vigour put into the whole administration of the navy.”

(1) While these things were depending, the Commons, on the 25th of *November*, took into consideration the report of the Committee appointed to examine the petition of Mr. *John Asgill*, a Member of the House, in prison in the fleet for debt, at the suit of Mr. *Holland* a *Staffordshire* Gentleman; which report was ordered to be re-committed. On the other hand, the House being informed of a printed book or pamphlet, signed *J. Asgill*, intitled, *An argument, proving, that, according to the Covenant of Eternal Life, revealed in the Scriptures, man may be translated from hence into that Eternal Life, without passing through death, although the Human Nature of Christ himself could not be thus translated, till he had passed through death*. Several passages of which treatise being contrary to, and reflecting on the Christian Religion, the book was brought up to the table, and the title, and several paragraphs therein, being read, it was ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to inquire into the Author of the said book. On the 16th of *December*, the Commons resolved, That Mr. *Asgill* ought to have the privilege of the House, as a Member thereof, and be delivered out of the custody of the Warden of the Fleet, to attend the service of the House. Pursuant

to which resolution he was immediately discharged; but two days after the House proceeded to take into consideration the report from the Committee, to whom it was referred, to examine, who was the Author, Printer, and Publisher of the book abovementioned, ascribed to Mr. *Asgill*; who having been heard in his place in relation to the report, the Commons resolved, That in the said book are contained many profane and blasphemous expressions, highly reflecting upon the Christian Religion; and ordered the same to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman in the *New Palace yard, Westminster*; and resolved, that *John Asgill Esq;* having in his place owned himself to be the Author of the said book, be expelled the House.

Mr. *Addison* wrote an excellent piece to this purpose, which was printed at *London* in 4to in 1708, under the title of *the present state of the war, and the necessity of an augmentation considered*. In this discourse, after having shewn, that the *French* are the constant and most dangerous enemies to the *British* Nation, and that the danger from them was then greater than ever, and would still increase till the Union with *Spain* were broken, he sets forth the several advantages, which this Union had already given *France*, and taken from *Great-Britain*, in relation to the *West-Indies*, the woollen manufactures, the trade of the *Levant*, and the naval power of the two Nations. He then shews how these advantages would still rise higher after a peace, notwithstanding the present conquests of *Great Britain*, with new additions, should be confirmed to the Nation, as well because the Monarchy of *Spain* would not be weakened by such concessions, as because no guarantee could be found sufficient to secure them to us. For which reason he lays it down as a fixed rule, that no peace was to be made without an intire disunion of the *French* and *Spanish* Monarchies. That this might be brought about, he endeavours to prove from the progress which had been already made towards

1707. "a due regard to what shall be found necessary for preserving the public peace, throughout the whole Island of Great-Britain."

Debate
about the
affairs of
Spain.
Pr. H. L.
II. 183.

This speech occasioned, the next day, a long debate in the House of Lords, in relation to the affairs of Spain, the Queen being present. The Earl of Rochester spoke first, and having commended the Earl of Peterborough's courage and conduct, and enumerated his services, said, "That it had been a constant custom, that, when a person of his rank, who had been employed abroad in so eminent a post as his Lordship, had returned home, he had either thanks given him, or was called to an account; urging, that the same ought to be done in relation to the Earl of Peterborough." The Lord Halifax, who spoke next, enlarged likewise upon the Earl's successful services, but waved the returning him thanks, till the whole tenour of his conduct had been examined; than which the Earl himself protested, he had nothing more at heart. The Lord Haversham was not silent; but, having highly extolled the Earl of Peterborough's valour, skill, and success, made an oblique reflection on the Earl of Galway, saying, "It was no wonder our affairs in Spain went so ill, since the management of them had been intrusted to a foreigner." Hereupon several Lords shewed the necessity of carrying on the war, till the whole Monarchy of Spain should be recovered, and King Charles settled

upon his Throne. And, among the rest, the Earl of Peterborough said, "They ought to give the Queen nine shillings in the pound, rather than make peace upon any other terms;" adding, "That, if it were thought necessary, he was ready to return to Spain, and serve, even under the Earl of Galway." This naturally brought on the consideration of ways and means to retrieve the affairs of Spain, in relation to which, the Earl of Rochester said, "That we seemed to neglect the principal business, and mind only accessories." Adding, "That he remembered the saying of a great General, the old Duke of Schemberg, that the attacking France, in the Netherlands, was like taking a bull by the horns." And therefore his Lordship proposed, "That we should stand on the defensive in Flanders, and send from thence fifteen or twenty thousand men into Catalonia." He was seconded by the Earl of Nottingham, who complained of Spain being, in a manner, abandoned. But the Duke of Marlborough endeavoured, with some warmth, to shew the danger of such a scheme, and the necessity of augmenting, rather than diminishing the forces in Flanders. His chief reasons were, "First, that most of the enemy's strong places there might be kept with one battalion in each; whereas the great towns of Brabant, which he had conquered, required twenty times that number of men for their preservation. Secondly, That if our army in the

1707.

The Duke
of Marl-
borough's
speech.

wards it, and the successes, which the British Nation had purchased in the war, and which were very considerable, if well pursued; but of no effect, if the Nation should acquiesce in them. In order to compleat this disunion, in which we had gone so far, he would not have us rely upon exhausting the French Treasury, attempts upon the Spanish Indies, descents on France, but chiefly on out-numbering them in troops, France being already drained of her best supplies, and the Confederates masters of much greater forces for multitude and strength, both in men and horses, and provided with Generals of great fame and abilities. He then considers the wrong measures, which had been hitherto taken in making too small levies after a successful campaign, in regulating their number by that of the enemy's forces, and hiring them of our Confederates; shewing at the same time the inconveniences suffered from such hired troops, and several advantages, which would arise from employing those of our own Nation. He further recommends this augmentation of our forces, to prevent the keeping up a standing body of them in times of peace, to enable us to make an impression on the enemy in the present posture of the war, and to secure ourselves against the King of Sweden, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and had not yet declared himself. In the last place he answers by several considerations those two popular objections, that we furnished more towards the war than the rest of the Allies; and that we were not able to contribute more than we did already. With regard to the former objection, he observes, that if it were true in fact, that England contributed more than any other of the Allies, he does not see any tolerable colour, that she should not make any addition to her present efforts. "Supposing, says he, among a multitude embarked in the same vessel, there are several, that in the fury of a tempest will rather perish than work for their preservation; would it not be madness in the rest to stand idle, and rather chuse to sink together, than to do more than comes to their share? Since we are engaged in a work so absolutely necessary for our welfare, the remissness of our

Nº. 55. Vol. IV.

Allies should be an argument for us to redouble our endeavours rather than slacken them. If we must govern ourselves by example, let us rather imitate the vigilance and activity of the common enemy, than the supineness and negligence of our friends. We have indeed a much greater share in the war than any other part of the Confederacy. The French King makes at us directly, keeps a King by him to set over us, and hath very lately augmented the salary of his court, to let us see, how much he hath that design at heart. Few of the Nations in war with him, should they ever fall into his hands, would lose their Religion or form of Government, or interfere at present with him in matters of commerce. The Dutch, who are likely to be the greatest losers after the Britons, have but little trade to the Levant in comparison with ours, have no considerable plantations or commerce in the West-Indies, or any woollen manufacture, for Spain, not to mention the strong barrier they have already purchased between France and their own Country. But, after all, every Nation in the Confederacy makes the same complaint, and fancies itself the greatest sufferer by the war. Indeed in so common a pressure, let the weight be never so equally distributed, every one will be most sensible of that part, which lies on his own shoulders. We furnish, without dispute, more than any other branch of the Alliance, but the question is, Whether others do not exert themselves in proportion according to their respective strength? The Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, as well as the States of Holland, and the Duke of Savoy, seem at least to come up to us. The greatest powers in Germany are borrowing money, where they can get it, in order to maintain their stated quota's, and go thorough their part of the expence: And, if any of the Circles have been negligent, they have paid for it much more in their late contributions, than what would have furnished out their share in the common charges of the war."

1707.

"Netherlands were weakened, and the French, by their great superiority, should gain any considerable advantage, the discontented party in Holland, who were not a few, and bore with impatience the great charges of the war, would not fail crying aloud for peace." Here the Earl of Rochester said, "He wondered that a noble Peer, who had ever been conspicuous for his calmness and moderation, should now be out of his natural temper." Adding, "That, there being an absolute necessity to succour Spain, his Grace would oblige their Lordships, if he would let them know where they might get troops to send thither; and the obligation would be the greater, because the Earl of Peterborough had, that very day, assured them, that he had heard Prince Eugene say, That the German soldiers had rather be decimated, than sent into Spain." The Duke of Marlborough answered the reproach of having shewed some warmth, by saying, "The thing was of too great importance to be spoken of without concernment." And as for the question proposed by the Earl of Rochester, he said, "That although it was improper to disclose secret projects in so great an assembly" (to which, that day, many strangers had been admitted, by reason of the Queen's presence) "because the enemy would not fail being informed of them; yet, to gratify their Lordships, he might assure them, that measures had already been concerted with the Emperor, for forming an army of forty thousand men, under the command of the Duke of Savoy, and for sending powerful succours to King Charles." Adding, "That it was to be hoped, that Prince Eugene might be prevailed with to go and command in Spain; in which case the Germans would gladly follow him thither. The only difficulty, which his Grace said might be objected to this scheme, was the usual slowness of the Court of Vienna; to which purpose he took notice, that, if the seven thousand German recruits, which the Emperor had promised for the army in Piedmont, had arrived in time, the enterprize against Toulon would probably have been attended with success: But that it was to be hoped, and he durst engage his word for it, that, for the future, his Imperial Majesty would punctually perform his promises." This put an end to the debate; and a Committee was appointed to draw up an address to the Queen, which was presented the same day; wherein their Lordships returned her Majesty "their most humble thanks for her most gracious speech to her Parliament; adding, that the great spirit and resolution she was pleased to express for the vigorous carrying on the war in Spain and Portugal, and strengthening the army of the Duke of Savoy, who had deserved so well of the whole Confederacy, could not fail to contribute, in the most effectual manner, to bring this war to a speedy and happy conclusion. That such an example ought to excite all her Allies to a noble imitation; and their Lordships were sure, her Majesty would do her utmost, to oblige such of them, as hitherto had failed in their parts, for the future, to act as those, who had a real concern for restoring and securing peace and liberty to Europe. That her Majesty's favour

The Lords
address to
the Queen.

would always be the highest encouragement to her subjects; but the zeal their Lordships had for the preservation of her Majesty's Person and Government, and the duty they owed to their Country, always had, and ever would oblige them to do all that lay in their power, for supporting her Majesty in this just war, till it were brought to a safe and happy conclusion. And as they had shewn the greatest zeal for bringing the Union to pass, and for preventing every thing, that might disturb it; so they unanimously promised her Majesty, to do all that was possible for them, to make it complete and entire."

The same day the Lords resolved, "First, Resolutions
That no peace could be safe or honourable for her Majesty and her Allies, if Spain and the Spanish West-Indies were suffered to continue in the power of the House of Bourbon. Secondly, That an humble address be presented to the Queen, to thank her Majesty for the care she had taken, and the instances she had used with the Emperor, for the sending a considerable force for the relief of the King of Spain, under the command of Prince Eugene; and to desire her Majesty, that she would continue to make the most pressing instances to the Emperor, to send powerful succours to Spain under the command of Prince Eugene, with expedition; and to make good the concert of putting twenty thousand men under the command of the Duke of Savoy; and that the Emperor would also use his utmost power and interest for strengthening the army on the Rhine, which was now happily put under the command of that wise and valiant Prince, the Elector of Hanover." An address, containing these resolutions, was accordingly drawn up; concluding, "They believed no part of this could be refused upon her Majesty's earnest interposition, who had done such great things for the House of Austria: And that, this being complied with, they might reasonably hope, by God's Assistance, the next would prove a happy and glorious campaign." The Commons having, at the Lords desire, concurred in this address, both Houses, in a body, presented the same to her Majesty, who told them, "That she was fully of their opinion, that no peace could be honourable or safe for them, or for their Allies, till the entire Monarchy of Spain be restored to the House of Austria; and very well pleased to find, that the measures, she had concerted for the succour of the King of Spain, were so fully approved by both Houses of Parliament: And that she should continue her most pressing instances with the Emperor, for the hastening of further succours, and that they might be commanded by Prince Eugene: As also, upon all the other particulars mentioned in their address."

Pursuant to these assurances, the Queen presented the Emperor to send Prince Eugene to Spain. The Imperial Court delayed to comply in this particular, but (as will hereafter be seen) sent Count Staremberg thither, who had indeed acquired a very high reputation.

The 19th of December, the Commons came to several resolutions about the Supply, so that,

1707.

Both
Houses address the
Queen not to make
peace
without
the restitution of
all Spain.
Dec. 23.

by

1707. by the 22d, they had given very near six millions (1).

Upon an address of the Commons, for the Queen to use her endeavours with his Imperial Majesty, to restore to her subjects the liberty of trade they formerly enjoyed in *Austria* and *Stiria*; and to prevent, for the future, any prohibitions from being made in any other parts of his hereditary countries, she was pleased to answer, That she had given directions, some time before, to her Minister abroad upon that matter, and would continue her endeavours for the relief of her subjects, as was desired by the Commons address.

Account of the French
Prophecy. Towards the end of the year 1706, three *French Cevennois*, commonly called Camlars, came over into *England*, and by their enthusiastic effusions, and pretences to prophecy, and extatic convulsions, raised the curiosity of their countrymen in *London*, and gained several followers. This gave great offence to the generality of the *French Refugees*, and the Ministers and Elders of the *French Royal Chapel* in the *Savoy* (the head of the *French Congregations* in *Westminster*) thought it their duty to inquire into the mission of these new prophets; and, being authorized by the Bishop of *London*, their Ecclesiastical superior, summoned the three Camlars, *Elias Marion*, *John Cavalier*, and *Durand Fage*, to come before them. Two of them obstinately refused to appear; but the third boldly justified their pretences to inspiration. Whereupon the *French Church* in the *Savoy* made an act on the 2d of *January*, wherein they were declared *Impostors* and *Counterfeits*; and this act was confirmed by the Lord Bishop of *London*. Notwithstanding this anathema, the pretended prophets, acted by Mr. *Maximilian Misson*, a *French Refugee*, Mr. *Nicholas Facio*, the Mathematical Professor at *Geneva*, and others, and continuing their assemblies in *Soho*, uttered their predictions with great noise; and being supported by Sir *Richard Bulkley* and Mr. *John Lacy*, two *English* Gentlemen of good estates, branded the Ministers of the Established Church with odious names and characters, and denounced the heaviest judgments against the City of *London*, and the whole *British* Nation. They published likewise their predictions under the title of *prophetical warnings of Elias Marion*, &c.

which was a collection of incoherent and unintelligible jargon, and shewed the authors of them to be men thoroughly infatuated. But it being suspected by some, that there was a mixture of design and artifice in the affair, *Marion*, *John Daudé*, and *Facio*, were indicted and prosecuted at the expence of all the *French Churches* in *London*, as disturbers of the public peace, and false prophets; and received their sentences at the Court of *Queen's-Bench*, to stand twice on a scaffold with a paper denoting their offence; to pay a fine of twenty marks each, and to give security for their good behaviour for one year. According to this sentence they were expoled on a scaffold at *Charing-Crois* and the *Royal-Exchange*.

Dec. 1, 2.

At this time two discoveries were made, very unlucky for Mr. *Harley*. Marshal *Tallard* wrote often to Monsieur *Chamillard*, but he sent his letters open to the Secretary's Office, to be perused and sealed up, and so to be conveyed by the way of *Holland*. These were opened upon some suspicion in *Holland*; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's Office, put letters in them, in which, as he offered his service to the Courts of *France* and *St. Germans*, so he gave an account of all transactions here. In one of these he sent a copy of the letter, which the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor; and he marked what parts of the letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what additions were made to it by the Lord-Treasurer. This was the letter, by which the Queen pressed the sending Prince *Eugene* into *Spain*; and this, if not intercepted, would have been at *Versailles* many days before it could reach *Vienna*. He, who sent this, wrote, that by this they might see what service he could do them, if well encouraged. All this was sent over to the Duke of *Marlborough*; and upon search it was found to be writ by Mr. *William Gregg*, whom Mr. *Harley* had not only entertained as a Clerk in his office, but likewise taken into a particular confidence, without inquiry into the former parts of his life; for he was a vicious and necessitous person. He had been Secretary to Mr. *Gregg*, when Resident from King *William* to the Court of *Denmark*, and afterwards to Mr. *Vernon*, Envoy to the same Court, by whom he was dismissed, for his ill conduct (2). Mr. *Harley* had made

Discovery of a correspondence with France. Hist. of Europe. Burnet.

(1) The particular sums were,

	£	s.	d.
For forty thousand seamen, —	2,080,000	00	0
The ordinary of the Navy —	120,000	00	0
The forty thousand land-men in Flanders, —	894,272	03	6
The additional ten thousand men, —	177,511	03	6
The proportion of the <i>Palatines</i> , —	34,251	13	4
The proportion of the <i>Saxons</i> —	43,251	12	6
The proportion of <i>Bathmar's</i> dragoons, —	9,269	16	6
The forces in <i>Spain</i> and <i>Portugal</i> , —	586,671	12	0
The subsidies to the Allies, —	494,689	08	6
The Duke of <i>Savoy's</i> augmentations, —	500,000	00	0
The Guards and Garriſons, Invalids, and five thousand men on board the fleet, —	511,734	08	6
The Duke of <i>Savoy's</i> special service in 1707, —	100,000	00	0
Completing the payment of the <i>Hessians</i> , —	22,957	02	0
The fortifications at <i>Gibraltar</i> , —	12,284	19	6

	£	s.	d.
The payment of one year one quarter's interest upon disbursements, —	60,334	19	6
A store-house, and wharf at <i>Portsmouth</i> , —	10,000	00	0
Circulating <i>Exchequer</i> bills, —	3,500	00	0
Transporting land-forces, —	144,000	00	0
The land-ordnance, —	120,000	00	0
The payment of Captain <i>Roche</i> —	2,126	18	6
Total	5,933,657	17	4

(2) The Committee of the Lords, appointed to examine him, observe, that the effect of the papers referred to them was as follows:

I. A copy of *Gregg's* letter, which was intercepted, dated the 28th of *November* 1707, O. S. sent to Monsieur *Chamillard*, inclosed in a packet from Marshal *Tallard*, directed to Mr. *Robineau* his steward at *Paris*.
In

1707-8. made use of him to get intelligence in Scotland in 1705, and came to trust him with the perusal and sealing up of the letters, which the French prisoners, here in England, sent over to France, and by that means he got into the method of sending intelligence. He, when seized on, either upon remorse, or the hopes of pardon, confessed all, and signed his confession; upon which he was tried at the Sessions in the Old Bailey, where an indictment of high-treason was read against him, importing, "That he had sent letters to Monsieur Chamillard, one of the French King's prime Ministers, particularly one, dated the 28th of November last; and others, wherein were inclosed the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament, in relation to the augmentation of our forces; a copy of a letter from the Queen to the Emperor; private business sent the Duke of Savoy, &c." To which indictment, Gregg having pleaded guilty, the Lord Chief Justice Holt, and most of the Judges being present, the Recorder pronounced sentence of death against him, as in cases of high treason.

Gregg is taken up and tried Jun. 19.

At the same time John Bara and Alexander Valiere (alias John Clarke) were also committed to Newgate for corresponding with the enemy; and Mr. Claude Baud, a native of Piedmont, and Secretary to Count Briançon, Envoy Extraordinary from the Duke of Savoy, was appre-

Valiere and others apprehended.

hended, at the request of that Minister, by warrant from the Earl of Sunderland, for traitorous practices against her Majesty and Government; but the same night, as the two Messengers, who had him in custody, were carrying him to Newgate, he made his escape from them. But being followed by the Queen's proclamation, wherein a reward of two hundred pounds was promised for discovering and securing him, he was, within two hours after, betrayed by a French Taylor, in whose house he had taken sanctuary, and put under the custody of a Messenger. Valiere and Bara, who had been both employed by Mr. Harley as his spies, to go often over to Calais, under pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed against as spies employed by France to get intelligence from England. They carried over many letters to Calais and Boulogne; and, as was believed, gave such information of our trade and convoys, that, by their means, the nation sustained such great losses at sea. They were often complained of upon suspicion, but were always protected by Mr. Harley; yet the presumptions against them were so violent, that they were at last seized on, and brought up prisoners.

A Committee of seven Lords were appointed to examine Mr. Gregg, but could not find out much by him (1.) He had but newly begun his designs of betraying secrets, and he had no associates

1707-8.

An examination into the correspondence.

In this Gregg sends to Monsieur Chamillard a copy of the Queen's letter, written with her own hand to the Emperor.

In the same letter Gregg takes notice of two letters sent by him to Monsieur Chamillard, the one dated the 24th, and the other the 28th of October last, which he understood Robineau had put into his hands.

That perceiving by Robineau's letter to his Master, that Monsieur Chamillard desired the Marshal's sentiments of Gregg, Gregg had himself written to him.

In expectation of his answer Gregg flattered himself, that the paper, then sent, was of that importance, that there could be no longer doubt of the devotedness of a Scottishman for France; not to speak of his zeal for the service of his Prince, who had found refuge there.

That the lines, under which he had drawn a stroke, were the thoughts of the Lord-Treasurer, which he had added with his own hand to the first draught of the letter.

The same letter contained some other news.

II. There was a copy of a letter, dated the 25th of November, O. S. in the same packet, subscribed William Gregg, in which notice is taken of what Robineau writes to Monsieur Tallard concerning him; and that he himself had written to the Marshal, and desired Robineau to deliver the inclosed according to the address, as being of great consequence.

III. The copy of a letter from Marshal Tallard to Robineau, dated the 10th of September, N. S. in which Monsieur Tallard says, that as to the letters, of which Robineau made mention in his of the 25th and 28th of November, that he had delivered them according to the address. Monsieur Tallard knew nothing of their contents, but by the same post, which brought his letters.

That he was obliged for the offers, but could make no use of them while he was a prisoner. When the peace was made, he would give proof of his acknowledgment to him, who made the offers, and would endeavour to engage the person, to whom the letters were addressed, to do the same. In the interim Robineau was to tell the person, to whom he delivered the letters, for whom the Marshal had the utmost consideration, that he was much obliged to him for desiring

to know his thoughts, before he would determine what to do: That the offers made did not suit with the present times, at least as to him, &c.

IV. An original letter, of the 2d of December, 1707, to Mr. Robineau from Gregg, to solicitate him for being delivered from an importunate man, as would appear by Marshal Tallard's letters, unless his last to Monsieur Chamillard had not made him determine otherwise.

V. A Copy of another letter of Gregg to Monsieur Chamillard, dated the 23d of December, O. S. which was also taken in Marshal Tallard's packet, in which he pretends to give Monsieur Chamillard an account of what passed in Parliament, with the Queen's answer to the address of the two Houses, and his excuse for not sending the address itself.

VI. A letter of Robineau to Monsieur Tallard, the 26th of December, N. S. from Paris (transcribed by Gregg in his own hand) in which he says, he was going to Versailles to deliver the answer, with which he was charged; that he received every post letters from the same person, and that he took care to deliver them according to the address.

VII. Another of the 30th of December 1707, N. S. that he had been to deliver, as Monsieur Tallard had charged him, the answer to which was desired of Mr. Tallard.

VIII. Another letter in Gregg's hand, dated the 30th of December 1707, found in Gregg's closet, written to Monsieur Chamillard, giving an account of the intention to send Mr. Palmer to Savoy, and to take several other German Courts in his way.

X. A confession of Gregg delivered to the Lords of the Committee, and signed by him.

(1.) They went to Newgate to him for that purpose, on the 12th of February 1707-8, and acquainted him, "That as the crime, of which he stood attainted, was of the most heinous nature, so there were some circumstances so extraordinary, which attended his case, that the House of Lords thought it might be of service to her Majesty and the Kingdom, to have all the beginning and progress of his treasonable correspondence fully laid open: That her Majesty, upon the application of that House, had ordered all former examinations and papers concerning him

1707-8. associates with him in it. He told them, that all the papers of state lay so carelessly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the Door-keeper, might have read them all. Mr. Harley's custom was to come to the office late on post nights; and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone. By that means Mr. Gregg came to see every thing, in particular the Queen's letter to the Emperor. He said, he knew the design on *Toulon* in *May*, but did not discover it; for he had not entered on his ill practices till *October*. This was all he could say. By the examination of *Valiere*, *Bara*, and of many others, who lived about *Dover*, and were employed by them, a discovery was made of a constant intercourse they were in with *Calais*, under Mr. Harley's protection. They often went over with boats full of wool, and brought back brandy, though both the import and export were severely prohibited. They, and those who belonged to the boats carried over by them, were well treated on the *French* side at the Governor's house, or at the Commissary's; and were kept there till their letters could be sent to *Paris*, and till returns could be brought back; and were all the while upon free-cost.

The order, that was constantly given them, was, that, if an *English* or *Dutch* ship came up to them, they should cast their letters into the sea; but that they should not do it, when

French ships came up to them; so that they were looked upon by all on that coast as the spies of *France*. They used to get what information they could, both of merchant-ships, and of the ships of war, that lay in the *Downs*; and upon that they usually went over; and it happened, that soon after some of the ships were taken. These men were Papists, and behaved themselves very insolently, and boasted much of their power and credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any information of importance to Mr. Harley but once, when, according to what they swore, they told him, that Monsieur *Fourbin* was gone from *Dunkirk*, to lie in wait for the *Russia* fleet; which proved to be true; for he both went to watch for them, and took a great part of them. Yet, though this was the single piece of intelligence, that they ever brought, Mr. Harley took so little notice of it, that he gave no advertisement to the Admiralty concerning it. This particular excepted, they only brought over common news, and the *Paris Gazettes*. These examinations lasted for some weeks; and, when they were ended, a full report was made of them to the House of Lords, who ordered the whole report, with all the examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an address, importing, Mar. 22: "That having been informed, that *William Gregg*, a Clerk in the office of the late Secretary Mr. Harley, had been indicted for "high-

"him to be laid before them. They told him further, that if he, by a true, ingenious, and full confession, would deserve it, he might have ground to hope, the House of Lords might intercede in his behalf for mercy from her Majesty, which otherwise he had no reason to look for. He was also told, that, being a man of understanding, he was not to expect to be asked questions, but was to give an account of himself, when, and how he became first employed; when, and by what infatigation he was drawn in to correspond with the Queen's enemies; and how far it proceeded."

He said, That one Mr. Gregg, the late King's Resident at *Copenhagen*, was his kinsman, and sent for him thither; and he continued with him about three years till his death, which happened about two months before the late King died.

That Mr. Vernon was sent Envoy to *Denmark*, and took him, whom he found there, into his service, in which he continued about two years and an half, and then he was discharged from his service by Mr. Vernon.

Mr. Vernon coming for *England* about his private affairs, while Gregg was in his service, and staying here some time, in that interval Gregg received some letters from Mr. Secretary Harley, which gave him occasion after to apply to him.

The 9th of *December* 1704, Gregg came to *England*, and soon made application to Mr. Secretary Harley for employment, but was not recommended to him by any body.

The 3d of *January* he saw him first at his office, where he attended often.

The 5th of *February* 1704-5, Mr. Jones, the Secretary's first Clerk, came to him, and told him, the Secretary would speak with him. He attended on the Secretary the same day, who asked him, If he would be willing to be employed in his own Country? Gregg said, He was willing to be sent upon any good errand. Mr. Secretary told him, It was to give an account of the proceedings of the ensuing Parliament, which was to be held under the Duke of *Argyle*.

Numb. LVI. VOL. IV.

The 6th of *February* he went to the office, and Mr. Secretary told him he should be dispatched in a few days.

To make some trial of him (as he supposed) Mr. Secretary asked him, If he could give an account of the Court of *Denmark*? Gregg said, He was willing to do it as well as he could; and, accordingly, in some time drew up a state of that Court, and it was not disapproved.

He attended daily, and, on the 20th of *April*, Mr. Secretary Harley gave him a note of twenty pounds, to be paid by his Steward in *Scotland* yard.

On the 23d of *May* 1705, he was ordered to go for *Scotland*, and about a week after set forwards on his journey. When he was dispatched, a note of thirty pounds was given to him.

Mr. Secretary always amused him with telling him, he should have instructions for his directions in *Scotland*; but, at last, ordered him to draw up some queries himself about the state of affairs in *Scotland*; which he did, and they were approved.

Some of the queries were, What were the designs of the several parties? What correspondence between the *Highlands* and *St. Germain's*? How affected to the House of *Hanover*, &c. He was also ordered to form a cypher of letters, whereby to design the great men there.

The 2d of *June* 1705, he arrived at *Edinburgh*, and wrote to Mr. Secretary the *Thursday* following, being ordered to direct all his letters to *Thomas Bateman* in *Scotland* yard.

Mr. Secretary promised the receipt of his letters should be acknowledged; and he pressed often for it, to know they came to hand, fearing his letters were intercepted, because he was suspected as a spy in that Country. But, though he wrote thrice a week, he never heard one word from Mr. Secretary, or by his order, during his whole stay in that country.

Being asked by the Lords, If he was recommended to any body in *Scotland*? he answered, No.

The 15th of *October* he arrived at *London*, and the next day waited on Mr. Secretary, who thanked him

N

for

1707-8. " high-treason, in holding correspondence with
 " her Majesty's enemies, and betraying to them
 " secrets of the highest importance; and that
 " upon his trial he had confessed the indictment,
 " and, by that means, had prevented the exami-
 " nations, whereby the public might have
 " been truly informed of the particular nature
 " and circumstances of his crime; they thought
 " themselves indispensably obliged, in duty to
 " her Majesty, and for the future safety of the
 " Kingdom, to do all in their power to find
 " out the rife and progress of this dangerous cor-
 " respondence. That, in order thereto, they
 " addressed her Majesty for all papers relating
 " to the charge against *William Gregg*; and her
 " Majesty having been pleased to give orders,
 " that the papers should be laid before them,
 " they referred those papers to a Committee,
 " and directed them to examine *Gregg*, and to
 " report the examination to the House; as also
 " what they observed upon the papers, together
 " with such other matters, as they should think
 " proper, upon their inquiry into the affair:
 " And the report having been made, and taken
 " into consideration by the House, they humbly
 " conceived it to be very highly for her service
 " to lay the same before her Majesty. That
 " being also informed, that one *Alexander Va-*
 " *liere*, otherwise called *John Clarke*, was in
 " custody for holding correspondence with her
 " Majesty's enemies, they thought themselves,
 " in like manner, obliged to direct the Com-

mittee to examine *Valiere*, and to inquire in- 1707-8.
 " to the particulars and circumstances of his of-
 " fence: That, this being accordingly performed
 " by the Committee, it was reported to them;
 " but the report consisting of very many exami-
 " nations, they thought it would be of use
 " to appoint a Committee to digest and put the
 " same into some method, to the intent they
 " might be able to form a clearer and more di-
 " stinct judgment of the whole affair; and, that
 " report being made and approved by the
 " House, they conceived it would be of im-
 " portance to her Majesty's service, for them to
 " present the same to her Majesty; and, for her
 " Majesty's more intire satisfaction, they beg-
 " ged leave to annex all the examinations at
 " large to this address. That, having entered
 " into a serious consideration of the several re-
 " ports, they had unanimously come to the
 " following resolutions. 1. That the crime, of
 " which *William Gregg* stood attainted, was of
 " so heinous a nature, and attended with such ex-
 " traordinary circumstances, that it might prove
 " of very pernicious consequence, if he should not
 " be made an example. 2. And that it plainly ap-
 " peared to them, as well by what *Alexander Va-*
 " *liere* and *John Bara*, had informed against each
 " other, as by the many examinations taken con-
 " cerning them, that they were both in the French
 " interest, and unfit to be trusted or employed by
 " any persons in her Majesty's service: And that
 " the open and public manner of the correspondence
 " managed

for his letters, and told him, he had named him to the Queen, upon occasion of a paper he had sent; but Mr. Gregg said, he believed the Queen had never heard of his name, till this last unhappy accident.

On the 29th of *October*, Mr. Secretary ordered twenty-five pounds. He attended daily, and pressed much to be sent abroad, particularly to go with Mr. *Methuen*, when he was sent to *Savoy*, but it was declined.

On New-Year's day Mr. Secretary dropped a word, which startled him much: He told him, he would fix him; which Gregg understood was bringing him into his office.

Upon this he presented a petition, that he might not be in the office, because the salary was small; and, being in debt, he could not live on it.

He attended every day. The Secretary inquired of him what he knew of languages. He said, he knew some *French* and *German*, but knew *Latin* better than either.

The 16th of *April* 1706, he was admitted into the office, and a note was given upon Mr. *Jones*, as for one of the Clerks; and Mr. Secretary told him, it was only to keep his hand in use, and that he would provide better for him.

The 16th of *May*, copying a letter sent to Mr. *Vernon*, that he was to consider of somebody fit to be left behind, Gregg thought it to be intended in his favour, and wrote to Mr. *Vernon* on that occasion, desiring his countenance.

But the 28th of *May*, Mr. Secretary writing word to Mr. *Vernon*, that he had leave to come at his own time, but must leave somebody behind; and this being wrote before any answer could come from thence, Gregg saw nothing was meant for him in the former letter.

Gregg made offers of service to Mr. *Pulteney*, when he was to go, but he said he was provided.

Then he told Mr. Secretary, his mind was depressed by his debts, and desired to be thrown abroad, and to go with Sir *Philip Meadows*; but that was refused, and *Strahan* was sent.

Then Mr. Secretary asked, What would make him

easy? And he gave in a list of his debts, amounting to about thirty-five Pounds.

Since that Mr. Secretary has ordered him at several times about twenty or five and twenty pounds in the whole; the last sum was seven pounds in *October* last, part of a bill of 14 pounds, for which debt he was pressed at that time.

Being asked by the Lords, If his debts only made him so desirous to be gone? He said, At that rate the business was managed in the office, it was a perfect drudgery.

Their business seldom began till about eleven or twelve at night, and they staid till two or three, or later, though sometimes not above two letters to dispatch; and he thought himself happiest, who could get away soonest.

The method was, first, the letters were taken in short hand; afterwards were wrote fair; then sent to Mr. Secretary's house to be signed, and after returned to the office to be entered; so that they were obliged sometimes to stay till four o'clock in the morning.

He said, That in *April* last, when *Hill* the Messenger was sent to *Turin*, the packet was left to him, though the youngest Clerk, to be made up, and delivered to the messenger.

In that packet there was a letter to Sir *John Norris*, and another to Mr. *Chetwynd*. Most of the last letter was in cypher. Gregg entered both those letters. There was also another letter to Sir *Claude de Shovel*, and letters from the Lord-Treasurer. He put them all up in the packet, and after gave them to *Hill*.

Being asked, If he knew by the letters what the design was? Gregg said, he understood *Toulon* was to be besieged. He could not read the whole, but knew enough to find out that. He said it was wrote in the cypher of the office by Mr. *Harley*, the Earl of *Sunderland* being sick at that time.

The Queen's letters *de Cachet* are made up before they are brought to the office; but the Clerks are trusted to make up other letters.

The Lords Committees required him to give the whole relation of his correspondence, when it began, and how long it had been carried on.

Gregg

1707-8. "managed by them with the Governors and Commissioners of Calais and Boulogne, could tend only to carry on an intelligence to the advantage of her Majesty's enemies; and that it was highly probable, that thereby the stations of our Cruisers, the strength of our Convoys, and the times of sailing of our Merchant-ships, had been betrayed to the French." Their Lordships added, "That it was her Majesty's glory, and the happiness of Europe, that she was at the head of one of the greatest Confederacies, that ever was known in history; and it was the common concern of the whole Alliance, that her counsels should be kept with the strictest secrecy: But that, in the papers now laid before her, her Majesty would be pleased to observe, that some of her resolutions of the greatest moment, and that required the utmost secrecy, had been sent to her enemies by the same post they were dispatched to the Allies. That all the papers in Mr. Secretary Harley's office, had, for a considerable time, been exposed to the view even of the meanest Clerks in that office; and that the perusal of all the

"letters to and from the French prisoners, was chiefly trusted to Gregg, a person of a very suspicious character, and known to be extremely indigent. That it was not easily to be known, what ill consequences might have attended such negligence. But their Lordships depended upon it, that, these matters being thus plainly laid open to her Majesty, they should be well secured against any dangers of this nature for the future. That they were further in duty bound to beseech her Majesty, that all possible methods might be used to put a stop to that dangerous and (which might soon prove) fatal intercourse between her Majesty's subjects and France, which had of late received so great an encouragement by the countenance and protection given to *Valiere* and *Bara*; since, unless that were effectually done, her Majesty's enemies would continue to have what intelligence they pleased; her Majesty's Men of War and Merchant-ships would be in danger of being betrayed to the French; and that most destructive trade of sending wool to France, which had been

1707-8.

"with

Gregg said, The first motive of his writing to France was in order to get money, by obtaining a pass; and that his first letter was the 24th of October last.

From his first entering into the Office he had always a great hand in perusing the French prisoners letters. That convenient opportunity, and his poverty, gave him the temptation.

The French prisoners letters came under a general cover, directed to Mr. Lewis. Marshal Tallard's letters are under a flying seal; the rest of them came always sealed, but are opened at the Office.

Generally Mr. Lewis threw them down on the table, and left the perusing them to the Clerks, to Mr. Mann and Gregg; and, since Mr. Mann left the Office, they have been trusted wholly to Gregg.

If Gregg observed any thing, that he thought material, he made an extract of it, and shewed it to the Secretary or Under-Secretary. He mentioned a particular extract he had made out of a letter of Mr. Chamillard to Mr. Tallard.

Letters came from Nottingham every post; sometimes twenty letters came to them in a day from France. These came always sealed. From the time he came into the Office, these letters were never perused, either by the Secretary or Under-Secretary; which he is sure of, because they were sealed when he looked on them. He cannot for that reason say, but Mr. Lewis might sometimes look into Mr. Tallard's letter, because that had a flying seal; but the rest were left sealed as they came by Mr. Lewis to the Clerks perusal.

Gregg said, he had a dispute with Mr. Lewis upon the account of these letters, Gregg declaring, he thought it not to be a business fit for the Under-Clerks to be trusted with.

Mr. Secretary Harley wrote a letter in answer to one from Monsieur Pontchartrain, thanking him for his civility to one Middleton.

In transcribing it, Gregg found it so ill-turned, and the French bad, that he acquainted the Secretary with it at eleven o'clock at night in October last. This letter was stopped; but after Mr. Lewis sent it away as it was wrote at first.

The rough draught of the Queen's letter to the Emperor, as it was ordered by the Lord-Treasurer, was left in the public book of the Office, to be entered the same night it was to be sent away. There Gregg said he found it, and transcribed it, and any other Clerk of the Office might have done it as well as he.

All the books in the Office lie in a press; the key is always in the door; and not only the Clerks, but the Chamber-keepers may have access,

All letters, except those wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, are entered in the books; but those are only copied in loose sheets. Gregg said he had copied many of those.

The draught of the Queen's letter to the Emperor was prepared by Mr. Lewis; it was then written in the hand of Mr. Thomas, Mr. Harley's domestic Clerk; the addition was in the Lord-Treasurer's own hand. Mr. Mann saw it as well as Gregg. Mann said to Gregg, That what was added by the Lord-Treasurer was much the brightest part of the letter.

Gregg said, he sent all his letters to France under the cover to Mr. Robineau. He owned he sent the copy of the Queen's letter to Mr. Chamillard the same night the Queen's letter was dispatched to the Emperor.

Gregg said further, that the letter in the Queen's own hand was given to Gregg by Mr. Secretary himself about one o'clock at night, and he was solely intrusted to put it up in Sir Philip Meadows's packet, after every body had left the Office.

Robineau, in his letter to Mr. Gregg, took notice, that he had delivered his letters to Monsieur Chamillard; and that Monsieur Chamillard sent to advise with Marshal Tallard upon Gregg's proposal.

Upon this Gregg wrote a letter to Marshal Tallard, of which he said he had no copy, but pretended to repeat the words of the letter to the Lords Committees.

The Lords Committees told Gregg, it would be expected by the House, that he should be very clear and particular, in declaring by what advice or encouragement he first began such a correspondence. He said, by none at all: He was tempted to it by the devil, and the hopes of getting money.

He said, that, upon hearing a French periwig-maker was committed to Newgate for high-treason, he had desired to be admitted again to the Lords of the Cabinet-Council. But he would not own, that he knew the man, but said, he had since heard his name was *Valiere* or *Clarke*; he was told so by a Gentlewoman, who came to see him since his condemnation.

He said, he held no correspondence in England, but only in sending the common letter of the Office, with other printed news-papers, to some Gentlemen.

Gregg said, he had been long acquainted with one Crookbanks, who promised him, that, if he would procure a French pass, he should have two hundred guineas; and Gregg undertook to procure the pass.

The first time he wrote to Mr. Chamillard was the 24th of October last.

Brown, a Merchant, father-in-law to Crookbanks, and one Bullinger, a Merchant, were acquainted with this

1707-8.

"with much charge and trouble interrupted, and in good measure suppressed, would be revived to a greater degree than ever."

To this address the Queen returned an answer, "That she was sorry, that any, who had been employed by those in her service, should have proved false to their trust, and injurious to the public. That she doubted not, the examples, laid before her by their Lordships, would be a sufficient warning to keep all matters of importance as secret as might be, and to employ such only, as there should be good grounds to believe would be faithful."

Gregg's execution.

After the presenting of this address, Gregg

was respited about a month longer, but, still refusing to make any farther discoveries, he was executed at Tyburn on the 28th of April 1708. He left a paper with the Sheriff (1), wherein he entirely cleared Mr. Harley; though some suspected that Gentleman to be the contriver of that paper, and alcribed the compedness, which appeared in Gregg's countenance, till he came to the place of execution, to a firm expectation, which he was made to entertain, of a reprieve: and others gave out, that he complained, *That there was no trust in man*; while, on the other hand, the seven Lords of the Committee, appointed to examine him, were afterwards reproached

this agreement about the pass, and they dined together at Brown's house; and Brown undertook for the money, if the pass could be procured.

Gregg said, he acquainted Bellinger of his having sent a copy of the Queen's letter to Monsieur Chamillard, at the Cross Key Tavern in Covent-Garden, and showed him extracts of Marshall Tallard's and Robillard's letters. He said also, that he read the extracts of their letters at another time in English to Brown and Crashtanks.

The Lords Committees asked him, To what end he told Bellinger of what he had done, in sending the Queen's letter to Monsieur Chamillard? He only said, It was done night madness.

The Lords Committees asked him, If any body came to him? he said, One Mr. Arbuthnot came to him, and no body else; and his business was to bring him charity.

The Lords Committees asked Mr. Gregg, If he had no more to acquaint their Lordships with? he said, No. And being told by them, that it concerned him very much to consider of it; that the Lords had observed he told them nothing but what he knew they knew; and in their hands to be fully informed of, without his saying any thing; and how hard it would be for the House of Lords to believe, that he would venture upon such a correspondence without some support or encouragement; he persisted in it, that he had no more to say.

As the Lords Committees were risen up, and had come to take Mr. Gregg away, he took a brown paper out of his pocket, which was sealed up, and took out of it a paper, which he said he had prepared against the Queen's birth-day, and desired the Lords to read it. It purported to be a petition to the House of Commons. He pretended he could not deliver it, because he concluded all the papers, sent by him, would be delivered to Mr. Secretary Horley.

The Lords, finding the paper to be addressed to the House of Commons, told him, It was not proper for them to receive it, and delivered it immediately back to him.

The Lords Committees, as they went away, told Gregg, that if he would recollect himself, and set down in writing any thing, that he thought might be for his own service, or of use to the Queen and her Government, he might send it to them, and the Keeper should have directions to convey it safely.

The next morning Gregg sent a letter to the Lords Committees, which, as soon as they had perused, they returned to him again by a Gentleman with the following message:

"The Lords of the Committee have ordered me to return this paper to you, they being of opinion, that it is not fit to be brought to the examination, for which they were sent to you by the House."

The Lords Committee, think themselves obliged to acquaint the House, that they did not observe Gregg to be under any disorder or terror from the apprehension of sense of his danger.

The indictment of Gregg for his treasonable correspondence with her Majesty's enemies was brought

before the Lords Committees; which indictment he confessed upon his trial, and judgment was thereupon given against him.

The Lords Committees do think it their duty to acquaint the House, that they having been informed by means of the Keeper of Newgate, that one William Gregg had been formerly in Newgate, and indeed for counterfeiting the coin of the Kingdom; and that it was talked amongst the turnkeys in prison, that this was the same man, they sent to search the books in Newgate, and found there, that, in May 1697, William Gregg and Elizabeth Gregg were indicted for counterfeiting the coin. Thereupon they sent for Mr. Tanner, who has the custody of those records: He brought the indictment before them; and it appeared, that Elizabeth Gregg was found guilty and executed; but that William Gregg was acquitted; and Thomas Hallway and Simon Newport were the witnesses at the trial, who, as was said, are both dead since that time.

But one Thomas Kniferley and James Biddle declaring that they both knew that Gregg, who was then indicted, very well, and believed they should know him again, if they saw him; the Lords Committees sent them severally to see William Gregg now in Newgate, and they both of them did declare, that they believed and were confident, that the same person, now in Newgate, was the same William Gregg, who was then indicted, and whose supposed wife was then found guilty, and burnt, and they did both of them voluntarily make oath to this effect; and James Biddle swore, that, after the trial, the discourse in the neighbourhood was, that Elizabeth Gregg took the whole matter upon herself at the trial.

Their two affidavits are laid before your Lordships.

After one of these persons had been to see William Gregg, William Gregg wrote a letter, directed to the Lords of the Committee, in which he did very positively deny, that he was the person, who had been tried for coming in May 1697.

(1) It was in these terms:

"The crime, I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great noise in the world, a paper of more than ordinary length will be expected from the criminal, who therefore takes this last opportunity to profess his utter abhorrence and sincere repentance of all his sins against God, and of all the heinous crimes committed against the Queen, whose forgiveness I most heartily implore, as I shall heartily pray for her Majesty's long Life and happy Reign over her united people, and success against her enemies, with my parting breath.

"This is all the satisfaction I can possibly make injured Majesty. I declare, in the next place, the reparation I would make, were it in my power, to those of her Majesty's subjects I have wronged in any kind, and particularly the right Honourable Robert Harley, Esq; whose pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my trust; which declaration, though, of itself, sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet, for the sake of those, whom it was my misfortune not to be able to satisfy in my lifetime

"I do

1707-8. proached with having endeavoured to suborn Gregg, and engage him, by a promise of pardon, to accuse Mr. *Harley* (1).

Enquiry
into the
affairs of
Spain.
Barnet.
Pr. H. C.

During these proceedings, an enquiry into the affairs of *Spain* was begun in both Houses. The Earl of *Peterborough* had received such positive orders for recalling him, that, though he delayed as long as he could, yet at last he came home in *August* 1707; but the Queen, before she would admit him into her presence, required of him an account of some particulars in his conduct, in military matters, in his negotiations, and in the disposal of the money remitted to him; to which he made such general answers, as gave little satisfaction; but seemed to reserve the matter to a Parliamentary examination, which was now entered upon by both Houses. All the Tories magnified his conduct, and studied to detract from the Earl of *Galway*; but it was thought, that the Ministry were under some restraints with relation to the Earl, though he did not spare them; which gave occasion to many to say, they were afraid of him, and durst not provoke him. The Whigs, on the other hand, made severe remarks on his conduct. The complaints, which King *Charles* of *Spain* made of him, were read; upon which

he brought such a number of papers, and so many witnesses to the bar, to justify his conduct, that after ten or twelve days, spent wholly in reading papers, and in hearing witnesses, both Houses grew equally weary of the matter; so that, without coming to any conclusion, or to any vote, they let all, that related to him, fall. But that gave them a handle to consider the present state of affairs in *Spain*; in which it was found, that of the twenty-nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five *English* forces, provided by Parliament, for the service of *Spain* and *Portugal*, in the year 1707, there was but eight thousand six hundred and sixty men in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza* (2), and that not above half the Officers, who belonged to those bodies, served there. This gave the House of Commons a high distaste; and it was hoped by the Tories, that they should have carried the House to severe votes and warm addresses on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the Ministry. In this Mr. *Harley* and his party were very cold and passive; and it was generally believed, that the matter was privately set on by them. The Commons, on the 5th of *February*, addressed the Queen, desiring that she would

"I do sacredly protest, that, as I shall answer it before the judgment-seat of Christ, the Gentleman aforesaid was not privy to my writing to *France* directly nor indirectly; neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways accessory to the miscarriage before *Toulon*, nor the losses by sea; all which happened before the first of my letters, which was writ the 24th of *October* 1707. As for my Creditors, as I am in no condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly beg, they would forgive me; and I pray God to make up their losses eleven-fold.

"For my part, I do freely forgive all men, and die in perfect charity with them, not without humble hopes of finding forgiveness, through the merits of *Jesus Christ*, with God, who in mercy touched my conscience so powerfully from the beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save my life; for which instance of his love, to be preferred before life itself, I bless and magnify his holy name with unspeakable joy and comfort at my death, nothing near so ignominious as would have been such a life.

"After this occasion, the duty of a dying man leads me to profess the Religion, in which I was brought up, and do now die, which is the Protestant. The scandal given thereunto by my enormous practices cannot be better taken away, than by my publishing to the world my hearty sorrow for those sensual pleasures, which have proved my bane. Therefore let all, who shall read this poor paper, take warning by me to shun the like youthful lusts; to which whoever gives up himself, cannot tell how far they may, when indulged, carry him, even to the committing such crimes, as he thought himself incapable of some time a day; of which truth I, to my woeful experience, am a melancholy instance. But, at the same time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom I am going to appear, that, notwithstanding all the pains taken to make me out an old Offender, by fastening on me the crime of counterfeiting the coin, this is the first fault, that ever I ventured upon; which was not out of any zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only disown at my death, but solemnly declare, that, in all my life, I never thought he had a right to these Realms, how foolishly soever I may have rendered myself obnoxious in this particular; but the only motive of my mad undertaking was money (of which I never received any) on account of the ship-pais, though No. 56. Vol. IV.

"I have met with the more just reward of such secret services intended by

WILLIAM GREGG."

(1) Dr. *Swift*, in his *Examiners*, has several passages to this purpose.

In No. XXXII. for *March* 15, 1710-11, he writes thus: "And here it may be worth observing, how unanimous a concurrence there is between some persons, once great in power, and a French Papist [*Guiscard*] both agreeing in the great end of taking away Mr. *Harley*'s life, though differing in their methods; the first proceeding by *Subornation*, the other by violence; wherein *Guiscard* seems to have the advantage, as aiming no further than his life, while the others designed to destroy, at once, both that and his reputation. The malice of both against this Gentleman seems to have risen from the same cause, his discovering designs against the Government. It was Mr. *Harley*, who detected the treasonable correspondence of *Gregg*, and secured him betimes, when a certain Great Man, who shall be nameless, had, out of the depth of his politics, sent him a caution to make his escape, which would certainly have fixed the appearance of guilt upon Mr. *Harley*; but, when that was prevented, they would have inticed the condemned criminal with the promise of a pardon, to write and sign an accusation against the Secretary. But, to use *Gregg*'s own expression, his death was nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a life, that must have been saved by prostituting his conscience." Dr. *Swift* repeats the same charge in the *Examiner*, No. XXXIII. and was answered in the *Medley*, No. XXVI. and in a pamphlet, printed in 1711 in 8vo, intitled, *A letter to the seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine Gregg*.

(2) By the Earl of *Galway*'s list of the forces in *Spain* (p. 8, of this Volume) there were present at the battle of *Almanza*, ——— 8910
In quarters and garrison, ——— 3702
Prisoners, ——— 1850
Officers and servants of six regiments reduced a little before the battle, ——— } 1189

In all 15651

Q

The

1707 8. would order an account to be laid before them, how it came to pass, that there were no more *English* forces in *Spain* and *Portugal* at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, and that she would use her utmost endeavours that the war in *Spain* might be vigorously and effectually prosecuted.

Feb. 13. To this address the Queen sent an answer, by which it appeared, that, though by death and desertion the number of the troops in *Spain* was much diminished, yet the whole number provided, or at least very near it, was sent out of *England*. Notwithstanding this answer, the Commons renewed the addresses they had presented before, about the forces maintained by the Kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*, to which the Queen gave the following answer: "That in relation to that part of the address, which concerned the forces of the King of *Spain*, her Majesty has ordered to be laid before the House a list of the troops provided by the King of *Spain*, for the service of the year 1707: And, in relation to the troops of *Portugal*, her Majesty had, ever since the treaty with that Crown, given directions to her Ministers there, to use all possible means, that his Majesty should furnish the whole number of men agreed for by the treaty: And she hoped, that those instances had, in a great measure, had their desired effect." At the same time she observed, "That the methods of discipline there made it impossible to know the number of those troops with the same exactness, as is practised in other parts. And considering with what cheerfulness and success they marched through *Spain* to *Madrid*, and the losses they sustained; and being very well assured, that the King of *Portugal* had lately raised, and was still raising a considerable number of forces; her Majesty had not thought it advisable to make too nice an inquiry into the state of those troops; especially, since she was very sensible how diligent the enemy was in making continual applications, to break an Alliance of so great importance to the common cause."

The next day the Commons took into consideration the Queen's answer to their address of the 5th of *February*, and the question being put, "That the deficiency of the *British* troops in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, had been chiefly occasioned by the want of timely and effectual recruits being sent thither;" It passed in the negative; and, on the contrary, an address was voted and presented to the Queen by the whole House, returning her the thanks of the House, for her taking measures to restore the affairs in *Spain*, and for providing foreign troops for that service." To which the Queen replied, "That she had always looked upon the war of *Spain* to be of so great importance to us, that she could never fail of continuing her utmost application to support it in the most effectual manner; and that the satisfaction they had expressed, in their address for her endeavours in this matter, was extremely acceptable to her." The service in *Spain* was much derided, and there was good reason for it: Things there could not be furnished but at expensive rates, and the soldiers were generally ill used in their quarters, and were treated very unkindly, not by King *Charles*, but by those about him, and by the bigotted *Spaniards*.

The same day the address about the forces in *Spain* was presented to the Queen, there was a great debate in the Grand Committee of the House of Lords, occasioned by a bill passed by the Commons, for rendering the Union of the two Kingdoms more intimate and compleat; whereby, in the first place it was enacted, "That, from the first of *May* 1708, there should be but one Privy-Council in the Kingdom of Great-Britain." All the Court was against this bill. Those, who governed *Scotland*, desired to keep up their authority there, with the advantage they made by it; and they gave the Ministers of *England* great assurances, that by their influence elections might be so managed, as to serve all the ends of the Court; but they said, that without due care these might be carried so,

as

The Earl of *GALWAY*'s Reasons why the rest were absent.

The estimate granted for *Spain* and *Portugal* for the service of the year 1707, amounts to, ———— 29393

To make up which number, there were in *Spain*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, according to the return made by the Earl of *Galway* to the House of Commons, besides a battalion of guards, three of marines, a detachment of *Carpenter's* and *Effie's* dragoons, ———— 13759

To which is to be added, the two regiments of foot of Colonel *Hill's* and Sir *Charles Hotham's*, twice demanded for in the said estimate, and therefore must be once deducted, making ———— 1710

The Earl of *Barrimore's* regiment, which had been reduced by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and was, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, raising in *England*, ———— 876

The servants of the Officers belonging to the several regiments actually in *Spain*, and not reduced at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, ———— 1833

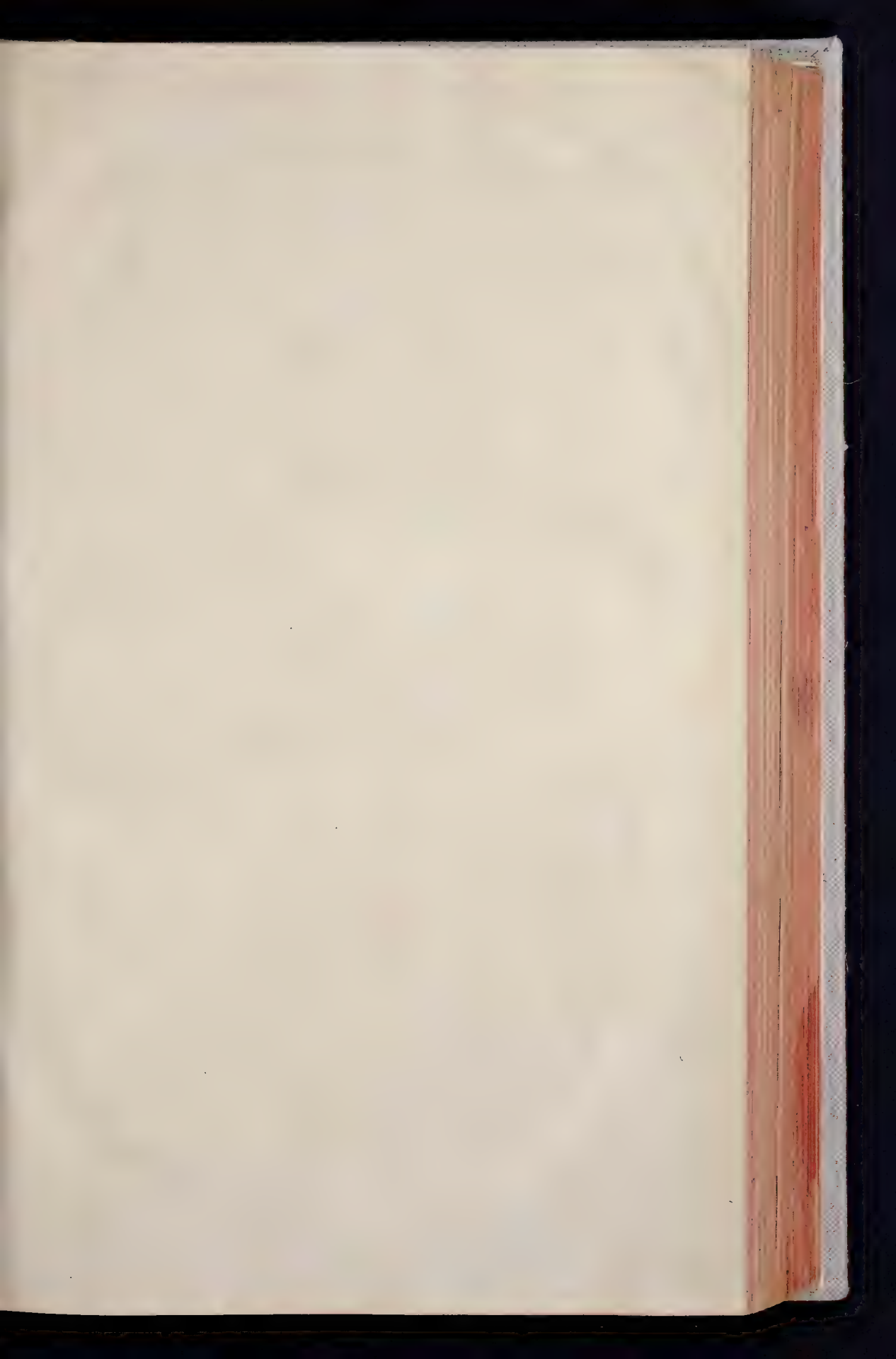
The widows men for all the regiments then in *Spain*, as allowed by Act of Parliament, } 151

The Earl of *Galway* having already taken credit in his account, for the Officers and Servants belonging to the regiments of *Farrington*, *Hamilton*, *Mobun*, *Brudenell*, *Allen*, and *Toby Caulfield*, that were reduced some time before the battle of *Almanza*, but still in *Spain*, there remains to be charged, in this account, the private men only of those regiments, whose pay was stopped, and applied to their levying again in *England* that very year, } 3741

The Non-communion Officers, and private men of *Blesfet's* regiment, which make a part of the twenty-nine thousand, three hundred and ninety-five, and are not charged in my Lord *Galway's* account of effective, because they were reduced by my Lord *Rivers*, and incorporated into *Syburgh's*, ———— 622

22692

So there only remains, out of the twenty-nine thousand, three hundred, and ninety-five men provided for by





1707-8. as to run all the contrary way. This was the secret motive; yet this could not be owned in a public assembly; and therefore that, which was pretended, was, that many great families in Scotland, with the greatest part of the Highlanders, were so ill-affected, that without a watchful eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet. It lay at too great a distance from London to be governed by orders sent from thence. To this it was answered, that by the circuits of the Justiciary Courts, and by Justices of Peace, that Country might be well-governed, notwithstanding its distance, as *Wales* and *Conwall* were. The bill had been carried in the House of Commons by a great majority, that there should be only one Privy-Council for the whole Island. But, in the House of Lords, it met with a considerable opposition. The Court stood alone; all the Tories, and the much greater part of the Whigs, were for the bill. The Court, seeing the party for the bill so strong, were willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the bill, the Council of Scotland was not to sit after the first of May, the Court moved to have it continued to the first of October. It was visible, that this was proposed only in order to the managing elections for the next Parliament; for which reason the Lords adhered to the day prefixed in the bill. But a new debate arose about the power given by the bill to Justices of Peace, which seemed to be an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the Lords Regalities, and of the Hereditary Sheriffs and Stewards, who had the right of trying criminals, in the first instance; for fourteen days time; yet it was ordinary, in the cases of great crimes and riots, for the Privy-Council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days: So that by this act the Justices of Peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy-Council usually did; and, except the occasion was so great, as to demand a quick dispatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the Justices of Peace would have great regard to all private rights. Yet, since this had the appearance of breaking in upon private rights, this was much insisted on by those, who hoped, by laying aside these powers given to the Justices of Peace, to have gained the main point of keeping up a Privy-Council in Scotland. For all the Scots Ministers said, that the Country would be in great danger, if there were not a supreme Government still kept up in it. But it seemed an absurd thing, that there should be a different Administration, where there was but one Legislature. While Scotland had an intire Legislature within itself, the Nation assembled in Parliament could procure the correction of errors in the Administration; whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the Legislative body, if it was still to be kept under a different Administration, that Nation could not have strength enough to procure a redress of its grievances in Parliament; by which means they might come

to be subdued and governed as a Province. And the arbitrary way, in which the Council of Scotland had proceeded ever since King James the First's time, but more particularly since the Restoration, was fresh in memory, and had been no small motive to induce the best men of that Nation to promote the Union, that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the Council; and their hopes would be still disappointed, if they were still kept under that yoke. This point was in conclusion yielded, and the bill passed by a majority of fifty Lords against forty-five, though to the great discontent of the Court. There was a new Court of Exchequer created in Scotland, according to the frame of that Court in England. Special acts were made for the elections and returns of the Representatives in both Houses of Parliament; and such was the disposition of the English to oblige them, and the behaviour of the Scots was so discreet, that every thing, that was proposed for the good of their Country, was agreed to: Both Whigs and Tories vied with one another, who should shew most care and concern for the welfare of that part of Great-Britain.

On the 11th of February there happened an important change in the Administration in England, for Mr. Henry Boyle, uncle to the Earl of Burlington, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was made Secretary of State, in the room of Mr. Harley. Probably the affair of Gregg, Valiere, and Bara, which in some measure affected Mr. Harley's credit, made him more earnest to bring about a change in the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of the new favourite, Mrs. Masham. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord-Treasurer, having discovered many of his practices, laid them before the Queen, who would believe nothing, that was suggested to his prejudice. Her Majesty denied, that she had given any authority for carrying messages to the Tories; but would not believe, that he or his friends had done it, nor would she enter into any examination of his ill-conduct, and was uneasy, when she heard it spoke of. These Lords wrote therefore to the Queen, that they could serve her no longer, if he was continued in that post; and, on the Sunday following, when they were summoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, that they must quit her service, since they saw, she was resolved not to part with Mr. Harley. Her Majesty seemed not much concerned at Lord Godolbin's offering to lay down; and it was believed to be a part of Mr. Harley's new scheme to remove him; but she was much touched with the Duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and studied, with some soft expressions, to divert him from that resolution: But he was firm, and did not yield to them. Upon this they both went away, to the wonder of the whole Court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council; and Mr. Harley opened some matters relating to foreign

Harley quits, and Boyle is made Secretary of State in his room. Burnet.

by Parliament, six thousand, seven hundred and three, either Officers or Soldiers to be accounted for by loss in transportation, by death, desertion, and by absence on account of sickness, or recruiting; to supply which defects, one battalion of guards, three of marines, and a detachment of dragoons were sent to Spain,

and four regiments of foot to Portugal, which were not a part of the establishment for Spain or Portugal, but were effectually four thousand, seven hundred and ninety-two men.

GALWAY.

(1) The

1707-8. reign affairs. The whole Board was very uneasy; the Duke of *Somerſet* ſaid, That he did not ſee how they could deliberate on ſuch matters, ſince the General was not with them. He repeated this with ſome vehemence, while all the reſt looked on ſo cold and fullen, that the Cabinet Council was ſoon at an end; and the Queen ſaw, that the reſt of her Miniſters, and the chief Officers, were reſolved to withdraw from her ſervice, if ſhe did not recal the two, who had left it. It was ſaid, that ſhe would have put all to the hazard, if Mr. *Harley* himſelf had not apprehended his danger, and reſolved to lay down. The Queen ſent the next day for the Duke of *Marlborough*, and, after ſome expoſtulations, ſhe told him, that Mr. *Harley* ſhould immediately leave his poſt, which he did within two days. But the Queen ſeemed to carry a deep reſentment of his and the Lord *Godolphin*'s behaviour on this occaſion; and, though they went on with her buſineſs, they found they had not her confidence. The Duchefs of *Marlborough*, for ſome weeks, abſtained from going to Court; but afterwards, that breach was made up in appearance, though it was little more than an appearance. Both Houſes of Parliament expreſſed a great concern at this rupture in the Court, and apprehended the ill effects, which it might have. The Commons let the bill of Supply lie on the table, though it was ordered for that day. Upon Mr. *Harley*'s removal, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, the Attorney-General, Sir *Thomas Manſell*, Comptroller of the Houſhold, and Mr. *St. John*, Secretary at war, laid down likewiſe their poſts (1).

A deſcent
deſigned
upon Scot-
land.
Burnet.
Hiſt. of
Eur.
Pr. H. C.

A few days after this breach at Court, the Nation was ſuddenly alarmed with the news of an invaſion. The French King, to retaliate the late attempt upon *Toulon*, reſolved to carry the war into Great-Britain, by ſending the pretended Prince of *Wales* to Scotland with a fleet and army, to poſſeſs himſelf of that Kingdom,

being induced thereto by the hope given him, 1707-8. that the Scots were ſo highly diſcontented on account of the Union, as to be ripe for a revolt, and ready to join him on his arrival amongſt them. The neceſſary preparations for the expedition were carried on at *Dunkirk* with all imaginable diligence, and with ſuch ſecrecy, that the deſign was rather gueſſed at than known, March 7. till the Pretender himſelf ſet out from St. Ger- N. S. mains, when it was no longer a myſtery, that he intended to make a deſcent upon Scotland. The day before his departure, the French King went to St. *Germain*s to take his leave of him, and with him ſuccesſ; preſented him with a ſword enriched with diamonds of a conſiderable value, and deſired him always to remember, that it was a French ſword. The Chevalier de St. *George* (for this was the name the Pretender aſſumed in this adventure) answered the compliment with aſſuring him, "That, if it was his good fortune to get poſſeſſion of the Throne of his Anceſtors, he would not content himſelf with returning him thanks by Letters and Ambaſſadors, but would ſhew his gratitude by deeds: Nay, he would come in perſon to acknowledge his Majeſty's protection and aſſiſtance." To which the French King replied, *He hoped never to ſee him again*. Upon his arrival at *Dunkirk*, the Pretender was furniſhed with very fine tents, a large ſet of gold and ſilver plate of curious workmanſhip, cloaths for his future life-guards, liveries for his houſhold, and other neceſſaries; towards the charge of which, and of this armament, the Pope was ſaid to have contributed a conſiderable ſum of money (2). The Pretender's motto upon the colours and ſtandards were, *Dieu & mon Droit*, "God and my Right." *Nil deſperandum Chriſto duce & aſſipice Chriſto*, "I ought not to deſpair, ſince Chriſt is my guide and helper." And *Cui ventu & mare obediant, impera, Domine*, &c.

(1) The Duchefs of *Marlborough*, in the account of her Conduct, p. 252, &c. ſpeaks of this affair in the following terms: The Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had often told the Queen in the moſt reſpectful manner, that it was impoſſible for them to do her any ſervice, while Mr. *Harley* was in her confidence. Her Majeſty nevertheleſs ſeemed determined not to part with him, till at length thoſe two Lords, being urged by neceſſity to it, declared their reſolution to ſerve no longer with him; and they abſented themſelves from the Council. Mr. *Harley* would have proceeded to buſineſs without them, when the Council met; but the Duke of *Somerſet* ſaid, he did not ſee how it could be to any purpoſe, when neither the General nor the Treafurer was preſent; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had ſuch an effect upon the Queen, that, very ſoon after, Mr. *Harley* was diſmiſſed from his poſt. Such a compliance with the Miniſters ſeemed to the eye of the world a very great conceſſion, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up Mr. *Harley* was with his own conſent, and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. *Molham* continued in favour, would, under pretence of viſiting her, who was his Couſin, have all the opportunities he could wiſh for, of practiſing upon the paſſions and credulity of the Queen; and the method of correſponding with him had been ſettled ſome time before. — I was fully apprized of all this, continues the Duchefs; yet I reſolved to try, if by being eaſy and quiet I could regain any influence with her Majeſty. She had given me ſome encouragement to hope it. For

when, a little before Mr. *Harley*'s diſmiſſion, Lord *Marlborough* reſolved to quit the ſervice; and when, on that occaſion, I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from her Majeſty made me ſhed) repreſented to her, that, if the Duke retired, it would be improper, and even impoſſible for me to ſtay at Court after him; ſhe declared, that ſhe could not bear the thought of my leaving her; and that it muſt never be. And at that time ſhe made me a promiſe, that if ever I ſhould leave her (which, ſhe again ſaid, muſt never be) ſhe would beſtow my offices among my children. Nay, the Whigs had ſome reaſon to flatter themſelves about this time, that her Majeſty would become better diſpoſed to them, than ſhe had hitherto been. The Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm, that ſeemed to bring a conviction along with it, that the Whigs were the moſt to be depended upon for the ſupport of her Government; at leaſt what ſhe ſaid, in answer to the Lords addreſs upon the occaſion, had this appearance. But as the danger preſently blew over, and as her fears ceaſed with the cauſe of them, ſo all the hope, which the Whigs had raiſed in themſelves from thoſe fears, preſently vaniſhed.

(2) The French King wrote the following letter to the Pope, upon occaſion of the Pretender's expedition:

Holy Father,

"The great zeal, which I have always had to re-eſtabliſh on the Throne of England King *James Stuart III*, is well known to you; though there was

"not

1707-8. *fac tranquillitatem*; "Thou, Lord, whom the winds and sea obey, command, that it be calm."

The preparations of the *French* at *Dunkirk* gave great uneasiness to the *States-General*, who concerted with the *British* Ministers the necessary measures for dispelling the storm, which seemed to threaten her *Britannic* Majesty's Dominions, of which they gave timely information to the Queen; as did likewise her Envoy, Major-General *Cadogan*, who had early intelligence of the design from a *Jew* residing at *Dunkirk*.

The Commons acquainted with it. March 4.

Upon this Mr. Secretary *Boyle* acquainted the Commons, "That her Majesty had commanded him to lay before the House several advices received the night before, and that morning, of great preparations at *Dunkirk*, for an immediate invasion upon *England* by the *French*, and of the pretended Prince of *Wales*'s being come to *Dunkirk* for that purpose." The letters and extracts relating thereto being read, it was unanimously resolved to present the following address to her Majesty, in which the House of Lords readily concurred,

The address of both Houses upon it. March 5.

"We your Majesty's most faithful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, do beg leave to return our most hearty thanks to your Majesty for being graciously pleased to communicate to your Parliament the intelligence you have received of an intended invasion of this Kingdom by the pretended Prince of *Wales*, supported by a *French* power.

"We are so sensible of the happiness we enjoy under your Majesty, and are so affected with the dangerous consequences of such an attempt, both to your Person and Government, that, with hearts full of concern for your Majesty's safety, we beseech your Majesty, that you will be pleased to take particular care of your Royal Person: And we, on our part, are fully and unanimously resolved to stand by and assist your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, in maintenance of your undoubted right and title to the Crown of these Realms, against the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other your enemies both at home and abroad.

"The care your Majesty has taken for the defence of your Dominions, and particularly in fitting out so great a fleet in so short a time, gives satisfaction and encouragement to all your good subjects, who are likewise very sensible of the zeal the *States-General* have shewn upon this occasion.

"As a farther instance of our duty, we humbly desire, that you will be pleased to or-

der, that the laws against Papists and Non-jurors be put in execution; and that directions be given to seize and secure such persons, with their horses and arms, as your Majesty shall have cause to suspect are disaffected to your Person and Government.

"And as we doubt not, but, by the blessing of God upon the continuance of your Majesty's care, your enemies will be put to confusion, so we readily embrace this opportunity, to shew to your Majesty and the whole world, that no attempts of this kind shall deter us from supporting your Majesty in a vigorous prosecution of the present war against *France*, till the Monarchy of *Spain* be restored to the House of *Austria*, and your Majesty have the glory to complete the recovery of the liberties of *Europe*."

To this address her Majesty was pleased to answer in the following terms:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have such intire dependance on the providence of God, and so much trust in the faithful services of my good Subjects, that I hope this attempt will prove dangerous only to those, who undertake it.

"I am extremely sensible of your concern and affection for Me and my Government, and shall have a very particular regard to the advice you give me upon this occasion.

"I am also very well pleased with the justice, which you have done the *States-General*, in taking notice of their timely care for our safety, and their readiness to give us all possible assistance.

"The firm resolution, which you express upon all occasions, of supporting me in bringing this war to a safe and happy conclusion, as it is most essentially obliging to me; so I assure myself, it will mightily dishearten our common enemies, and give the greatest encouragement and advantage to all our Allies."

The Parliament passed two bills; the one, that the abjuration might be tendered to all persons, and that such as refused should be in the condition of convict recusants. By the other, the *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended till *October*, with relation to persons taken up by the Government on suspicion. The Pretender and his Adherents were proclaimed Traitors and Rebels.

Upon the first notice of the *French* armament Preparations abroad against the invasion in *Dunkirk*, Major-General *Cadogan* repaired to *Brussels*, and concerted with Monsieur d'Avvers the march of the *British* forces to be shipped off for *Great-Britain*, and how to supply

"not hitherto a time proper for it, as well by reason of the conjunctures, as by the unity of my enemies, which did not give me leave to act in so righteous a cause for our holy faith, the chief object of all our actions. We have now thought good to let him depart from our Royal seat, on the 7th of *March*, in order to embark himself on board a fleet, where every thing has been prepared for him, with sufficient forces to establish him on the Throne, after he shall have been received on his arrival by the faithful people of *Scotland*, and proclaimed as their No. 56. VOL. IV.

"true and lawful King. I have thought it fit not to omit sending you this important news, that by your ardour the Union of our Holy Mother the Church may increase in that Kingdom, and that God may prosper him, whilst the time is favourable. It is now, Holy Father, your business to accompany him by your zeal with your holy benedictions, which I also ask for myself, and I remain, Holy Father, your most loving Son.

Versailles, March 9, 1708.

LOUIS."
(1) He

1707-8. ply their room in their several garrisons. From *Brussels* he went to *Ghent*; and having conferred with General *Lumley*, the Governor of that place, and Commander in chief of the *British* troops, orders were given to ten battalions, one of the guards, two of *Orkney's*, one of *Argyle's*, one of *Primrose's*, one of *Lalo's*, one of *Howe's*, one of *Ingoldesby's*, one of *North and Grey's*, and one of *Godfrey's*, to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning. This done, *Cadogan* repaired to *Osford*, to forward the preparations, which, by his early directions, were making there for the embarking of those regiments, as soon as there should be certain advice, that the twelve *French* battalions, that were to attend the Pretender in his expedition, were actually on board. On the other hand, the Admiralty of *Great-Britain* fitted out a fleet with such incredible diligence, that (without diminishing the convoy provided for the *Lisbon* fleet, which consisted of twelve *British*, and five *Dutch* men of war, under the command of Sir *John Leake*,) Sir *George Byng* and the Lord *Dursley* sailed from *Deal* towards the coast of *Dunkirk*, on the 27th of *February*, O. S. in the morning, with twenty three *British* and three *Dutch* men of war, and one *British* fire-ship. The same day, about noon, Sir *George Byng* came to an anchor in *Gravelin Pits*; and, immediately after, went into a small frigate, and sailed within two miles of *Flemish Road*, from whence he had a prospect of the ships that lay there; and, the next day, learned from a fisherman, taken off the shore, the number and strength of the enemy's ships; that about ten thousand men were in and about *Dunkirk*, ready to embark; that they expected every day several ships from *Brest*; and that the Pretender was come to *Gravelin* in his way to *Dunkirk*; where he arrived on the 9th of *March*, N. S. in the morning.

The *French*, who imagined that Admiral *Leake* might by this time have sailed for *Lisbon*, and consequently, that *Great-Britain* was unprovided of shipping, were so confident of the measures they had taken, that they publicly boasted, That God alone could disappoint their designs. But so great was their surprize, upon the *British* fleet's appearing off *Mardyke*, that a stop was put to the embarkation of their troops, and frequent expresses were dispatched to *Paris* for new orders. The Count *de Fourbin*, who commanded the enemy's squadron, having represented to the *French* King, that he might indeed get out of *Dunkirk* harbour, and perhaps land the troops; but that he could not answer

for his Majesty's ships (1); that Monarch, who was fully determined on this expedition, sent him positive orders to re-embark his troops, and to put to sea with the first fair wind. In the mean time, the enemy gave out, that their disembarking of the troops at *Dunkirk* was upon account of the Pretender's being indisposed with the measles, attended with an ague; but, as soon as the *French* King's last orders came, that pretence vanished; the Prince was said to be perfectly recovered; and Count *Fourbin* having, on the 14th of *March*, N. S. received advice from *Boulogne*, that the *British* fleet, being forced from their station by high winds, was seen off that place, steering, on the 12th, for the *Downs*, they began, at two in the afternoon, to re-embark their forces. The wind turning fair for them on the 17th of *March*, N. S. they took that opportunity, and sailed at four in the afternoon from the road of *Dunkirk*; but, the wind changing about ten at night, they were obliged to come to an anchor in *Newport-Pits*; where they continued till the 19th, at ten in the evening, when, the wind changing, they set sail again, steering their course for *Scotland*. On the other hand, the fleet under the command of Sir *George Byng*, which came back into the *Downs* the 21st of *March*, and was since reinforced to the number of above forty men of war of the line of battle, besides frigates and fireships, set sail again the 24th on a signal given by one of the scouts, who observed six ships to the westward, supposed to be the *Brest* squadron. On the 26th, at ten in the morning, Sir *George Byng*, who was then between *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, received intelligence by an *Osford* ship, sent out by Major-General *Cadogan*, of the sailing of the *Dunkirk* squadron from *Newport-Pits*: Upon which he called a Council of war, and according to the resolution taken in it, sailed immediately in pursuit of the enemy; having first made a detachment of a strong squadron, under the command of Admiral *Baker*, with instructions to convoy the troops, that were embarked at *Osford*, and to look after the ships still remaining in *Dunkirk* road.

In the mean time, the Parliament proceeded with great unanimity and vigour in their resolutions, for the support of the Government against the Pretender and his Adherents. They passed a bill to discharge the Clans of *Scotland* from their vassalage to their heads, who should take up arms against the Queen. This bill was chiefly owing to Major-General *Stanhope*, and Sir *David Dalrymple*; but, the enemy not landing

(1) He observes in his *Memoirs*, that he had no opinion of this enterprize. "All the time I staid at Court, says he, I made several attempts to persuade the Ministers to drop an enterprize, which I saw would be so unprofitable: I quite tired myself with representing the inconveniencies of it; I told the Prime Minister again and again, that the best we could make of it would be an unprofitable and dishonourable cruize; that I was thoroughly mortified at his Majesty's having made choice of me for an expedition, which had all the evidence of being attended with ill success: That, if a descent was made, the six thousand men would surely be lost, and the forces of the Kingdom diminished in proportion, besides the scandal of giving into a chimerical enterprize, which ought to be looked upon as a mere dream. The answer to all this was, *The*

loss of the six thousand men gives us no trouble; the King of England, I perceive, so they mis-called the Pretender, must be satisfied. I never could get any thing else out of the Ministry. The night before I set out for *Dunkirk*, I went to Court to take my leave of the King: Monsieur *Le Count*, said his Majesty, *You are sensible of the importance of your Commission, I hope you will discharge it like yourself.* Sir, replied I, *Your Majesty does me a very great honour, but, if you will vouchsafe me a moment's audience, I have several things to represent to you concerning this Commission.* The King, who had been informed by the Minister of the objections I had made to it all along, only said, *Monsieur Fourbin, I wish you a good voyage, I have affairs upon my hands, and cannot hear you now.*"

1707-8. ing in *Scotland*, the bill had no effect. On the 10th of *March*, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and made a speech to both Houses, importing, "That she had received advices that morning from *Ostend*, that the *French* fleet failed from *Dunkirk* on *Tuesday*, at three in the morning, northward, with the Pretender on board: That Sir *George Byng* had notice of it the same day at ten, and he being very much superior to the enemy, both in number and strength, her Majesty made no question, but, by God's Blessing, he would soon be able to give a good account of them. That she had also advice, that ten battalions of her troops were embarked at *Ostend* ready to fail with their convoy, as there should be occasion; And that she should continue to take all proper measures for disappointing the enemy's designs." Hereupon the House of Commons unanimously voted the following remarkable address, which was presented to the Queen by the whole House:

Most gracious Sovereign,

The Commons address.
March 13. "WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain* in Parliament assembled, humbly wait on your Majesty, to express the great sense we have of your grace and favour, in communicating to us from the Throne the account of the *French* King's persisting to invade your Dominions, and to impose a Pretender upon these Realms, over which your Majesty is rightful and lawful Sovereign.

"The small number of ships and troops, with which this project is prosecuted, notwithstanding the great naval force your Majesty has fitted out with so much expedition, as it ought to be regarded with contempt on the one side, so on the other it gives us just cause to believe, that their chief dependance is upon some of your subjects, whose restless passions and arbitrary principles have, for some years, engaged them in forming designs to undermine and destroy the most happy Establishment that the Government of this Island was ever founded upon.

"The defence of your Majesty's Person and Government, and the support of the Protestant Succession, are things so sacred to us and your people, that, as a demonstration of our unfeigned zeal to assist and support your Majesty to the utmost of our power, we do, in the name of the Commons of *Great-Britain*, give this assurance, that whatever charge you shall be at by augmenting your troops at home, and replacing those you have recalled from abroad, or for such other services, as your Majesty shall judge necessary upon this extraordinary occasion, shall be effectually made good. And as we humbly recommend it to your Majesty, that the severest punishments may be inflicted upon such as shall assist in so unnatural a design, as that of betraying your Majesty and their Country; so we doubt not but you will give suitable encouragement to all those, who shall shew their fidelity, by opposing the Invader and his Accomplices in *Scotland*, or wherever the descent shall be.

"Your Majesty wants no incitement to a ready prosecution of the war, in which you

are engaged for the common cause; yet permit us to take this opportunity to intreat your Majesty, that this enterprize may no ways divert your constant vigour, that all the world may see, that both your Majesty and your people are determined to support your Allies in all parts, whatever attempts are made at home.

May it please your Majesty,

"There can be nothing so dangerous or fatal to the safety of your Royal Person, and the security of the present happy establishment, as those persons, who endeavour to create divisions and animosities among your faithful Subjects, or by any artful methods lessen the just esteem your Majesty has for those, who have so eminently, and in so distinguishing a manner, commanded your armies, and managed your treasure, to the honour and glory of your Majesty abroad, and the intire satisfaction of your people at home. We therefore humbly beg leave to beseech your Majesty to discountenance all such persons and designs in the most remarkable manner."

The Queen's answer to this address was:

Gentlemen,

"I Give you my hearty thanks for this repeated assurance and certain proof of your zeal for me, and for the Protestant Succession.

"I am glad your thoughts of the war abroad so perfectly agree with my firm resolution upon that subject.

"You may depend, that no apprehensions (further than are reasonable) shall have any influence on my measures, while the cause of Religion and Liberty, with the good affections of my people, are on my side.

"I think all who endeavour to make divisions among my faithful subjects, must be mine and the Kingdom's enemies; and I shall never countenance any persons, who would go about to lessen the just esteem, which I have for those, who have done, and continue to do me, the most eminent services."

The Lords address was as hearty as that of the Commons, and, among other expressions of equal truth and affection, they said,

"We hope your Majesty will always have a just detestation of those persons, who, at any time, when this hellish attempt was a-foot, and so near breaking out, were using their endeavours to misrepresent the actions of your best Subjects, and create jealousies in your Majesty of those who had always served you most eminently and faithfully. And we beseech your Majesty not to give so just a cause of uneasiness to your people, as to suffer any such hereafter to have access to your Royal Person.

"We hope for this good effect from so unhappy an occasion, that the universal zeal, which will appear for the preservation of your Majesty's Government and the Protestant Succession, will unite us to one another, and cure our mistakes and misapprehensions, which have been so industriously and maliciously im-

"proved,

1707-8. "proved. But nevertheless we most humbly offer it to your Majesty as our opinion, that your Majesty should principally depend upon and encourage those, who have been ever since the Revolution most steady and firm to the interest of the late King, and of your Majesty during your happy Reign."

Her Majesty's answer to this address was in these terms:

My Lords,

"I Am extremely sensible of your zeal and concern for the safety of my Person and Government, and very well pleased to find your thoughts agree so exactly with mine, that no attempt of our enemies against us at home should divert us from prosecuting the war abroad with the greatest vigour, the hopes of which has probably been one of their principal motives to so presumptuous an undertaking."

"As I cannot but wish there were not the least occasion of distinction among my Subjects; so I must always place my chief dependence upon those who have given such repeated proofs of the greatest warmth and concern for the support of the Revolution, security of my Person, and of the Protestant Succession."

Remark on the variation of the Queen's policy in her speeches.

The Queen, being much alarmed with the danger of this invasion, saw with what falsehoods she had been abused by those, who pretended to assure her there was not now a Jacobite in the Nation. For this reason she was observed to make a remarkable variation in her stile. She had never in any speech mentioned the Revolution, or those who had been concerned in it. And many of those, who made a considerable figure about her, studied, though against all sense and reason, to distinguish her title from the Revolution, on which it was plainly founded, and on nothing else. But in this answer and another speech she named the Revolution twice, and said, she would look on those concerned in it as the surest to her interests. She also fixed a new designation on the pretended Prince of Wales, and called him the Pretender (particularly in her speech at the close of this Session) and he was so called in a new set of addresses, which, upon this occasion, were made to the Queen.

7. F. 7. 13th Feb. 1707. March to Scotland.

Besides the ten English battalions, which Cadogan had embarked at Ostend, and which, sailing from thence the 28th of March, N. S. under the convoy of Admiral Baker, arrived three days after at Tinnmouth, the first and second troop of life-guards, a squadron of horse grenadiers, the Duke of Northumberland's regiment of horse-guards, the dragoons of Essex and Carpenter, a detachment of sixteen men out of each company of the first and second regiments of foot guards, making a complete battalion, and several regiments of foot, were ordered to march towards Scotland, whither the Earl of Leven, Commander in chief of the forces in that part of Great-Britain, and Governor of Edinburgh Castle, went post betimes, to provide for the security of that important fortress, and to make all the necessary dispositions to baffle any attempts, which the enemy could make on that side. Several regiments, in the South parts of Ireland, were at the same time commanded to-

wards the North of that Kingdom, from whence, if occasion had required, they might, with ease, have been transported into Scotland. But all the precautions by land proved wholly unnecessary, by the disappointment of the enemy's design at sea, of which Sir George Byng gives an account in two letters of the 13th and 15th of March, from on board the *Medway*; the first whereof is as follows: "According to the opinion we had framed, when we left the station off *Dunkirk*, it has proved, that the enemy was designed for *Edinburgh*. This morning we saw the French fleet in the mouth of the *Firth*, off of which place we anchored the last night, and sent a boat a-shore to the Isle of *May*, from whence we had an account, that the French came to an anchor yesterday in the afternoon. They sent one ship up into *Leith Road*, which had a flag at the main-top-mast head. They report it, a blue one; but we are rather of opinion, that it is the standard. The people of the Island say, that, by the time that ship could get up before the town, they heard several guns fire, which were in the manner of a salute. The ship, that went up yesterday, came down this morning, and is now within two leagues of us. She appears to be a ship of sixty guns, but has now no flag on board. We saw this morning, when they weighed, a flag at the main top mast head, on board of one of their ships. They stand from us, and we after them, with all the sail we can."

The second letter, dated from *Leith-Road*, was as follows: "We chased the enemy to Northward of *Buccaness*, sometimes with reasonable hopes of coming up with them. The *Dover* and *Ludlow-Castle*, being the only clean-sailing ships we had, they were the first, which came up with part of the enemy's squadron, passing by some of the smaller, to engage some of the larger ships, and stop them till they could be relieved. They attacked two or three of their ships, among which was the *Salisbury*: They did not part with them, till more of our ships arrived, but worked their ships in a handsome manner, to cut them off from the rest of the fleet; but in the darkness of the night they all got out of sight, except the *Salisbury*, who falling in amongst our head-moat ships, the *Leopard* entered men on board her. We are informed by the Officers, who were taken, that there were twelve battalions on board their squadron, commanded by Count de Gacé, a Marshal of France. The pretended Prince of Wales, Lord Middleton, Lord Perth, the *Mac-Donalds*, *Trevanion*, and several other Officers and Gentlemen, were on board the *Mars*, in which also was Monsieur *Fourbin*, who commanded the squadron. The number and strength of their ships are very near the account we lately received from *Dunkirk*; nor were they joined by the *Brest* men of war. And they further assure us, that the ships, our out-looks saw off *Calais*, were privateers, and their prizes, going into *Dunkirk*. The morning after this chase we saw but eighteen of the enemy's ships, as far as we could perceive them from the mast-head, in the East North-east of us. Having no prospect of coming up with them, we lay off and on *Buccaness* all day yesterday, to gather our ships together;

1707-8. "ther; and this day, it blowing hard at North-East with a great sea, judging the enemy could not seize the shore to make any attempt, we bore up for this place; which was thought most reasonable; not only to secure, but to give countenance and spirit to her Majesty's faithful subjects, and discourage those, that could have thoughts of being our enemies (1)."

Sir George Byng having lost sight of the *French*, and considering, that the *Frith* was the station of the greatest importance, as well as safety, and was the place where they designed to land, put in there, till he could hear what course the *French* steered, who were not heard of in *England* till a fortnight after. Three of their ships landed near the mouth of *Spey*, only to refresh themselves; for, the ships being so filled with landmen, there was a great want of water. At last all their ships got safe into *Dunkirk*. The landmen either died at sea, or were so ill, that all the hospitals in *Dunkirk* were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they lost above four thousand men in this unaccountable expedition; for they were above a month tossed in a very tempestuous sea. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper-credit; and if by this the remittances had been stopped, in so critical a season, that might have had fatal consequences abroad; for, if the nation had been put into such disorder at home, that foreign Princes could no more reckon on its assistance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the propositions, which the King of *France* would then probably have made to them.

The Lord High Admiral thanked by the Commons.
Pr. H. C.
March 24.

The House of Commons, upon a suggestion, that Sir George Byng might have destroyed the whole *Dunkirk* Squadron, if his ships had been clean, resolved to present an address to her Majesty, "That she would be pleased to give directions, that an account might be laid before the House of the number of ships, which went in the expedition with Sir George Byng, and when the same were cleaned:" Which account having been laid before the House, and examined, it was resolved, "That the thanks of this House be given to his Royal Highness, the Lord High-Admiral, for his great

"care in so expeditiously setting forth so great a number of ships, whereby the fleet, under the conduct of Sir George Byng, was enabled so happily to prevent the intended invasion." Which was accordingly done.

Some days before, the Commons came to an unanimous resolution, "That whoever design-
*Resolution for prefer-
ation of the public
credit.*
"edly endeavoured to destroy or lessen the public credit, especially at a time, when the Kingdom was threatened with an invasion, Pr. H. C.
"was guilty of an high crime and misdemean-
"or, and was an enemy to her Majesty, and the
"Kingdom." And indeed, the most dangerous effect of the enemy's intended invasion, was the occasioning great demands upon the Bank of *England*; which visibly tending to the ruin of its credit, with which that of the *Exchequer* was closely connected, the Ministry thought proper to apply a speedy remedy to that evil. In order to that, the Lord-Treasurer signified to the Directors of the Bank, that her Majesty would allow, for six months, an interest of six per Cent. upon their bills, which before were only three per Cent. And, at the same time, his Lordship offered them a considerable sum of money; as did also several other Peers, particularly the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Newcastle*, and *Somerset*. On the other hand, the Mar. 23.
Directors of the Bank having resolved to call in twenty per Cent. upon their capital stock, they were in a condition to answer the demands of the most importunate, among whom were reckoned, first, the disaffected, who improved that conjuncture to distress the Government with impunity; secondly, the timorous usurers, who were unreasonably alarmed at the intended invasion; and lastly, the goldsmiths, who having, in great measure lost the advantageous trade, which they carried on with the money, that private persons lodged in their hands, before the establishment of the Bank of *England*, had ever since endeavoured to ruin its credit. One of these, Sir *Richard Hoare*, was so concerned at his being reflected on, as having contributed towards the run upon the Bank, that he was very sollicitous to vindicate himself as to that particular. But it was observed, to the honour of the *French*, *Dutch* and *Jewish* Merchants, that they were
io

(1) Mr. de Gacé (who commanded the land forces, and was for this unsuccessful service made a Marshal of *France* by the title of Marshal de Matignon) gave also an account of the invasion to Mr. de Chamillard in a letter dated at *Dunkirk* in April: "I had the honour to acquaint you with our embarkation at *Dunkirk* the 17th past; and you shall see by the following journal what has happened since till our return."

The 17th, at four in the afternoon, the Chevalier de *Fourbin* set sail with the fleet; but, about ten in the evening, the wind proving contrary, we were obliged to cast anchor in the Downs off *Newport*, where we were detained the 18th and 19th. The *Proteus*, on board of which were four hundred landmen; the *Guerrier* and the *Barentine*, with two hundred men each, were obliged, by the high winds, to put back into *Dunkirk*. The same day, the 19th, at ten in the evening, the wind having chopped about, we set sail again; and, having pursued our course the 20th, 21st, and 22d with a strong gale, we made the *Frith* of *Edinburgh* the 23d in the morning, and in the evening cast anchor at the mouth of it. The 24th in the morning, as we made ready to enter the *Frith*, we discovered a great number of ships, which we soon found to be the enemy's squadron to the number of No. 56. Vol. IV.

twenty-eight sail, whom we judged to be the same, that had appeared off *Dunkirk*; whereupon Monsieur de *Fourbin* resolved to bear off by the favour of a land-breeze, which very luckily carried us from the enemy. They pursued us pretty close all that day, the 24th, and, four of the best sailors being come up with our sternmost ships, the enemy's foremost ship attacked, at four in the afternoon, the *August*, with whom they exchanged some guns for some time; after which the *English* bore down upon the *Salisbury*, which was more a-stern, and endeavoured to put her between themselves, and another *English* ship, that was coming up to her. The fight between these two ships, and some others on both sides, lasted till night; during which time the *Salisbury* made a great fire with their small arms.

Our fleet being dispersed, and the enemy near us, Monsieur de *Fourbin* steered false during the night, which had a good effect; for the next day, the 25th, we found ourselves with twenty sail at a considerable distance from the enemy; whereupon I discoursed with Monsieur de *Fourbin*, to know of him, Whether, having missed our landing in the *Frith* of *Edinburgh*, we might not attempt it in another place? He proposed to me *Inverness*, which is a very remote part
Q in

1707-8. so far from calling in the money they had in the Bank, that, on the contrary, they carried more into it, to support its credit.

Ref. et
f. 102
by the
French.
Baynet
Lambert.

Thus the intended invasion was totally defeated, without its having the least ill effect on the affairs of Great-Britain, tho' the Court of France had been so secure of success, that their King wrote a circular letter to his Ministers in Rome, Switzerland, Geneva, and other neutral places, directing them to declare in his name, "That he had been long of opinion, that the assisting the King of England to possess the Throne of his ancestors would be for the general good of all Europe." That he believed, that a peace would be the consequence of its success: And that this Prince's subjects would esteem themselves equally happy, in contributing to re-establish him in the place of his predecessors, and in being themselves delivered from those continual impositions, wherewith they were overwhelmed, to maintain a war altogether foreign to them. That, as the Scots had yet more reason than the English to be dissatisfied with the present Government of England, it appeared to him a convenient opportunity to restore to that Nation their lawful Sovereign, and to enable the Prince to deliver it from the oppression it had suffered since the Revolution, which happened under the late King of England, James the Second. That these were the reasons, which had determined him to equip a squadron of his ships at Dunkirk, and to furnish the King of England with a considerable number of his troops, to accompany him to Scotland, to support those his faithful subjects, who should declare for him. That he [the pretended King of England] left Versailles the 7th of March, N. S. to go

to Dunkirk, in order to embark, and get, with all expedition, to Scotland. That his intention was not to enter the Kingdom by right of conquest, but to oblige them to receive him as legal possessor of it. That he would behave himself in like manner with respect to all his other Dominions, that should pay the obedience they owed him; and his subjects would only be distinguished according to the zeal and affection they shewed for him, without examining what Religion they professed, in which he left them to their intire liberty." The French King concluded, "That he had no thoughts of enlarging his power, by assisting to re-establish this Prince: That it was sufficient, that he did an act of justice, in vindicating the honour of crowned heads, highly affronted in the person of the late King, his Father; and his wishes would be intirely accomplished, if (by God's blessing on his endeavours) the success became the means of procuring a lasting peace, so necessary to all Europe."

When these Ministers received this circular letter, they had likewise advice sent them, which they published both at Rome, Venice, and in Switzerland, that the French had, before this expedition was undertaken, sent over some ships with arms and ammunition to Scotland: And that there was already an army on foot there, that had proclaimed this pretended Prince, King. It was somewhat extraordinary to see such eminent falsehoods published all Europe over: They also affirmed, that hostages were sent from Scotland to Paris, to secure the observing the engagements, they had entered into; though all this was fiction and contrivance (1).

The

in the North of Scotland; and we went immediately to speak of it to the King of England, who entertained the motion with joy, and told us, *We ought to concert together the measures, that were to be taken, and he would pursue our resolutions.*

The business was now to get pilots to conduct us thither, and give us the necessary notices. But there being none in our squadron, that was acquainted with that port, Monsieur de Fourbin detached a frigate with the Sieurs Caron and Bouyn, to fetch some from the Cape of Bucares. All that day, the 25th, we steered with a pretty favourable wind towards the North of Scotland; but, about eleven at night, there arose a strong contrary wind, which having continued the next day with violence, Monsieur de Fourbin told me, it was high time to acquaint the King with the inconveniencies of pursuing our course, which were the inevitable dispersion of our fleet; the danger, which the ships, that should be separated, would be in, either of falling into the enemy's hands, or of perishing on the coast, if they were driven thither; and even the want of provisions.

The impossibility the Sieurs Caron and Bouyn found of approaching the shore, by reason of the stormy weather, and consequently of bringing pilots to guide us; the uneasiness and dangers of landing in a port we were strangers to, and where the enemy might come up again with us, together with other hazards and difficulties, having been represented to the King by Monsieur de Fourbin in the presence of the Duke of Perth, my Lord Middleton, Mr. Hamilton, my Lord Galmy, and Messieurs de Beauvernis and d'Andrezel, the King of England, with the unanimous advice of all those Gentlemen, resolved to return to Dunkirk, where we could not arrive before this day, by reason of the calms and contrary winds.

(1) Lockhart, in his *Memoirs* (p. 342, &c.) has given us a large account of the grounds, on which the success of this undertaking was founded. As soon as the Union took place, two Commissions were appointed for managing the Customs and Excise of Scotland, being partly English, and partly Scotsmen; but, at the same time, vast numbers of Surveyors, Collectors, and other Officers, being sent down from England, and executing the new laws with all rigour, were so grievous to the people, that men of all ranks and persuasions resented the loss of the Sovereignty, and were easily persuaded by the Pretender's friends, "That nothing but the Restoration of the Royal Family by the means of Scotsmen could restore them to their rights." Nor were many of the Nobility and Gentry less desirous to see the Pretender amongst them; and therefore had, for some time past, pressed his coming over, as the luckiest opportunity for restoring him, and advancing the interest of France, by giving a diversion to the English. Upon the repeated instances of the Court of St. Germain's, and the ill success of the French arms in 1706, the French King began to relish the proposal, and seemed in earnest to do something for the Pretender; but, before he proceeded any farther, he sent over Colonel Hookes to get intelligence, and treat with the Scots. It was the opinion of many, that Hookes was pitched upon by the Court of France, as one, who would follow their directions, and asserted, That he shewed more concern to raise a civil war (which was what the French King chiefly wanted) than to promote the Pretender's service and interest. However that was, it is certain, he rather widened than made up the division he found among the Scots Jacobites, which was occasioned, by a misunderstanding between the Dukes of Hamilton and Arbol. Hamilton claimed merit upon account of his past actions.

1708.
The Par-
liament
dissolved.

The Session of Parliament was closed the 1st of April, soon after defeating the design of the invasion. The Queen made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot conclude this Session, without acknowledging the wise and speedy provisions, which you have made for the public security.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I am also to thank you in particular, for the large and timely Supplies, which you have provided for the effectual prosecution of the war. I assure you, they shall be carefully and punctually applied to the uses for which they are appointed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I take these (especially at this juncture) to be such undeniable proofs of your zeal and af-

fection to my service, as must convince every body of your doing me the justice to believe, that all which is dear to you, is perfectly safe under my Government; and must be irrecoverably lost, if ever the designs of a Popish Pretender, bred up in the principles of the most arbitrary Government, should take place.

"I am satisfied, that very false representations of the true inclinations and interests of my people must have been made by some of my subjects, who have given encouragement to this desperate attempt; since, without something of that nature, it seems very little consistent with the usual precaution of our enemies, to hazard the expence of so vain and ill-grounded an undertaking. However, it is certain, we must be all inexcusable, if we do not take warning from this attempt, to comply with what may be necessary for our security at home, and the discouraging the like for the future; to which, by God's blessing, nothing shall be wanting on my part.

"And to the same end I must recommend to you, at your return into your Counties, to use

1708.

tions, his interest, and qualifications; and *Atbol* valued himself on the interest he had got of late with the North-country Gentry, and the great numbers of men he could raise. Many, being disgusted with the Duke of *Hamilton* for his equivocal behaviour in the last Scots Parliament, inclined to think, that the Duke of *Atbol* would venture further for the Pretender; which, as it piqued the one, so it elevated the other; and this jarring went so far, that some of the Duke of *Atbol's* Partizans railed openly at the Duke of *Hamilton*, and pretended to do all themselves. Others, again, reflecting on the Duke of *Atbol's* conduct on several occasions, were afraid he was not firm, but acted rather from a desire of revenging himself of the Courtiers, who had slighted him, than a true principle of loyalty to the Pretender; and, considering that he was by no means qualified to be the head of a party, thought he was not to be humoured so far, as to disgust the Duke of *Hamilton*. For, though the latter's cautious behaviour in concerning measures was not approved, yet the Jacobites being persuaded of his intire affection to their cause, and convinced, at the same time, that he was absolutely necessary to be with the Pretender, by reason of his interest, courage, and conduct, and particularly his dexterity in managing the different parties; upon all these considerations they thought he was to be respected, and advised with; and therefore recommended him to the Earl of *Middleton*, who, agreeing with them, represented him to the Pretender, as the fittest person to serve him in *Scotland*. But the Duke of *Perth*, who intirely differed from the Earl of *Middleton*, soon closed with the Duke of *Atbol*; and, having more interest with the Priests and Roman Catholics than the Earl of *Middleton*, prevailed so far with the Court of *France*, or at least with *Hooker*, that *Hooker*, upon his arrival in *Scotland*, in the beginning of March 1707, made his chief application to, and concerted measures with his correspondent, the Duke of *Atbol*. Besides his credentials from the Pretender and *French King*, empowering him to treat with the people of *Scotland*, in order to bring about the King's restoration, and to recover the Nation's sovereignty, and ancient privileges; Colonel *Hooker* produced a paper, containing several queries drawn by the Marquis de *Torcy*, relating to the number of men, that could be raised in *Scotland*; the conveniencies for subsisting and quartering troops, and carrying on a war; and the number of forces, sums of money, and quantities of arms and ammunition, necessary to be sent from *France*. A distinct answer being made to each query, containing a full account of the state of affairs, parti-

cularly the inclination of the people to venture all for the Pretender's service, and earnestly intreating him to come over as soon as possible; that paper was signed by the

Duke of <i>Atbol</i> ,	Lord <i>Nairn</i> ,
Lord <i>Drummond</i> ,	<i>Fatheringhane of Pouries</i> ,
Earl of <i>Errol</i> ,	<i>Lyon of Auchterhouse</i> ,
Earl of <i>Strathmore</i> ,	<i>Graham of Finree</i> ,
Vicount of <i>Stermount</i> ,	<i>Drummond of Logie</i> ,
Lord <i>John Drummond</i> ,	<i>Ogilvy of Boyne</i> ,

and others, and it was then delivered to Colonel *Hooker*, who carried it to *France* in May 1707. It is to be observed, that he had brought over letters from the Pretender to the Duke of *Hamilton*, and the Earl *Marischal*; but, before he transmitted those letters to them, he had so closely attached himself to the Duke of *Atbol*, and made such advances in the treaty, that the Duke of *Hamilton* and Earl *Marischal* highly resented their being thus disregarded, and did not think fit to send their answers by *Hooker*, but chose another hand to communicate their thoughts to the Earl of *Middleton*. Hereupon *Hooker* sent them impertinent threatening letters; and when he arrived in *France*, flushed with the success of his embassy, he triumphed over the Earl of *Middleton*, whom, and his friends in *Scotland*, he accused of backwardness to serve the Pretender. Before he embarked for *France*, he had assured the Jacobites, that their King would be with them by the month of August following; but, before that time came, notice was sent to *Scotland*, that the attempt could not be made so soon. There being afterwards little appearance of its being executed, people began to suspect, that, the *French King's* affairs being somewhat retrieved by the battle of *Almanza*, he reserved the design in favour of the Pretender to another occasion; which surmise proceeded from a well-grounded jealousy, that the Court of *France* regarded him no farther, than they thought him subservient to their own interest and private views. Of this opinion was the Duke of *Hamilton*, who having waited till the end of January 1707-8, without seeing any effect of the *French King's* promises, and his affairs requiring his presence in *England*, he set out from *Kenriel* with his Duchess and family towards *Lancaster*. The third day he was on his journey, an express from Captain *Straton* informed him, that he had certain advice, that the Pretender would proceed on his expedition before the middle of March; whereupon the Duke seemed extremely perplexed what to do; but, after some consideration,

1708.

"use your utmost care and diligence in putting the laws in execution against Papists, and all others disaffected to my Government, and in making them pay towards the public taxes, to the full of what the law requires from them; nothing being more reasonable, than that they, who, by their principles and practices, encourage (if not actually foment) such disturbances, should doubly contribute to the charge of quieting them, and securing the Kingdom's peace; and should know themselves, on all such occasions, to be responsible for the many inconveniences that may ensue"

Then the Parliament was prorogued to the 13th of April; and, two days after, was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued out for the elections of a new Parliament. On the 26th of April, a proclamation was published, commanding all the Peers of North-Britain to assemble at Holy-rood House in Edinburgh, the 17th of June, to nominate and chuse, by open election, the sixteen Peers, who were to sit and vote in the House of Peers in the ensuing Par-

liament of Great-Britain, pursuant to the twenty-second article of the treaty of Union; and accordingly the Dukes of Hamilton, Montrose, and Roxburgh; the Marquis of Leithian; and the Earls of Orkney, Crawford, Rothes, Leven, Mar, Loudoun, Wemyss, Rossberry, Glasgow, Northesk, Seafield, and Illy; some of whom were justly suspected of disaffection to the present Settlement. But in England, the just fears and visible dangers, to which the attempt of the invasion had exposed the Nation, had so good an effect, that the elections, for the most part, fell on men well affected to the Government, and zealously set against the Pretender.

Four days after the dissolution of the Parliament, Edward Griffin, late Lord Griffin, John Lord Clermont, and Charles Middleton, two sons of the Earl of Middleton, and Colonel Francis the Wauchope, who had been taken on board the Salisbury, were brought up to London; and, having been examined by a Committee of the Privy-Council, were committed prisoners to the Tower for high-treason, by warrant of the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State; and, two days after, the following Irish Officers, taken

ration, he resolved to proceed on his journey, as a mask to cover his real design; and, in the mean time, directed Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, who had accompanied him so far, instantly to repair to the Shire of Lanark to raise their friends, and lead them to Dunsfries, where he promised to meet him, and where he was sure to be joined with a great number of horse and foot. Besides the good dispositions and solemn assurances of the Pretender's friends, the Court of France had reason to expect success in Scotland; for the regular troops there did not exceed two thousand five hundred men, most of whom were disaffected, and ready to join the Pretender: The garrisons, being unprovided with warlike stores, must have yielded at the first summons: A good part of the *Equivalent* money, being in the Castle of Edinburgh, would have helped to carry on the war: And a fleet of Dutch ships had some time before run a-ground on the coast of Angus, in which was a vast quantity of ammunition, besides cannon and small arms, and a great sum of money, which the Jacobites of that country would have secured. So that all things seemed to concur to give success to the attempt upon Scotland. As soon as the French fleet was ready to sail, the Pretender dispatched Mr. Charles Fleming, brother to the Earl of Higon, to acquaint his party how they were to behave, particularly desiring them not to stir till they were sure he was landed; and that then they should secure all the money, horses, arms, and provisions, that were in the hands of such as were not well affected to him, and even their persons, if possible; and Mr. Fleming was to provide pilots to meet him at the mouth of the Frith of Forth, and guide his fleet up the firth, being resolved to land on the South-side thereof, at or about Dunbar.

Mr. Fleming arriving at Slains, the Earl of Errol immediately sent him to Perthshire, where he communicated his instructions to such as he thought proper. The Earl of Errol likewise sent Mr. George, a skipper in Aberdeen, to be ready to go from Fifeness with Mr. Malcolm of Grange, to pilot the Pretender up the Frith; and farther desired him to go over the water to Edinburgh, to advertise Captain Straten and Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath of Mr. Fleming's arrival and instructions. The appearance of the French fleet in the Frith, so it struck no small terror into the well-affected. However, the Magistrates and Corporation of the City of Edinburgh shewed such zeal and readiness to assist the Government, and such care and diligence were

used in observing and securing suspected persons, that, by this means, together with the speedy march of some English forces northwards, and Sir George Byng's continuing in Leith-Reach, till certain news came of the Pretender's return to Dunkirk, the peace of Scotland was happily preserved.

Mr. Lockhart, from whom this account is extracted, observes, p. 375, that the reasons alledged by the Marchal de Matignon, in his letter to Monsieur Camillard, for not landing in the North or West of Scotland, were frivolous. "And yet, says he, consider the want of resolution and firmness, that has of late appeared in the French councils; and it is not improbable, that, having missed of the first aim of landing in the Frith, and being afraid of the English fleet's falling upon them, they might be at a stand, and despair of succeeding. But is it not strange they should have undertaken such an expedition, and not reflected upon, and been provided with orders for all accidents, that might happen? And was it so extraordinary a thing, that they could not foresee, that the English fleet, which was then at sea, might have endeavoured to prevent the landing in the Frith; and yet on such an emergency leave all to the Admiral's own disposal? But since, as I mentioned before, the King was so pressing to have landed in the North, I am apt to believe Fourbin had secret orders from his Master, which he did not communicate to the King. And therefore I cannot altogether condemn those, who are of opinion, that the French King did never design the King should land; for being fully persuaded and satisfied, that the Scots were zealously bent to rise in arms, he might think, that, upon his fleet's arrival on the coast, they would have appeared; and having once set the Island by the ears together, and kindled a civil war, he might spare his men and money, and reserve the King in his power, to serve him on another occasion. Else, say they, why did he not send such a number of forces, as was capitulated? For the Treators demanded six or seven thousand, and others ten thousand; which was promised, and yet they were but betwixt four and five thousand, and, those none of the best; neither was the sum of money, nor quantity of arms, and other warlike stores, near so great as was demanded and agreed to. And since he had been at so much charge in equipping this expedition, and made such a noise of it all the world over, Why did they not land in the North or West, where they could meet with no opposition? It is true, indeed, the South-side of the Frith was the place advised, and most proper (though other places, both in the North and West, had been

1708.

the Lord Griffin, and others committed to the Tower. Hist. of Eur.

spoke

1708. also on board the same ship, were, for the same crime, committed to *Newgate*: *Edward Fitzgerald*, *Oliver Bourk*, *Daniel Baily*, *Stephen Connor*, *Constance Kiefe*, *Michael Pendergast*, *Edmund Fitzgerald*, *Teague Macmahon*, *Cleary*, *Fitzmorris*, *O Sullivan*, *Maccarty*, *Fannon*, *Denovan*, *Hymes*, and *Anthony Stanburker*. Several persons were likewise seized in Scotland, and sent up to London (1).

Before Sir George Byng sailed from *Leith*—*Road* to the *Downs*, he was visited by Sir *Patrick Johnson*, Representative in the late Parliament for the City of *Edinburgh*, in the name of the Magistracy of that City; and presented with an instrument, whereby he was made a citizen of *Edinburgh*, inclosed in a gold box, and accompanied with a letter from Sir *Samuel Meldrum*, Lord Provost of that City, wherein he

“desired the Admiral to accept of it, as a mark of their high respect to him, who had been the happy instrument of so seasonable a deliverance to this island, for which his memory would be honoured in future ages.” Not many days after Sir George Byng arrived at Court, and was received, both by the Queen, and her Royal Consort, with those marks of favour, which his late eminent services had deserved. All this while, the Ministers of several foreign Princes and States had audiences of the Queen and Prince, to congratulate the disappointment of the Pretender’s design on *North-Britain*; but, on the 7th of *April*, Signior *Cornaro*, Ambassador from the Republic of *Venice*, was forbid the Court, upon account of some disrespect shewn by the Custom-House Officers of *Venice* to the *Gondola*, and two boatmen of the Earl of *Manchester*,

spoke of too) because the North-Country were secure against any attempts, and well inclined to serve the King, and the landing on the South-side of the *Firth* gained them *Edinburgh*, and opened a communication betwixt the North and the South, and the West of Scotland and North of England. But sure the difference betwixt West, South, and North, was not so great, as, if any one failed, the whole design was frustrated. But not to insist further on the French King’s secret designs (which are all mysteries to us) this is certain, that, had the French managed their affairs right, they might have landed even in the *Firth*; for, had they failed their course directly from *Newport-Pitt*, they might have reached it a day sooner than they did; but, in place thereof, though they knew the English fleet was in quest of them, and that England and all the world knew of their design, they stood out so far to the North-seas, for fear, as they since alledged, of alarming England, that the first fight they had of Scotland was near thirty miles to the North of *Aberdeen*; and so, though they had the start by near a day of Sir George Byng, yet he arriv’d in the *Firth* in a few hours after them; and one of their ships, which proved leaky, and was obliged to return to *Dunkirk*, and remained there two days after they failed, reached the *Firth* several hours before them. And if it was true, as I have been informed, that the French King’s orders to *Fourbin* were, that, provided he could land on any place on the South of the *Firth*, rather than lose the opportunity, he allowed him to destroy his ships, and join his seamen to the land-forces; Why did they drop their anchors at the mouth of the *Firth*, and lose half a day and a whole night? For, had he failed on, he might have reached the windings in the head of the *Firth*, before the English fleet could have come up to the *Firth*, and lain some time concealed from them, who, he saw, knew not where the French were, but dropped their anchors. But, supposing the English had discovered them, next day they would at least have got so many hours sailing of them, that, before they could have come up, their great ships might have unloaded, and the lesser ones run into creeks and shallow places (which abound there) where the English big ships could not have come at them. Lastly, it was unaccountable in them to come from *Dunkirk*, where were abundance of Scots seamen, who would have been glad of the occasion, and not bring a pilot, who knew the coast, with them; the loss of which they found, when they arrived there, and were obliged to take in some fishermen for that purpose off of *Montrose*. I know some have attributed their landing to the Duke of *Perth*, whose heart, they say, failed him when it came to the push. But, for my part, I cannot conceive how his opinion or instruction could have that weight in the managing a matter of such importance. Again, it has been said, that the Earl *Marischal* omitted to answer the signal of a ship, which was sent by agreement to the coast near his house, to learn intelligence from him of the state of affairs. It is true indeed, his

Lordship failed on his part; but can it be thought, that the vigorous execution of the project could stop on so slight a disappointment? Besides, Mr. *Makom* of *Grange* did actually go aboard that ship, which, I told you, came after the French out of *Dunkirk*, and arrived in the *Firth* before the fleet, and informed them of all that was needful. But to leave these speculations with this animadversion, that the French might have landed, if they had pleased, or managed their affairs right; and that time must discover the true reason of their not landing, of which, by the bye, none of the Court of *St. Germain*, though often wrote to on this subject, will give any return, which makes it the more mysterious.

(1) Towards the end of *April* 1708, the chief State-prisoners in the castle of *Edinburgh*, viz. the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Errol*, *Seaforth*, and *Nithsdale*; the Lords Viscounts *Stormount* and *Kilsyth*, the Lord *Drummond*, the Lord *Nairn*, and *James Murray* (the two last named brothers to the Duke of *Athol*) Sir *George Maxwell*, and others, set out from thence, in order to be brought up to London, guarded by a party of dragoons. As for the Duke of *Hamilton*, who, on the 10th of *April*, arrived at *Westminster* with his Duchess, attended only by one of her Majesty’s Messengers, his Grace made such large professions of his loyalty and affection to her Majesty’s Person and Government, that he was soon after discharged; as was also the Earl of *Aberdeen*, the Lord *Balmerino*, the Bishop of *Edinburgh*, Sir *Walter Bruce*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Balfour*, Mr. *Fletcher* of *Salton*, *Dugal Stewart*, brother to the Lord *Bute*, and some others. On the 7th of *June*, the Lord *Drummond*, Sir *George Maxwell*, and *Robert Murray* of *Palmy* were committed prisoners to the Tower of London; and the Laids of *Cardeen* and *Keir* to *Newgate*, by warrants from the Lords of her Majesty’s Privy-Council. The next day the following prisoners were brought up to London from *Edinburgh*, the Duke of *Gordon*, Viscount *Kennmare*, *Fotheringham* of *Powrie*, *Lyon* of *Auchterhousey*, Lord *James Murray*, *Robinson* of *Strewan*, *Seaton* of *Tauch*, *Stuart* of *Starathis*, *Macdonald* of *Keppock*, *Edmiston* of *Newton*, Laird of *Keppendarvie*, *Gordon* of *Gallachy*, and *Stuart* of *Boyce*; as were, on the 14th of that month, the Earl *Marischal*, the Earl of *Murray*, the Earl of *Traquair*, the Lord *Belhaven*, the Lord *Sinclair*, Sir *John Maclean*, the Laird of *Lochiel*, the Laird of *Appin*, Major-General *Buchan*, and Mr. *Cambel* of *Glenderowick*. These prisoners having severally been examined by the Lords of the Privy-Council, such, against whom there was no particular information, were admitted to bail; which favour extended to most of them, but the Lord *Belhaven* did not long enjoy it, for, on the 21st of *June* he died of an inflammation or mortification in his brain, and in him expired the warmest Opposer of the Union of the two Kingdoms.

But it will be proper to hear what Mr. *Lothart*, in R his

1708. *Manchester*, the *British* Ambassador (1). But this matter was afterwards accommodated to the Queen's intire satisfaction (2).

Death and character of Sir Edward Seymour.

During the Session of Parliament, on the 18th of February, died a very eminent Member of it, Sir Edward Seymour, at his seat at Maiden-Bradley in Wiltshire. Nobility of descent, eminency of parts, great popularity, and a leading influence in the House of Commons, were the distinguishing circumstances of his life. Whether they were attended with real virtue and merit, cannot be deemed an improper inquiry; since without these, outward appearances are insignificant and offensive. In the Reign of King Charles II, he laboured with uncommon diligence to promote the measures of the Court, for the destruction of civil and religious liberty; and was neither afraid nor ashamed of any sort of management. His contemptuous and brutal behaviour towards the House of Commons, while he was in the Chair, was astonishing and scarce credible. He acted there as the Marshal of the Court, and agreeably to his instructions from thence, allowed the House a long or short day for business. He seemed to affect to be re-

membered by a series of words and actions, full of indignity and insolence; nor did he escape the public reproaches of many Members for the licentiousness of his morals, which they declared to be a disgrace to the station, which he bore in their House. In order to bring him under proper discipline and correction, the next House of Commons chose him their Speaker; but his Royal Master, to preserve him from disgrace and vexation, refused his approbation in an unusual manner. His concurrence in the Revolution, and directing the Association, are to be ascribed to a resentment of what he esteemed ill usage under King James. To the establishment, ease, and success of King William's Government, no one ever gave stronger proofs of an utter aversion. When that King had full evidence of his treasonable practices, such was his Majesty's generous regard to his first appearances, that he gave him his choice of taking a place or his trial. Though he had often professed a contempt for the Master and the Service, prudence and guilt disposed him to a place. His conduct in this situation was a very ungrateful return for the favour, which he had received.

his *Memoirs*, p. 382, says upon this subject. 'The castles of *Stirling* and *Edinburgh*, says he, and all the prisons in *Edinburgh*, were crammed full of Nobility and Gentry. At first, no doubt, the Government expected to have had proof enough to have brought several of them to punishment; but, failing, blessed be God, in that, the next use they made of them was to advance their politics; for no sooner did any person, who was not of their party, pretend to stand a Candidate to be chosen a Parliament-man at the elections, which were to be next summer, but he was clapped up in prison, or threatened with it, if he did not desist; and by these means they carried, generally speaking, whom they pleased. But to return to the prisoners, after they had been in custody for some weeks, orders came from *London* to send them up thither, which was accordingly done, being divided in three classes, and sent up three several times, led in triumph under a strong guard, and exposed to the raillery and impertinence of the *English* mob. And now it appeared to what a fine market *Scotland* had brought her hogs, her Nobility and Gentry being led in chains from one end of the island to the other, merely on account of suspicion, and without any accusation or proof against them. Whilst this was a doing, the Duke of *Hamilton*, being likewise brought up prisoner to *London*, and taking the advantage of the discords between the Treasurer and the Whigs, struck up with the latter, and prevailed with them to obtain, not only his, but all the other prisoners liberation (excepting the *Stirlingshire* Gentlemen, who were sent home again to undergo their trial, upon their finding bail to appear against a certain day (which was likewise soon remitted) and engaged to join with them (the Whigs) and their friends in *Scotland*, viz. the *Squadrons*, in the election of the Peers for the Parliament of *Great-Britain*, which having accordingly done, several of the Court-party were thrown out. This certainly was one of the nicest steps the Duke of *Hamilton* ever made; and, had he not hit upon this favourable juncture, and managed it with great address, I am afraid some heads had paid for it; at best, they had undergone a long confinement; so that to his Grace alone the thanks for that deliverance was owing.'

(1) That Earl gives the following account of this affair, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, March 30, 1708, printed in Mr. *Cole's memoirs of affairs of state*, p. 519, which letter begins thus: 'I write under all the concern imaginable, being sensible, that the affront they have done me here is of the highest nature, as you will see by my memorial;

and, unless it is repaired in the most public manner, it will reflect extremely on the honour of the Queen and the whole Nation. This has been occasioned by the roguery and villany of one B—— a Merchant, son to Mr. B—— in the City, who inveigled and persuaded two of my boatmen to go on board a ship, and load from it some cloth, which is prohibited here. It is well known, that the boat of an Ambassador is so sacred, that it is not to be visited or stopped on any account whatsoever, though there was a prisoner of State in it. This made B—— conclude, that his cloth was secure, though my honour and reputation must have suffered; for it could not but be known here, though this had not happened.' The circumstances of the affront are thus related in the Earl of *Manchester's Memorial*, presented on the 29th of March 1708: 'On Monday last my Gondola, with two of my boatmen, dressed in my ordinary and well-known livery, was attacked in coming from *Malamocco* by the Officers of this most serene Republic, armed with fire-arms and steel-weapons. These Officers entered the boat by main force; and, after having done what they thought fit, they suffered the Gondola to row away.'

(2) The Earl of *Manchester*, in a letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, July 6, 1708, printed in *Cole's Memoirs*, p. 540, observes, 'that the Senate of *Venice* had consented to restore the cloth in the manner the Earl had desired; to condemn the men into the galleys; and, in lieu of the pillory, to bring them at the hour of justice from the prison through the place of *St. Mark* into the galley, and the chief of them to have a paper prefixed to him, denoting their crime and punishment, &c.' The conclusion of this affair will appear from the following passage of the Earl of *Manchester's* letter to the Earl of *Sunderland* from *Venice*, September 7, 1708: 'I can now acquaint your Lordship, that yesterday the men were brought through the place of *St. Mark* to the galley. The chief of them had a paper on his breast and back with the inscription, as it was agreed on. There were great numbers of people. This day they delivered the cloth to my boat, in the place, where they took it. I sent it immediately to the four hospitals, so all is passed to our intire satisfaction, and much to the honour of the Queen; and I have the good fortune to have the approbation of all people here in this affair. As soon as the men have made their submission, I intend to go to the College to get them released. One of the men being lame of the gout, he was carried in a chair, which made it more remarkable. They were eleven in all.'

(1) *Henry*

1708. ceived. In pursuance of his counsels early and seasonable remedies were neglected; every thing was to wait the attention of Parliament. Thus the coin was reduced to a ruinous state, which proved the occasion of infinite mischief to affairs both at home and abroad. Whilst he de-claimed against and profecuted real or imaginary corruptions in others, he was a constant and most able practitioner this way. Rival Companies and rival Projectors successfully employed the sure method of procuring his protection. Foreign powers were very sensible of the certain way of assuring to themselves so significant and daring an advocate. Much of this kind was suspected, and many things well known; yet with an amazing sufficiency he continued to support his authority and influence. The regards of his party were secured by his unwearied sincere hatred of King William. In this Reign, he, who in a former had betrayed and trampled on the privileges of a House of Commons, commenced the patron and enlarger of its rights.

His highest pretensions to public spirit and public virtue were owing to opposite motives. His zeal in the impeachment of the Earl of *Clarendon*, was not the effect of offences suggested in the articles, but flowed from a desire of recommending himself to a corrupt Court. Malevolence had been long working there, on the account of that Earl's having joined with the Earl of *Southampton*, in preventing profuse and destructive settlements of Parliament. The prosecution of Lord *Sommes* arose from that Lord's ability and fidelity in the service of his Prince and the Public; for neither Sir *Edward's* obligation nor inclination would have urged him to pursue a real enemy of France. After he had been the terror of his enemies; and lived amongst his friends with a haughty superiority, a mean wretch hurried him out of the world, its most imperious disturber. When infirmities had confined him to his chair, his house was deserted for the servants on the account of some new diversions; and, in the mean time an old female beggar of the maddish tribe happened to wander into the apartments. Finding the great man thus alone, she reproached him for all his cruelty and oppressions, threatened, terrified, and handled him in a manner, the effects of which soon put an end to a life, through the whole course of

which he seemed equally insensible of crimes and 1708. punishments.

The removal of Mr. Secretary *Harley* having occasioned some other Vacancies, *Robert Walpole*, a Gentleman of quick parts and masterly eloquence, was, in Mr. *St. John's* room, made Secretary of War; and the place of Secretary to the Marines, which had been likewise held by Mr. *St. John*, was given to Mr. *Josiah Burchet*. Some time after, the Queen delivered to the Earl of *Cholmondeley* the Staff of Comptroller of her Household; and, about the middle of April, her Majesty made a promotion of general Officers, by which the Earl *Rivers* was advanced to the post of General of the horse (1).

Some time before, Orders and Commissions were delivered for new raising the regiments of *Montjoy*, *Gorges*, *Alnut*, *Mordaunt*, *Wade*, *Macartney*, and Lord *Mark Kerr*, which suffered most at the battle of *Almanza*; and their Officers, who were prisoners in France, were supplied by others. About the same time, the Earl of *Wemyss* and Sir *John Leake* were added to the Lord High Admiral's Council. On the 22d of April, her Majesty nominated Dr. *William Fleetwood* to the Bishoprick of *St. Asaph*, vacant by the death of Dr. *Beveridge*, and Sir *William Giffard* was appointed Governor of *Greenwich Hospital*; and *Hugh Boscowen* Warden of the *Stannaries*.

The Scotch Privy-Council being dissolved by the first Privy-Council of Great-Britain. The late act, entitled, An act for re-considering the Union of the two Kingdoms more intire and compleat, the Queen, on the 10th of May, appointed the first privy Council of Great-Britain (2).

On the 15th of May, the Lord *Griffin*, one of the prisoners taken on board the *Salisbury*, being attainted by outlawry for high-treason, committed in the Reign of King *William*, was brought to the bar of the *Queen's-Bench*, and, after reading of the outlawry, being asked, What he had to say, why execution should not be awarded against him? He said, in his defence, "That he was neither in arms, nor in Council with the enemy; but was forced by the French Court upon the expedition intirely against his judgment and inclination, notwithstanding he had expressed his dislike of it, as a rash and foolish attempt;" adding, That he threw himself at the Queen's feet for mercy, and "hoped

(1) *Henry Withers*, *Cornelius Wood*, *Charles Refs*, *Daniel Harvey*, Lord *Raby*, Earl of *Essex*, Earl of *Arran*,—*Maine*, *William Seymour*, *Hutton Compton*, *Robert Echlyn*, Marquis of *Lothian*, and—*Tidcomb*, were declared Lieutenant-Generals; Sir *William Douglas*, Lord *Montjoy*, Earl of *Crawford*, *Richard Gorges*, *Nicholas Sankey*, *Henry Holt*, *William Cadogan*, *Thomas Meredyth*, *Francis Palmes*, *James Stanhope*, Lord *Shannon*, Lord *Charlemont*, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Major-Generals; *Luke Lillingston*, Sir *Thomas Smith*, *John Livesey*, *Edward Braddock*, *Gilbert Primrose*, *Roger Elliot*, *William Evans*, *Thomas Pearce*, *Joseph Wightman*, and *John Newton*, Brigadiers.

(2) Consisting of,
The Archbishop of *Canterbury*.
William, Lord *Croper*, Lord-Chancellor of Great-Britain,
Sidney, Earl of *Godolphin*, Lord-High-Treasurer,
Thomas, Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord-President,
John, Duke of *Newcastle*, Lord-Privy-Seal,
William, Duke of *Devonshire*, Lord-Steward,
James, Duke of *Ormond*,

Henry, Marquis of *Kent*, Lord Chamberlain,
James, Earl of *Derby*,
Thomas, Earl of *Stamford*,
Charles Earl of *Sunderland*, Principal Secretary of State.
Charles Bodville, Earl of *Radnor*,
Charles, Earl of *Berkeley*,
Francis, Earl of *Bradford*,
Hugh, Earl of *Chalmondeley*,
Henry, Lord Bishop of *London*,
William, Lord *Dartmouth*,
Henry Boyle, Principal Secretary of State,
Thomas Coke, Vice-Chamberlain,
Sir John Trevor, Master of the Rolls,
Sir Thomas Trevor, Lord-Chief-Justice,
Sir Charles Hedges,
James Vernon,
John Howe,
Thomas Erle.

At the same time *John Povey*, *Edward Southwell*, and *Christopher Mygrave* were sworn Clerks of the Council.

1708. "hoped the favour of the Court." His defence being judged intirely foreign to the outlawry, upon which he was brought to the bar, the Court made a rule for his execution, as is usual in such cases: But though the Queen was prevailed with to sign the warrant for sentence to pass upon him, a reprieve, however, for a fortnight, was sent the night before to the Tower; and that, expiring the last day of June, was then renewed, and afterwards continued from month to month, till he died a natural death in the Tower, about two years after.

He is reprieved till he dies in the Tower.

On the 20th of May, Meinbard, Duke of Schomberg, and John Smith, late Speaker of the House of Commons, who, about this time, was constituted Under-Treasurer, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of Mr. Secretary Boyle, were sworn of the Privy-Council, as was the Duke of Somerset the week after; and, towards the latter end of the same month, the Duke of Queensberry was made a Peer of Great-Britain by the title of Baron of Rippon, and Marquis of Beverley in the County of York, and Duke of Dover in the County of Kent.

Proclamation for the distribution of prizes.

An Act had passed the last Session for the better security to our trade by Cruizers and Convoys, and for the encouraging Privateers, particularly in the *West-Indies* and *South-Sea*. They were to have all they could take, intirely to themselves; the same encouragement was also given to the Captains of the Queen's ships, with this difference, that the Captains of the Privateers were to divide their captures, according to agreements made among themselves, but the distribution of prizes taken by men of war was left to the Queen. A proclamation was therefore published at this time in May, ordering the prizes to be divided into eight shares. The Captain was to have three eighths, unless he had a superior Officer, in which case the Admiral or Commodore was to have one of the three. The Commission-Officers and Master were to have one eighth, the Warrant-Officers one, and the Petty-Officers another, and the Sailors the other two.

The Duke of Marlborough goes to Holland.

The storm, which threatened Great-Britain, being dispelled, and the necessary measures for the security of the Government taken, the Duke of Marlborough set out from London the 29th of March, and, having reached Margate that evening, embarked there, and the next day, at two in the afternoon, came in sight of the coast of Holland, and arrived late the same night at the Hague, where Prince Eugene of Savoy was come, two days before, to meet him.

The-Princes of France sent to the armies in Flanders.

The advantages gained by the French, the last year, prompted them to entertain several projects, and to make still greater efforts to recover their former superiority. And indeed their forces this year seemed to be more numerous than ever, especially in the *Netherlands*, where it was believed the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke de Vendôme would have again commanded. But an unexpected alteration was suddenly made, and the French King declared the Duke of Burgundy Generalissimo of his forces, appointing the Duke de Vendôme to serve under him; and he was to be accompanied by the Duke of Berry. The Pretender (who was returned from his unsuccessful expedition to Scotland) went with them, without any other character than that of the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria was to command on the *Rhine*, with the

Duke of Berwick under him, the Marshal de Villeroi being recalled, and appointed to command in *Dauphiné*. These Proceedings of the French King surprized every one; but he conceived great hopes from these alterations of his Generals. The credit with relation to money was still very low in France. For, after many methods taken for raising the credit of the Mint-bills, they were still at a discount of forty per cent. No fleets came this year from the *West-Indies*, and therefore they could not be supplied from thence.

On the 12th of April, N. S. in the evening, there was a great Conference between Prince Eugene, the Duke of Marlborough, the Deputies of the States for private affairs, and Pensionary Heinsius, in the Chamber of Triers, the usual Place of Conferences in the States apartment; which was pitched upon to avoid the trouble of the ceremonial; for otherwise it must have been at the Duke of Marlborough's, as Ambassador Extraordinary; whereas Prince Eugene had no character, his credentials importing only, "that his Imperial Majesty had sent him" first Counsellor, President of the Council of War, and General-Lieutenant, Prince Eugene, "to concert the operations of the campaign, in whom the States were desired to put an intire confidence." As soon as they were entered the room, the Duke of Marlborough took Prince Eugene by the hand, and led him to a seat above his own; after which the States Deputies placed themselves, without observing any precedence among them. Prince Eugene opened the Conference with a speech, wherein he gave a particular account of the Emperor's forces in Naples, Lombardy, and Piedmont, and of those designed for Spain and having mentioned the troops which his Imperial Majesty intended to employ in Germany, he gave, in very modest terms, his own opinion of the operations of the next campaign, both on the Upper Rhine and the Low-Countries; concluding, that he had instructions from his Imperial Majesty to use his endeavours to engage the Queen of Great Britain and the States-General to approve the Scheme he had proposed, and to second, on their parts, his Imperial Majesty's efforts, both to reduce the exorbitant power of France, and to restore his Brother King Charles III. to the whole Monarchy of Spain.

After Prince Eugene had ended his speech, the Duke of Marlborough acquainted the Assembly with the instructions he had received from the Queen his Mistress, in relation to the business before them; and at last mention was made of a separate army to be commanded by Prince Eugene. This Conference, which lasted above an hour, was but a kind of preliminary; for the Deputies of the States were not empowered to make any answer, either to Prince Eugene's, or the Duke of Marlborough's proposals, but only (according to the usual methods observed by that Republic) to receive them, and to report the same to their High Mightinesses; which they did on the 16th.

Several other Conferences were held, though more privately, between the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States; the result of which was (as it afterwards appeared) "That most of the Imperialists employed the year before on the Upper Rhine, with the

1708. the Saxons and Hessians in the pay of Great-Britain and Holland, and the troops, which the Elector Palatine was to furnish, in consideration of his Imperial Majesty's restoring him to the possession of the Upper Palatinate, with the prerogatives enjoyed by his Ancestors, should march into the *Netherlands*, to act there, under Prince Eugene, in concert with the British and Dutch forces, commanded in chief by the Duke of Marlborough, and under him, by Veldt-Marshal Auverquerque.* Whether Prince Eugene, who took Hanover in his way to the Hague, then communicated this scheme to the Elector of that name, and found him averse to it, or proposed other measures to his Electoral Highness, is not known; but it was thought fit, that Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough should now both wait on that Prince, in order to obtain his concurrence to the resolutions taken at the Hague, and engage him to return to command the army on the Upper Rhine.

The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene go to Hanover.

The Duke of Marlborough intended to have gone back to England, before the opening of the campaign; but Prince Eugene was very earnest with him to meet him at Hanover; and the States having represented to the Queen of Great-Britain the necessity of his presence on that side, and how uncertain the winds might make his timely return, the season being so far advanced, he resolved upon the journey to the Court of Hanover. Prince Eugene, having finished his negotiations at the Hague, set out the 20th of April N. S. arrived the 22d at Dusseldorp, and, having ended his business, the next day, with the Elector Palatine, and sent an express to Vienna, pursued his journey towards Hanover. The Duke of Marlborough met him the 26th two German miles from that place, and, arriving there the same evening together, they alighted at the British Envoy's. The Duke went first to Court, and was followed thither soon after by Prince Eugene, where the several audiences of ceremony, which they had of the Electoral family, being over, they had together a long Conference with the Elector, who gave orders for their being accommodated at his own palace. Their Conferences were continued the three following days, the Count de Rechteren assisting on the part of the States-General. They met with some difficulties at first, which were removed by the dextrous and prudent management of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; and his Electoral Highness, though he was sensible, that, by this scheme for making vigorous efforts in Flanders, the army, which he was to command himself on the Upper Rhine, must be extremely weakened, and he should be obliged to stand on the defensive; yet, at length, he consented to part with several regiments, and, being

1708. satisfied with the laurels he had already gained, cheerfully sacrificed to the common cause the glory he might have reaped by acting offensively. But though it was agreed, that Prince Eugene should come into the Netherlands, yet it was industriously given out, that he was to act with a separate body on the Moselle, which obliged the enemy to send a considerable number of forces that way under the command of the Duke of Berwick.

On the 29th of April, N. S. Prince Eugene set out for Leipzig, to confer with King Augustus, who was come thither on Purpose, two days before, from Dresden. On the Prince's arrival he finished his negotiations in a few hours, and pursued his journey the next day to Vienna. The Duke of Marlborough made no long stay after Prince Eugene at Hanover; for he set out from thence the day after, and arrived the 3d of May at the Hague, where he communicated to the States General the result of the Conferences held at Hanover; and, having concerted with their High Mightinesses further measures for opening the campaign, he went to Ghent, where having reviewed the British forces, he proceeded to Brussels (1). The Duke having conferred with Veldt-Marshal d'Auverquerque, who, notwithstanding his infirm state of health, preserved a vigorous mind, and seemed resolved to die, like a hero, in the field, gave orders to the troops to march to Andernach near Brussels, where the Dutch, Prussians, and Hanoverians, began to form the army the 23d of May, N. S. The 26th they marched to Billingen, where the Duke of Marlborough took up his quarters in the Abbey of that name; and the Veldt-Marshal fixed his at Hall, a little town, which lay in the front of the first line. The British forces repaired to this camp likewise with all possible expedition, as did also a considerable body of troops in the service of the States-General from their respective garrisons in Flanders. And, last of all, the Field-Deputies of their High Mightinesses arrived there, who behaved themselves this campaign with so much prudence and resolution, that they contributed very much to the success of it.

The campaign in Flanders.

Upon notice of these motions, the Duke de Vendosme assembled his army, on the 25th of May, between Mons and St. Ghislain, and took up his head-quarters at St. Simpronien, from whence he marched the next day to Soignies, posting his right at Naiss, and his left at Canchie Notre Dame, within three leagues of the Confederate camp. He was joined the same day by the Duke of Burgundy, who had the chief (at least titular) command of the army, together with the Duke of Berry, his brother, and the Pretender.

On

(1) Here the Duke was honoured with a letter from the Queen, dated May 6, by the manner of which, as the Duchess of Marlborough observes in the *Account of her Conduct*, p. 255, her Majesty seemed still to have retained a great degree of regard for Mr. Harley. After complaining to the Duke of being so tired that day with importunities from the Whigs, that she had not spirits left to open her afflicted heart so freely and fully as she intended, she goes on to say, that she was entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor interest to make steps (meaning the first steps) towards a peace, as the Duke had been pressed to do N^o 57. Vol. IV.

abroad; and assures him, that, whatever insinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, she would never give her consent to a peace, but upon safe and honourable terms. She begs the Duke to be so just to her, as not to let the misrepresentations made of her have any weight with him; adding, that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expressed; and concludes with these words; 'I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourself, there being nobody, I am sure, that prays more heartily than her, who will live and die most sincerely yours, &c.'

On the 29th of May, the Confederate army, which consisted of a hundred and eighty squadrons of horse, and a hundred and twelve battalions, made a motion from *Bellinghen*, advancing the right to *Herfelingen*, the left to *Lembey*, and fixing the head-quarters at *St. Renelle*, in hopes of bringing the enemy to an engagement, which, by their bold march to *Soignes*, they seemed rather to seek than decline, being superior, at least, in number, to the Allies; for their army consisted of a hundred and ninety-seven squadrons, and a hundred and twenty-four battalions. The same day the enemy received their heavy baggage from *Mons*, but sent it back thither on the 31st, which still gave the Confederates hopes they should come to an engagement; and thereupon, the Duke of *Marlborough* ordered the troops to be in a readiness to march at an hour's warning. The same evening the Duke received intelligence, that the enemy's heavy baggage, having received a counter-order, was returned to the camp, and that they had foraged for two days; whence it was reasonably concluded, that they would not march the next day, as the deserters had reported. The Duke of *Marlborough*, having advised with the other Generals, resolved to send the horse to forage the next morning; and they went out, before break of day; but they had not been out an hour, before advice came, that the enemy had begun the night before, at ten, to send their heavy baggage to *Mons*, and decamped without any noise at eleven, marching towards *Nivelle*. The foragers were immediately recalled, and, to avoid all loss of time, the infantry marched first of all about noon from *St. Renelle*, and were followed by the cavalry. About four they formed four columns, intending to incamp the right towards *Anderlecht*, and the left to *Lake*; but upon farther notice, that the enemy had not incamped at *Nivelle*, but had continued their march by *Bois Signieur Isaac* to *Braine la Leu*, the Duke judged, that they could not have any other design, than to post themselves on the bank of the *Deule*, to hinder the Allies from passing that river, and to seize *Louvain*; being the very same project, which the Duke de *Vendosme* had formed the last year, but miscarried in it. To prevent the enemy, there was no other remedy, but to continue marching all night; so that, on the 3d of June in the afternoon, the army of the Allies

arrived at the camp of *Terbank*, very much fatigued, as well by this long march as by the continual rains, which had fallen for four and twenty hours together. The *French*, having received intelligence of this expeditious march of the Confederates, did not venture to advance farther than *Genap*, but incamp'd their right to that place, and their left to *Braine la Leu*. Upon which the Duke of *Marlborough* took up his quarters in the Abbey of *Terbank*, and Monsieur d'*Averquerque* his in the Suburbs of *Louvain*. On the 4th, several bridges were laid on the *Deule*, between *Havre* and *Louvain*; and, on the 5th, almost the whole Confederate army foraged in the neighbourhood of their camp. The 6th being appointed by the Duke as a day of thanksgiving for the past successes of the arms of the Allies, and to implore a blessing upon the present campaign, it was religiously observed throughout the whole army.

The enemy continuing quiet in their camp, the Duke of *Marlborough* took that opportunity of reviewing his troops, which he began to do the seventh, and continued for eight or nine days following, when he had the satisfaction to find, that the respective bodies were all very compleat, the men in the most excellent order, animated with their former victories; and eager to engage an enemy, that was despicable in their eyes. In this camp it was, that the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* (his present Majesty King *George II.*) came to the army, and was received with the greatest marks of respect and distinction by all the general Officers.

It was now plain, that the enemy had no inclination to engage the Confederates. They had indeed in view the recovery of the places they had lost in the year 1706; but it was by their usual method of surprize and treachery. Nor were their hopes altogether vain, for the Elector of *Bavaria*, who had gained some interest in the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, among people of all ranks, by his profuse and popular behaviour, with the assistance of Count de *Bergeyck*, a person of great credit, and no less activity, and other friends of the House of *Bourbon*, easily found means to practise upon the levity and restless spirits of the chief inhabitants of the Cities of *Ghent* (1), *Bruges* (2), and *Antwerp*, who promised to open their gates to the troops of *France* and *Spain*, as soon as they could find a fair opportunity (3). The truth was, the

Dutch

(1) *Ghent* is a vast large City and Castle, one of the principal of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquisate of the Earldom of *Flanders*, and territory of *Ghent*, a Bishoprick under the Archbishop of *Mechlin*. It was surprized by, or rather betrayed to the *French* the beginning of this campaign; but besieged and recovered by the Duke of *Marlborough* towards the end of the year. It stands on the river *Scheld* and *Lys* (which divide it into twenty-six islands) twenty-seven miles almost South-west of *Antwerp*, thirty North-west of *Brussels*, ninety-four almost South of *Amsterdam*, and an hundred and fifty-four North-East of *Paris*.

(2) *Bruges* is a fair, strong, and noble City of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the head of the territory of *Bruges*, a Bishoprick under the Archbishop of *Mechlin*. This town made its submission to the Duke of *Marlborough* after the famous battle of *Ramilles*; the *French* surprized it, or rather had it betrayed to them the beginning of this campaign, but abandoned it upon the approach of the Confederates,

towards the end of *December*, the same year. It stands twenty-four miles North-west of *Ghent*, eleven East of *Ostend*, thirty-four North-east of *Dunkirk*, and forty West of *Antwerp*.

(3) Dr. *Hare*, in his *Thanksgiving-sermon* before the House of Commons, on Thursday February 17, 1708-9, tells us, p. 11. 'That there was a Conspiracy to have all the *Netherlands* betrayed to the enemy by the interest of that unhappy Prince, who has suffered so much in their cause. When we saw the sons of *France* come into the field, we could not but suspect there was something more than ordinary in agitation. It was not enough to think they came to learn the art of war in an army, that aims at nothing but inaction, or to give courage to their troops, which their greatest General had not been able to do, though fetched from *Italy* on purpose, at a time when he least could have been spared; for the event has shewn, he brought no more courage with him than he left behind him; nor could it be expected, that their bare presence should make

1708. *Dutch* were severe Masters, and the *Flandrians* could not bear it. Though the *French* had laid heavier taxes on them, yet they used them better in all other respects. Their bigotry, being wrought on by their Priests, disposed them to change their Masters. The Duke of *Marlborough* resolved not to weaken his army by many garrisons; and therefore put none at all into *Bruges*, and a very weak one in the citadel of *Ghent*, reckoning, that there was no danger, as long as he lay between those places and the *French* army. The two armies had lain about a month looking on one another, shifting their camps a little, but keeping still in safe ground; the Confederates, for their parts, being in expectation of Prince *Eugene's* taking the field, with an army composed of *Prussian* and *Hessian* troops, ten thousand *Palatines* and some *Imperialists*. The motion of this body was retarded by several difficulties about the march of the *Palatine* forces; of which the *French* getting intelligence, they concluded, that the Confederates would hardly venture to force them in the passes and defiles they were possessed of, and therefore commanded a detachment to march towards *Ghent* and *Bruges*, to surprize those towns; which was effected in this manner:

Bruges
and *Ghent*
taken by the
French.

On the 5th of *July*, N. S. a party of the enemy's troops, commanded by the Brigadiers *la Faille* and *Paisteur*, advanced before break of day towards *Ghent*, and, at the opening of the gates between five and six in the morning, half a dozen foot-soldiers, with two or three troopers, who were sent before, pretending to be deserters, were admitted into the town by the watch of *Burgbers*, who were no more in number than themselves. When they were going to be carried to the main-guard, some of them pretended a weariness, and setting themselves down on the ground, desired some brandy, to delay time; which being brought, they drank with the *Burgbers*, and, amused them with a story of the march of the *French* army, and their own desertion. Soon after another small party of pretended deserters came, and entertained the watch with the like frivolous stories, till Brigadier *la Faille*, who not long before had been High-Bailiff of that City, and had still a considerable interest there, coming in person, commanded the *Burgbers*, who guarded the gates, to lay down their arms, and admit the *French* troops. They began at first to make a shew of resistance; but the pretended deserters, rising up at once, presented their bayonets, and stopped them. Resistance would now have been to little purpose; so the Brigadier's commands being immediately obeyed, he left some of his men there, and with the rest marched directly into

the town. It being early, they only met with a few labourers in the streets, some of whom took them for deserters, and others they quieted with gold. In this manner they advanced to the gate of *Bruges*, which they seized with little or no resistance, as they did likewise the bridge of *Meusefede*. In the mean time, Monsieur *Grimaldi*, who followed Monsieur *de la Faille* at a distance, entered the town likewise, and marched with the rest of the detachment to the market-place. All the gates being soon after seized, about ten, Monsieur *de la Faille* marched to the Town-house, and, having assembled the Magistrates and chief *Burgbers*, he caused a pardon to be read to them, signed by the Elector of *Bavaria*, and underneath by the Count *de Bergeyck*; upon which they readily submitted.

The enemy, being thus become masters of the town, summoned the Governor of the castle to surrender; but Monsieur *de Labene*, Major of Sir *Richard Temple's* regiment of foot, who commanded in that fortress with about three hundred men, expecting either to be reinforced by Major-General *Murray*, or relieved by the approach of the Confederate army, answered, "That he would defend it to the last extremity." The *French* began to prepare for attacking the castle; and Major-General *Murray*, who was posted at *Marienkirch* with two *English* regiments of foot, and one of *Spanish* dragoons, in vain attempted to throw a reinforcement into the place. Major *Labene*, having been summoned a second time, and being wholly unprovided for defence against so powerful an army, obtained an honourable capitulation.

Some hours after the enemy had surprized *Ghent*, Count *de la Motte* appeared with a strong detachment before *Bruges*, which surrendered the next day, without making the least resistance, or putting the enemy to the trouble of firing more than three pieces of cannon. There was indeed a sort of capitulation agreed upon, in which the *Sieur Briel*, Receiver of the contributions, and Mr. *Volmar*, his Comptroller, were included; but it appeared by every circumstance, that this was a thing of form only, and that the articles had been long before settled by other persons than they that pretended to grant and accept them.

This done, Count *de la Motte* marched immediately to *Damme*, hoping to meet with the same success there; but as this place was fortified and garrisoned, the Governor opened the sluices, and put the whole country under water, which obliged the Count to retire. From thence he marched to *Plassendabl*, a little fort on the canal, which leads from *Bruges* to *Ostend*, and is a security to the communication of those two places.

make a starved and naked army act with as much vigour, as if they had been warmly clothed and well paid. No, we were sure it must be something else they came for, not to gain any honour in the field, but to reap the mean glory of some successful treachery, and so it proved. A design, we found, had been formed some time to surprize *Antwerp*; all was agreed, and every thing within a day or two ripe for execution, when the Princes joined the army; but the plot, which was more than they knew, was then actually discovered; and this was a design of such importance, we were inclined to think it was the whole they aimed at. But the sequel shewed the treachery was deeper

laid; and, while we were waiting the forces from the *Rhine*, another part of it succeeded better. Had both taken effect, what condition had our affairs been in? We had then, it is likely, without a blow lost all the fruits of the *Ramilles* campaign; and the consequence of that had been, not only putting the war two or three years back; it is more than probable the confederation it would every where have raised, would have soon frightened the Allies into an ill peace; or the success of the *Italian* league, which then could not have miscarried, might in another year have forced them to it.

1708. places. The Officer, who commanded in it, refused to surrender; upon which the Count attacked and took it in two days.

Major-General Murray, having found it impossible to reinforce the castle of *Ghent*, retired to *Sas van Ghent*, where he found the Deputies of the *States-General* for the affairs of *Flanders*, and concerted with them the necessary measures for putting the frontiers in a posture of defence, and securing those posts, which were most exposed.

The Confederate army marched from Terbank.

The Duke of *Mariborough*, who was yet in camp at *Terbank*, received advice, that a considerable detachment was marched towards *Tubize*, and, in the night, that their whole army had followed at nine in the evening. The Duke gave immediate orders for the Confederate army to be in readiness to march. Accordingly, about three in the morning, the 5th of July, they marched from the camp at *Terbank*, passed the canal in four columns, and incamped with the left at *Anderlecht*, and the right at the mill of *Tomberg*. Here the Duke got intelligence of the enemy's design on *Ghent*, and that the detachment they had made for that end was advanced as far as *Alst*, and had broken down the bridge over the *Dender*: He thereupon ordered Major-General *Butmar*, with four regiments of horse and dragoons, to pass over at *Dendermond*, in order to observe the enemy, and to prevent their design upon *Ghent*; but he came too late.

The French pass the Dender and break a great

The same day the *French* passed the *Senne* at *Hall* and *Tubize*, and were passing at the mill of *Goicke* till night, within a league of the right wing of the *Allies*; which coming very late into the camp, and the army having made a very long march through difficult ways, it was not thought practicable to attack the enemy that night. However, the greatest part of the horse and foot having been brought to the right during the night, in order to engage the enemy, the whole army was formed the next morning early in order of battle; but their design was frustrated by the *French*, who were employed the whole night, with all possible expedition, in passing the *Dender* through the town of *Ninove*, and over several bridges built near that place for the same purpose; so that the detachment, sent to attack their rear-guard, came too late to find any thing but their small baggage, which was attended by a strong guard. These Major-General *Schulenberg* and Sir *Richard Temple*, with ten squadrons and five battalions, supported by Major-General *de Veyne*, with ten squadrons more, soon defeated, put them to flight, and took a great deal of baggage.

Prince Eugene comes to the army.

The Confederate army incamped the same night at *Albe*, where *Prince Eugene* of *Savoy*, having made a quick march from the *Moselle*, and left his cavalry at *Maesricht*, resolving to be present as soon as possible, at whatever action might happen, though his troops should not come up in time, arrived that evening with

Major-General *Cadogan*, whom the Duke of *Mariborough* had sent to attend him. The arrival of *Prince Eugene*, and the approach of his troops, not only revived the spirits of the soldiers, but was very acceptable to the Generals themselves, after the ungrateful news they had received that very day of the *French* having surprized *Ghent*. The Duke of *Mariborough* and *Prince Eugene*, from the very moment they met, acted with the most perfect unanimity. The next day a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to regulate the march of the army according to the motions of the enemy; and the *Pioneers* were sent on every side to make ways; the resolution, which the Duke had before taken of bringing the enemy, if possible, to an engagement, being again confirmed. And so eager were the Generals for it, that it was determined, if a fair opportunity offered, not to wait the arrival of the Imperial troops. In the afternoon *Prince Eugene* went to *Brussels* to pay a visit to his mother, the Countess of *Soissons*; and the day following the Duke of *Mariborough* being much indisposed and feverish, the orders were given at Monsieur *Anverquerque's* quarters; and, according to these orders, four battalions marched to reinforce the garrison of *Brussels*, and eight battalions were ordered, with Major-General *Cadogan*, and the *Quarter-masters*, to make the ways.

The small advantage, which the enemy had in surprizing *Ghent*, proved the occasion of their own much greater loss; and the Governor of that castle not delivering it, till the 8th of July, had this good effect, that it amused the enemy two or three days in their camp from above *Alst* to *Scillebille* on the *Scheld*. This delay proved fatal to them; for the *French* Generals receiving intelligence, that *Prince Eugene* was bringing a reinforcement of about thirty thousand men, with all expedition, from *Germany* into *Brabant*, bethought themselves of retiring towards their lines and strong towns, before the conjunction of the Confederate troops, in hopes, that being reinforced with a good body of troops, which were coming to join them from *Alsace* (though not with such speed as the *Germans*, who were remarkably expeditious on this occasion beyond their usual custom) under the command of the Duke of *Berwick*, they might afterwards be a match for the Confederates, or, at least, might preserve their late easy conquests. They likewise imagined, that they might surprize or reduce *Oudenard*, the only pass the *Allies* had on the *Scheld*, since the taking of *Ghent*, before the *Allies* could be in any readiness to prevent it; and to this end, Count *de Cheme-rault* having broke down all the bridges on the *Scheld*, and intimidated all the lesser places in those parts, they caused *Oudenard* (1) to be invested on the 9th of July early, and intended to have taken possession of the advantageous camp of *Lessines*.

Monsieur *de Sigierman*, who commanded in *Oudenard*,

(1) *Oudenard* is a rich and very strong town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the Marquisate of the territory of *Oudenard*: It surrendered to the Duke of *Mariborough* in 1706. The *French* laid siege to it in the beginning of this campaign; but the approach of the Confederate army made them aban-

don the place, and engaged them in a battle near it, which proved a fatal overthrow to them. It stands on the river *Scheld*, thirteen miles South of *Ghent*, thirteen North-west of *Albe*, thirty-six West of *Brussels*, and thirty-seven almost North of *Mons*.

Oudenard invested by the *French*.

1708. *Oudenard*, fearing that the inhabitants might be treacherous, as it was suspected it had been in other places, immediately called a Council of war, to consider of means how to keep them within the limits of their duty, if they should be otherwise inclined. It was resolved to defend the place to the last extremity, and to declare to the townsmen, that it was hoped they would contribute all that lay in their power to that end; but that, if they offered to make the least attempt towards surrendering the place, they would set fire to it in every part, and reduce it to a heap of ashes. The inhabitants made all possible protestations of their fidelity, and assisted the Governor in putting the town in the best posture of defence.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, having either information or suspicion of the enemy's design, ordered Brigadier *Chanclos* to throw himself into *Oudenard*, with seven hundred men, detached from *Aeth*, *Courtray*, and *Mening*, and *Walef's* dragoons, which was performed accordingly. This proved a great disappointment to the enemy; for, if they could have secured this place, they would have cut off the communication of the Allies with *Mening* and *Courtray*.

The same day *Oudenard* was invested, the Confederate army (which was encamped at *Aische*) marched in four columns, the Earl of *Albemarle* being left, with all the grenadiers of the army, and thirty squadrons, to make the rear-guard, in case the enemy should have made any motion towards *Brussels*. The ways being in good repair, the army marched with the greatest expedition, and advanced as far as *Hersfelingen*, above five leagues from *Aische*, before eleven in the morning. Here the Duke of *Marlborough* gave orders for the army to pitch their tents, fronting towards the enemy; who being far from expecting, that the Confederate army could possibly make so swift a march, did not beat the *General* till three in the afternoon, thinking themselves sure of the camp of *Lessines*, in order to cover the siege of *Oudenard*, for which they had their artillery ready at *Tournay*. Prince *Eugene* having rejoined the army at *Hersfelingen*, the Duke of *Marlborough* detached Major-General *Cadogan* about four in the afternoon, with eight squadrons, and as many battalions, to take possession of the camp of *Lessines*. Accordingly, eight hundred men of this detachment entered the town of that name, about midnight; and the rest having passed through, at four in the morning, posted themselves on this side the river *Dender*. On the other hand, the *Retreat*, which was the signal for striking the tents, being beat at seven, the evening before, in the camp at *Hersfelingen*, the whole army marched immediately, and, moving on all night, began, the 10th, about eleven in the morning, to pass the *Dender* over the bridges laid by Major-General *Cadogan*, and continued their March to the camp of *Lessines*, on the other side; the chief strength whereof consists in the rivulet, which falls below it into the *Dender*. The enemy, perceiving themselves disappointed of this camp, altered their march towards *Gavre*, in order to pass the *Scheld* there.

The 11th in the morning, upon intelligence, that the enemy had quitted *Oudenard*, and were pursued by Brigadier *Chanclos* with *Walef's* dragoons, *Cadogan* was sent with sixteen battalions

and eight squadrons to make the ways and bridges at *Oudenard*. The army began to march at eight o' clock by the left, still in four columns, as they had incamped; and after the news came, that the enemy were still passing at *Gavre*, the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* resolved to endeavour to bring them to an engagement. In order to this, the army continued their march with such speed and diligence, that, at two in the afternoon, the front was at the bridges, over which *Cadogan's* sixteen battalions were then passing. Eight squadrons, and part of the former detachment, with the Quarter-masters, and Major-General *Rantzau* at the head of them, were posted behind a rivulet that runs into the *Scheld*, where they observed, that the *French* army were partly marching, and partly drawn up in order of battle. They took notice likewise that the enemy had thrown seven battalions into the village of *Heynem* (which is situated on the banks of the *Scheld*) and the neighbouring plains, which confronted that small village, were filled with the troops of the household, who were drawn up exactly opposite to the eight squadrons under Major-General *Rantzau*, no obstacle but a small Rivulet dividing them. Behind the village were morasses, woods, and defiles; so that an army had no other way to march, but through the high-road. This disposition of the *French* made it uncertain, whether their real design was to hinder the Duke of *Marlborough's* passing the *Scheld*, or to gain their own lines between *Lisse* and *Tournay*, which they thought they might easily have done, not imagining, that so considerable a body, as that of the Confederates, could march five leagues in a close country abounding in passes and defiles, have their roads levelled, cross a great river, and make an attack upon them the same day.

The design of the Duke of *Vendosme* in placing the seven battalions in the village of *Heynem*, and the squadrons, which the Confederates had discovered on the plain, which were to the number of twelve, was to have advanced towards the bridge, over which the Allies were passing, to a certain distance, in order to have waited there till half their troops were passed, and then to have attacked them with all the advantage which his superiority of number could have given him, not doubting but he should easily have defeated them, before the other half of their army could come to their assistance. It was with this intent, these troops were advanced, and the Duke would soon have followed with the whole army; but the Duke of *Burgundy* did not approve of this project. He had all along shewed an inclination to retire towards *Ghent*; and this propensity appeared now stronger than ever; he ordered the troops to stop short in their march at *Gavre* in the greatest perplexity, not knowing which way to move. He even recalled the squadrons, which were in the plain, and prepared to retire; and to this the *French* attribute their misfortune, which ensued.

It would have been easy for the *French*, either to have cut off the detachment of the Allies, which had advanced and laid bridges over the *Scheld*, or, at least, to have destroyed those bridges, before the whole confederate army could come up; and if then they had supported their left at *Heynem*, posted their horse behind the castle of *Beveren*, towards the mill of *Oycke*,

1708.

1708.

and placed their center on the height between *Wertigen* and *Heurne*, they would undoubtedly have had all the advantage, which the most difficult ground could give; and perhaps the choice would have been on their side, whether to engage in a general action, or not. But the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Vendosme*, who had been at variance for some days before, what course they should take, still differed in their opinions, and were both yet strangely at a loss, what measures they should resolve upon, and what dispositions to make. This irresolution lasted till three in the afternoon, when most of the young Commanders in the *French* army, to make their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, contradicted all that was advised by the Duke of *Vendosme*, and declared loudly for an engagement, which in a great measure determined the Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Duke of *Vendosme* was obliged to submit.

The battle
of Ouden-
hard
[1708]
N. S.

Major-General *Grimaldi* was therefore ordered by the Duke of *Burgundy*, with the horse of the King's Household, to begin the attack on the right, and dislodge Major-General *Rantzau* from the eminence, on which he was posted; but when they came to the rivulet, and found it marshy, they were discouraged from attempting the passage, and retired towards their own right, though their army had twelve thousand men more in number than the Confederates, and several other advantages. This attack the Duke of *Vendosme* disapproved of; and therefore sent Monsieur *Jennet*, his Aid de Camp to the left, to attack the Allies on that side. But the Duke of *Burgundy* countermanded it, upon information, as it was said, that there was an unpassable morass on that side; which, however, the Duke of *Vendosme* had passed over but an hour before. Upon this *Cadogan*, who had passed the river with twelve of his sixteen battalions between three and four o'clock, attacked the village of *Heynem*, with such resolution (Brigadier *Sabine*, with his Brigade, being at the head) that they soon made themselves masters of it, and took three of the seven battalions intire, making many of the officers and private men prisoners that belonged to the other four. Immediately after, Major-General *Rantzau*, with the eight squadrons, and the Quarter-Masters, passed the rivulet, and advanced into the plain, where the *French* horse had been drawn up, between the villages of *Singhem* and *Mullen*. Several of the squadrons of their rear-guard being still passing through the plain, the eight squadrons, with the Quarter-Masters attacked them with great vigour, and drove them into the close ground and the high-way, which led into the march of their own army.

The Elector
of Hanover
distinguishing
himself
by his valour.

Here it was, the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, his present Majesty of *Great-Britain*, gave distinguishing proofs of his early valour. He charged, sword in hand, at the head of a squadron of his Father's dragoons*: His horse was shot under him, and Colonel *Lusky*, who commanded the squadron, was kill'd fighting bravely by him. Lieutenant-General *Schulemberg*, and several other Volunteers, behaved with great resolution, and led up the squadrons. The *French* regiment of *la Breche*, and several other regiments, were intirely broken; and the Colonel himself, being dangerously wounded, was taken, together with a great many other Officers, and twelve standards and kettle-drums.

1708.

The Confederate army continued, in the mean time, to pass the bridges with all imaginable diligence. The *Prussian* horse formed themselves upon the right in the same plain, where the advanced guard was; and the rest of the horse, as they passed, followed the *Prussian* through the village of *Heurne*, into the plain; but the foot, because of the length of the march, came later to the bridges; so that none but the sixteen battalions were there till five o'clock.

The Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* being at the head of the horse, which were forming in the plain, and observing the great want there was of infantry, sent orders to the foot, which had been employed in attacking the village, to leave their post, and throw themselves into the hedges on the other side of the plain, whither the enemy seemed to be marching with great diligence. On that side of the plain were no more than two battalions of Major-General *Collier's* and Brigadier *Grunkau's*; which were attacked with great fury; but they maintained their post with equal bravery, till more foot came up to their assistance. The Duke of *Marlborough* sent repeated orders to the foot, to press their march, the enemy being then forming, and ready to attack the infantry, which was already there, with very unequal numbers. In the interim, the Duke of *Argyle* arrived with twenty battalions, which were scarce posted, when the *French* attacked them very briskly, and drove some *Prussian* battalions from their posts; but notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, about six in the evening, they retook it sword in hand. By this time Count *Lotum* was coming up, to sustain this attack, with the remainder of the foot of the right; and the Duke perceiving, that the great stress of the battle would lie on the right, sent to the left for twenty battalions. The left wing arrived something later than the right, and having passed their horse through *Oudenard*, and their foot on bridges below the town, had formed themselves in two lines, with the village of *Moreghem* behind them.

The success, which the Confederates had already obtained in the several engagements near the villages of *Heynem*, *Mullen*, and *Heurne*, made the *French* Generals sensible, they should soon be attacked on all sides. They therefore found themselves under a necessity of making a stand; to which end, they posted their foot very advantageously before the villages of *Wanigen*, *Lede*, and *Huyze*, having in their front several defiles, fenced with inclosures of hedges, ditches, or thickets, and placed most of their cavalry on their right, near the villages of *Oyke* and *Wiriigen*.

As soon as the Confederate foot arrived, they formed themselves in two lines before the horse, and then attacked, in very good order, the inclosures and villages in their front, where the *French* were posted; so that about seven o'clock the fire grew general, both on the right and on the left; and, though the enemy gave way in most places, yet, being sustained with fresh troops, the action was maintained very obstinately a good while after.

There was before the left of the left wing a kind of opening, through which run a road, that led into the plain, on the top of the hill, and which the Prince of *Orange-Nassau*, at the head of the *Dutch* foot, cleared with great vigour.

1708. gour and resolution. At the same time the Duke of Marlborough dispatched orders to the Veldt-Marshal d'Avoverquerque and the Count de Tilly, who were on the top of the hill near *Oycke*, to press the enemy as much as possible on that side. These orders were punctually obeyed; and *Avoverquerque* ordered Major-General *Weeck* to march with the brigades of *Wassenaer* and *Oudenbergh*; which being supported by Count *Tilly* with the *Danish* cavalry under his command, passed through a narrow defile into a field where all the *French* household were drawn up.

The Confederate troops no sooner approached, than the *French*, who did not in the least apprehend being attacked on that side, retired, and endeavoured to shelter themselves under the hedges between *Wirtigem* and the castle of *Beveren* towards the main body of their army, where the fire was very hot; but the Prince of *Orange-Nassau*, with Count *Oxenstiern*, coming up with four brigades of infantry, led them on with great gallantry, passed some defiles, attacked the enemy in flank, and obliged them to give way. Those, who were thus retiring, were forced back into the inclosures in great disorder; and in growing dark, many battalions and more squadrons being in the utmost confusion, some were cut in pieces, and others desired to capitulate for their whole regiments.

While this happened on the left, the Duke of Marlborough, who till then had been the whole time in company with Prince *Eugene*, visiting the field of battle, leading on, posting, and ranging the respective bodies of troops; but thinking now it would be more advantageous to separate, and direct in different places, arrived there, having left the care of the right to Prince *Eugene*, who shewed great satisfaction in leading on the *English* troops, whom he saw perform wonders; so that at last the enemy finding themselves charged and borne down on all sides by the Confederate forces, retired in the utmost confusion, leaving great numbers of prisoners behind them. Their dragoons favoured their retreat, and, to save the troops of the household, received several discharges from the Confederate infantry, and were most of them either killed or taken.

Night coming on, and the fire being directed so many ways at once, that it was impossible to distinguish friends from enemies, the Confederate Generals gave positive orders to their troops to give over firing, and to let the routed enemy escape, rather than to venture putting themselves into disorder. This put an end to the slaughter, and saved the remainder of the enemy's army; for, had there been but two hours more of day-light, in all probability their whole body of

foot, and their right wing of horse, would have been entirely cut off, they being surrounded almost on every side.

During this memorable action, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince *Eugene* gave their orders with so much composedness of mind and clearness of judgment, as seemed peculiar to those two great men. They exposed their persons to the greatest dangers, when necessity required it; and yet had both the good fortune to escape unhurt. The Electoral Prince of *Hanover* had also a great share in the glory of the day. At the head of his father's cavalry, he charged the celebrated troops of the *French* King's household, bearing down all that opposed his career. The young Prince of *Orange-Nassau*, Stadtholder of *Friseland*, and Father of the present Prince of *Orange*, distinguished himself likewise by his martial ardour, bravery, and conduct. The brave Veldt-Marshal d'Avoverquerque, tho' worn out with the fatigues of above thirty campaigns, and in a languishing condition, exerted his expiring vigour, and was on horse-back at the head of his troops in the hottest of the fire. Count *Tilly*, the Prince of *Wurtemberg*, Lieutenant-Generals *Rantzau* and *Nutzmer*, Major-Generals *Webb* and *Cadogan*, Brigadier *Sabine*, and, in short, all the Generals and Officers animated the soldiers every where by their own example.

The different troops, of which the Confederate army consisted, fought with such emulation of each other, that it was difficult to determine, which deserved the greatest applause; yet it was observed, that the *Prussian* *Gens d'Armes* signalized themselves in several vigorous charges, which they made and sustained against the *French* cavalry, in which they lost near half of their number.

If we may believe some of the *French* Writers, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* and the Pretender had a great share in this battle; but, if the *Dutch* accounts are to be credited, they, or at least the two latter, only beheld the engagement from the steeple of an adjacent village, and consulted their safety by a timely retreat. As for the other Generals of the enemy's army, they committed several gross errors, as well before as during the action, either for want of unanimity or judgment: But, for their troops, it must be acknowledged, that, in general, they fought better at this time than they had done upon any other occasion.

The *French* endeavoured by their partial relations to palliate their defeat, and make a drawn battle of it (1); for which they had the only pretence of having saved their baggage. Now that could not be otherwise, since they left it behind them, as they did likewise their artillery, having only made use of four or five pieces of cannon

The victory indisputable on the side of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

(1) All that Father *Daniel* says of it is in these words: 'Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough* being arrived at *Oudenard* by long marches, they passed the *Scheld* with their army, which they drew up in order. The *French* army arriving there at the same time, in order of battle, gave the charge. The onset was furious, and lasted from four in the evening till night came on, which put an end to the fight. The army of *France* retired towards *Ghent*: The left, which made the rear-guard, remained upon the field of battle till it was broad day, and then marched off in good order, under the conduct of the Chevalier *du Rozel*,

Lieutenant-General, the enemy, who attacked them, not being able to do them any mischief.' The Marquis de *Féguieres*, in his memoirs, observes thus: 'Since we made no dispositions for the encounter, our loss of men, though very great, is not to be considered as a decisive event: And indeed the confusion, as well as our extraordinary loss, happened in the retreat we made in the night, when the troops were neither sensible where they fled, nor by whom they were conducted. In a word, the dispositions for their engagements, and the motives which induced us to undertake it, ought never to be repeated in any future conjuncture.

1708.

cannon during the whole action. But the field, where the battle was fought, of which the Confederates remained masters, with six or seven hundred of the enemy's Officers, and about seven thousand private foldiers, who were made prisoners, together with ten kettle-drums, and above one hundred standards and colours taken, were all evidences of an indisputable victory on the side of the Confederates.

The French
take a good
retreat.

The enemy retired in the night, by the road which leads through the village of *Huyse* from *Oudenard* to *Ghent*. The Duke of *Vendosme* proposed to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that they should halt, in order to form their troops, and give their march, at least, the air of a retreat; but his advice was unregarded; for, of all the general Officers present, only the Count d' *Eureux* was of his sentiment. Observing therefore, that nothing was to be done with men terrified out of their senses, he gave the word for a retreat, which was no sooner done, than the Generals, as well as private Men, threw themselves into the road of *Ghent* with the utmost precipitation. The Duke of *Vendosme* looked with grief and shame on this scandalous behaviour: Finding, however, twenty-five squadrons of his best troops, and about the same number of battalions unbroken, he formed with these a rear-guard, and so preserved the army from a second defeat, which would certainly have proved more fatal than the first.

The Confederates, in the mean time, continued under arms, hoping to renew the engagement again the next morning, and impatient, in the mean time, for day, that they might have a true information how far this victory had extended, of which the darkness of the night left them in ignorance. To this end, as soon as it was light, the Duke of *Mariborough* ordered forty squadrons from the right, commanded by

the Lieutenant-Generals *Bulau* and *Lamley*, with a considerable body of foot, to follow and attack the enemy's rear guard, which they did with great vigour. But several Companies of *French* grenadiers, being advantageously posted along the highway leading to *Ghent*, killed and wounded several of the officers and private men of the Confederates, and obliged them to leave off the pursuit, there being but one road, secured by hedges and ditches, lined with the enemy's grenadiers; but no place for the Confederate cavalry to form themselves in. On this occasion several officers of the Grenadiers, commanded by Major *Erwin*, were killed or wounded; and General *Meredith* received a shot in the cheek; but the enemy, on their side, were much greater sufferers. The regiment of *Rifburg*, which closed their rear, was intirely ruined, and two whole Companies taken prisoners; as was likewise Brigadier *Pourienne*, who commanded the hindermost Brigade, with several other Officers.

As to the killed and wounded on either side, the Allies reckoned among the slain Major-General *Berensdorf*; the Colonels *Adercäse* and *Bolzen*, Count *Rantzau*, and Sir *John Matthews*, with Captain *Dean* of the *British* guards, and about eight hundred private men; and, among the wounded, Lieutenant-General *Natzmer*, Major-Generals *Gaudecker* and *Berner*; the Colonels *Greves*, *Pennycuik*, and four others; a hundred and sixty other officers, and about two thousand private soldiers; which loss was abundantly repaired by deserters and prisoners, *Germans*, *Swiss*, and *Savoyards*, who lifted themselves voluntarily in the service of the Allies. The *French* endeavoured to conceal their loss with all possible industry; but that it was much greater than that of the Allies, is evident from several very authentick accounts (1); from which it appears, that the number of prisoners taken

1708.

(1) A letter from the Field-Deputies of the States-General to the States-General:

High and mighty Lords,

By reason of the shortness of time, we could only let your High-Mightinesses know yesterday, that we engaged the enemy about four in the afternoon. Wherefore we give ourselves the honour of sending your High-Mightinesses farther advice, that our army, having marched on Sunday night from *Afche*, took the route of *Leffines*, in order to pass the *Dender* at that place, without opposition from the enemy, whom we had prevented by a sudden march; and, arriving there on Tuesday evening, we understood, that the enemy were marched from *Alost* towards *Gavre*, where they caused bridges be made, in order to pass the *Scheld*; which made us believe they designed to post themselves upon the height of *Oudenard*, and hinder us from passing the *Scheld*. And, though our Army was very much fatigued by the foregoing march, yet we resolved to proceed on our march yesterday, and, if possible, to prevent the enemy. We detached therefore sixteen battalions in the night, to take post on the other side of the *Scheld* near *Oudenard*, and to lay the bridges necessary for our passage. Yesterday morning about nine we received advice, that the enemy had passed the *Scheld*, and were marching towards *Oudenard*, which made us hasten our march as much as possible, for fear our detachment, that was sent over, should be defeated, and ourselves prevented in our design of passing the *Scheld*. But, by that time the enemy were come near *Oudenard*, they saw we had already taken

post over the *Scheld*, which made them resolve to strike off to the right; but, to cover their march against ours, they thought fit to throw troops into the hedges and into a village upon the *Scheld* below *Oudenard*. About three in the afternoon, as soon as our foot began to come up, it was judged advisable to attack the village, and thereby oblige the enemy to go no farther, but stop their march. This attack was made with so much vigour and success, that the enemy were immediately driven out of the village, our men falling upon them with their bayonets on the muzzels of their muskets, and not firing a piece; so that they presently threw down their arms, and a whole Brigade, together with a Brigadier, surrendered prisoners. The few horse, that had passed with the detachment, attacked likewise the *French* squadrons posted behind the village with so much success, that they were put into disorder and pushed, our men taking from them eight or ten standards, and some horses. Hereupon the enemy were forced to face about to us, and form themselves about four o'clock, when, most of our foot being over, and formed, the general engagement began, first on the right, and afterwards on the left wing. The fight was properly between the foot, and was obstinate; but our men got ground, and drove the enemy from one hedge to another, till night put an end to the combat. The horse, who, by reason of the broken ground, could not act, were detached to the right and the left wing, and advanced so far, that they attacked the enemy in flank and rear; which, when they perceived, they fell in the night into the utmost confusion; and part of them retired, with their baggage and artillery, towards *Ghent* and *Dynje*; another part to-

wards

1708. from the enemy amounted to seven thousand men, among whom were two Lieutenant-Generals, two Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, about thirty Colonels, above a hundred Officers of the State-Major, and four hundred Subalterns, together with seventy or eighty standards or colours. The largest list, on the side of the Allies, make the loss of the enemy to be nine thousand eight hundred prisoners, officers included; four thousand two hundred killed and wounded; two thousand four hundred deserted; in all

nineteen thousand four hundred: Taken besides, ten pieces of cannon, fifty-six pair of colours, fifty-two standards, eight pair of kettle-drums, four thousand five hundred horses. On the other hand, the lowest computation amounts together to fourteen thousand seven hundred killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, without mentioning deserters; and the lowest calculation, given by the *French* themselves, allows their loss to have been above ten thousand men.

The

wards the road of *Courtray*; and, according to computation, six or seven thousand surrendered themselves prisoners, with three or four hundred Officers at their head; among whom are several Dukes and General Officers. Had not the night come to their assistance, we believe they would have saved very little of their army. We therefore congratulate your High-Mightiness upon this complete victory, which God Almighty has so graciously vouchsafed, and which gives us an opportunity, with this victorious army, and that of Prince *Eugene*, who was present at this action, to extend the frontiers further, and bring the enemy to reason. Each General made so good a disposition, and every regiment attacked the enemy so well, and with so much intrepidity, that it was impossible for any one to distinguish themselves in a particular manner. Our loss, God be thanked, is so small, that there is not, as we know of, one regiment out of a condition to make the rest of the campaign. Among the horse our loss is nothing at all. Nor do we yet know, that we have lost any Head-Officer of the State. With which, High and Mighty Lords, &c.

Signed,

Oudenard, July 12, 1708. *For'd. Van Cullen,*
G. Van Rastum tot Ardenbroeck,
S. Van Gessinga,
Count of Rechteren,
B. Van Vauvelde,
Adm. Van Borjelle tot Geldermalsen.

P. S. We thought, considering the importance of this affair, we should not do amiss, in sending this to your High-Mightiness by the Head-Officer *Cock*, who may have the honour of informing your High-Mightiness of more particulars.

Velt-Marshal d'Auverquerque's letter to the Greffier Fagel.

On Monday last, at seven o'clock, we broke up (as I have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordship) with the army from *Herfelingen* near *Enguien*. We marched the whole night, and the next day passed the *Dender* at and above *Lessines*. Yesterday morning we marched again from *Lessines* towards *Oudenard*, where we arrived about noon. We had received intelligence, that the army broke up on Tuesday from the neighbourhood of *Alost*, and were incamped at *Gavre*, and that they also passed the *Scheld* yesterday at that place; which indeed we found to be true, perceiving, upon our arrival at *Oudenard*, the enemy upon a full march towards *Tournay*. We laid the bridges over the *Scheld* in their night, and our troops passed the river with an unpeakable speed and courage. About two o'clock the greatest part of our army had passed, with which the Duke of *Marborough* and Prince *Eugene* formed the right wing near *Braun-Castle*, about half a league from the town, and began to engage the enemy in a battle. In the mean time I marched likewise with the troops of the *States*, which composed the left wing, in order to attack the enemy, which I did about five o'clock, having been obliged to make a great round to come at them: And God has been pleased so to bless the arms of the High

No. 57. VOL. IV.

Allies, that we have entirely beaten the enemy, and forced them to retire in great confusion, some towards *Courtray*, and others towards *Ghent*.

I give myself the honour to congratulate their High-Mightiness upon this important victory. We shall endeavour all we can to make our advantage of it. The enemy will have much ado to bring their army into the field again this year in a good condition. The loss of the slain on their side is very considerable, besides a good number of Officers (some of them of distinction) and common soldiers, prisoners. We have also taken several standards and colours, of which I will send their High-Mightiness a list by the next courier.

The bravery and wise conduct of the Duke of *Marborough* and Prince *Eugene* cannot be enough commended, nor the zeal and courage of the other Generals of the *States*, who did all which their duty and regard for the service required of them. All the Officers and Troops, without distinction, did all that could be expected from brave men and good soldiers. We sent out a body of horse and foot this morning to pursue the run-away enemy, and scatter them yet more, but they were got too far off by the favour of the night. I remain

Your Lordship's

From the camp
of Oudenard,
July 12, 1708.

Humble and obedient Servant,

AUVERQUERQUE.

Mr. Cardonnel's letter to Mr. Cole at Venice:

Sir,

Camp at Oudenard, July 12, 1708.

As soon as the enemy had an account, that our army had passed the *Dender* at *Lessines*, they recalled their troops that were come to invest *Oudenard*, and marched with their whole army to *Gavre*, where they began to pass the *Scheld* yesterday morning, and continued passing till about four in the afternoon. And as my Lord Duke was resolved to pursue them, in order to engage them to a battle, Major-General *Cadogan* was sent away very early with a strong detachment, to pass the same river through this town, and to make bridges for the whole army, which followed with all possible diligence, to prevent the enemy's passing the *Lys*, or their retreat towards the lines. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon, the detachment, with the head of our army, began to attack the enemy in their march; and, in a little time, Brigadier *Sabine*, at the head of his Brigade, beat seven of the enemy's battalions, of whom he killed a great number, and took most of the rest prisoners. The enemy then formed their line, and the battle began about five, and lasted with great firmness till near ten at night, it being chiefly the foot that were engaged, the enemy still retreating; so that, besides a great slaughter, the enemy still retreating; so that, besides a great slaughter, we made a great number of prisoners. We cannot yet give the particulars of this great victory; but some thousands of prisoners, and, among them, some general Officers are already brought into town. Forty squadrons of horse, with twenty battalions of foot, are in pursuit of the rest of their army, which is retreating towards *Ghent*. My Lord Duke, with the Prince of *Savoy*, and Monsieur d'Auverquerque, continued on horse-back

U

the

The Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, with the Pretender, reached *Ghent* the morning after the battle, by five o'clock; and about nine, the Duke of *Vendosme*, who brought up the rear, arrived there also. As they were apprehensive of being pursued by the whole Confederate army, the Duke immediately commanded his troops to march through *Ghent* to *Lovendegen*,

on the canal, not far from that City; where, for their greater security, they cast up intrenchments, and planted upon them their artillery, which they had left at *Gavre* with their heavy baggage. In this camp they recovered themselves out of their first consternation; but the former misunderstandings revived among their Generals, especially between the Dukes of *Burgundy*

1708.

the whole night, to animate our troops, and to give the necessary orders for the pursuit.

I am, &c.

H. CARDONNEL.

P. S. Since the writing of this, we have an account of about six thousand prisoners brought into the town, besides near five hundred Officers, of which several are of note. I heartily congratulate with you on this great and glorious victory, &c.

Letter from the Duke of Marlborough to the Earl of Manchester.

My Lord,

Camp at Werwick, July 15, 1708.

I return your Lordship many thanks for the favour of your letter of the 22d of last month, and am glad to see your Lordship was like soon to have just satisfaction from the Republic of *Venice*. You need not doubt then, but the Queen will readily grant your desire of returning home. We are in great expectation of Sir *John Leake's* being sailed for *Catalonia*, where the succours from *Italy* will have been very much wanting. We hear the Duke of *Orleans* persisted in the siege of *Tortosa*, notwithstanding the loss of his provision-ships taken by our fleet. Your Lordship will have heard with concern the enemy's taking the City of *Ghent*, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants. But the good news that will soon have followed of our defeating, on *Wednesday* last, part of their army near *Oudenard*, and obliging them to retire behind the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, will have made some amends. We took between six and seven thousand prisoners, besides about seven hundred Officers, of which several are of note, and a great number of standards and colours. Our army lay on their arms that night, and on *Thursday* incamped on the field of battle: On *Friday* we rested, the troops having need of some ease, after their great fatigue; and about midnight we detached forty squadrons and thirty battalions towards the enemy's lines, between *Warneton* and *Ypres*. The whole army followed by break of day, and incamped at *Helkin*, whence we pursued our march to-day to this camp close to the lines, which we found our detachments had forced, and taken five hundred prisoners, the only guard the enemy had left for their security. We do not think, that their army is marched from behind the canal, which, with their possessing of *Ghent*, will be a great obstruction to our bringing up our heavy cannon and other artillery; so that I fear we shall be obliged to retake that place, before we can make any further progress.

Extract of an intercepted letter from a French Officer, who was in the battle.

I can only send you an unwelcome relation of the particulars of the battle, which happened yesterday about two in the afternoon near *Oudenard*. It will prove a great blow to *France*; for, without exaggerating the matter, we had above ten thousand men killed, wounded, or taken. The action was very ill managed on our side; for, instead of attacking the enemy when they began to pass the *Scheld* near *Oudenard* at eleven in the morning, we let them come over the river quietly, which they never would have adventured to do, had we, in any tolerable manner offered to dispute their passage; but seeing us stand still, they were

encouraged to prosecute their first design, and began to pass over two bridges, which they had laid. As fast as their horse and foot came over, they ranged themselves in order of battle against us; and while our Generals were in suspense what resolution to take, whether to venture an engagement or not, the enemy's army continued coming over the river, and soon possessed themselves of some villages and hedges; so that, at last, our Generals were compelled to endeavour to dislodge them. Accordingly, our infantry advanced, and the ground was disputed two or three hours, with a terrible fire and great obstinacy on both sides; but our foot being tired with charging the enemy five or six times, and being disheartened to see themselves not supported by our horse (who could not act, because the ground was full of inclosures) and pressed hard by the enemy, were, at length, forced to retire, and quit the ground to them. We dragoons were obliged to endure the continual fire of the enemy's foot and cannon, without daring to stir, because we were on the right of the King's household, who suffered as much as we. Towards the evening we were fallen upon by a great number of the enemy's horse, to hinder us from succouring the rest, who were put to the route, and of seven regiments of dragoons we lost above half. At last, we had no other expedient left, than to force our way through the enemy; but first we sent to see whether we could be assisted in that design by any of our forces. In the mean time night came on apace, and we were informed, that the King's household (whose retreat was covered in some measure by us) were at too great a distance. Things standing thus, our resolution of breaking through the enemy sunk, and, some of the enemy's adjutants summoning us to yield ourselves prisoners of war, we submitted to it, seeing no other way to save our lives. At least forty of our regiments are reduced to a wretched condition, the greatest part of them being killed or taken; so that it will be long before they can be re-established. Of four regiments of the King's household, at least half are taken prisoners, and among them are several persons of note. The Chevalier de *Langueville* and fifteen other Officers were mortally wounded, and two of them are dead since the battle. The regiments of *Pfiffer* and *Villars* are quite ruined, and almost all their Officers are taken, with all their baggage, &c. Amongst the prisoners were above seven hundred Officers, viz. a Lieutenant-General, four Major-Generals, five Brigadiers, fourteen Colonels, eight Lieutenant-Colonels, nine Majors, two hundred and six Captains, one hundred and forty seven Lieutenants, ninety-six Cornets, one hundred and eighty-six *Gens d'Armes*, *Chevaux Legers*, or Lifeguards, and forty-seven Quarter-Masters. The Marquis de *Ximenes*, Colonel of the regiment of *Royal Roussillon*, and the Sieur de la *Betrache*, Colonel of horse, with a great number of other Officers, were killed.

A letter written by one of the Duke of Vendosme's confidants, supposed to be Monsieur Capitron, the Duke's Secretary.

Away with your consternation, Sir, and do not betray in yourself the weakness common to your Nation, who never light of a misfortune, but presently all is lost. I tell you, in the first place, that the reports you hinted to me are false, and the Duke of *Vendosme* laughs at them. As for the three marches which he suffered to be stolen from him, and his not guarding

1708. *gundy* and *Vendosme*, who, notwithstanding the interposition of the Court, could never be brought to a reconciliation (1).

While the *French* were intrenching themselves behind the canal between *Ghent* and *Bruges*, the Confederate troops being returned to their camp (which was the field of battle) they rested two days. Mean time the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, Monsieur *Auverquerque*, and the States Deputies, debated in a Council of war, how they might best improve their late success. The result was, That the Duke of *Marlborough's* army should immediately march to *Menin*, pass the *Lys*, level the *French* lines between *Ypres* and *Warneton*, and hinder any detachment from getting into *Ypres*, or the *French* army from retreating that way; and that Prince *Eugene*, with a detachment of the grand army, should march, at the same time, towards *Brussels*, to assemble his forces, observe the motions of the Duke of *Berwick*, and hinder likewise the enemy's army near *Ghent*, from retreating through *Brabant* the same way they came. According to these resolutions, Count *Lothum*, General of the *Prussians*, marched, the 13th of *July*, at night, with thirty battalions, and forty squadrons, the next day advanced towards the *French* lines, and took several small places. The same day the army took their route towards *Menin*, passed the *Lys* near that place, and encamped at a small distance from the town. Whilst a detachment from the Confederate army demolished the *French* lines between *Ypres* and the *Lys*, another was sent to raise contributions as far as *Arras*, which struck

such a terror every where that it reached the very City of *Paris*.

Whilst these affairs were in agitation, the Confederate troops expected their heavy cannon, in order to undertake an important siege; and the *French* continued in their posts along the canal of *Bruges*, without giving the Allies any disturbance. The only method they pitched upon, as most proper to be put in execution, was to harraß the *Dutch Flanders* with small parties. This they did, and, whilst the Confederate army raised great contributions in *Picardy* and elsewhere, the *French* plundered a few Boors under the Government of the States. Their next attempt was against the forts of the *Red-House*, and fort *Plasfendale*, which they made themselves masters of sword in hand. But, whilst they were endeavouring to amuse the Confederates by these proceedings, several detachments of the Allies plundered the countries of *Picardy* and *Artois*. Count *Tilly*, the Lieutenant-Generals *Orkney*, *Rantzau*, and *Hompesch*, the Major-Generals *Webb*, *Rantzau*, and Count *d'Arbach*, with forty squadrons, twelve battalions, and a thousand grenadiers, advanced into *Picardy*, to lay the same under contribution, or to put that province under military execution. This detachment fell in with eight hundred horse near *la Bassée* and *Lens* (part of the cavalry belonging to the Duke of *Berwick's* army) of which a considerable number were killed, and a Colonel, a Major, a Captain, and two hundred Troopers taken prisoners. The Confederate troops pursued the enemy to the gates of *Lens*, wherein they

the *Dender*, every body knows, the Duke of *Vendosme* was for disputing the passage of that river; and that, after three days contest, he was forced to submit to the sentiments of those, who, to avoid an engagement, voted for passing the *Scheld*. However it was then, that they were obliged to own, what that Duke had foretold them, viz. That, whenever Prince *Eugene* understood they had a mind to avoid fighting, he would force them to do it, whether they would or no.

As to what they say, that the Duke of *Vendosme* ought to have attacked the van of the enemy's army, in their passing the *Scheld*, he knew better things. For as soon as he received advice from the Marquis of *Biron*, that part of the enemy's army was over, he was for attacking it, while he saw the dust made by the columns of that army on the other side of the river, about half a league from *Oudenard*; but he was single in his opinion, and consequently not hearkened to. This was at ten in the morning. At four in the afternoon Major-General *Grimalkin* was ordered, without the Duke of *Vendosme's* knowledge, to begin the attack; which, however, when he saw, he was for continuing it. Accordingly he sent Monsieur *Jenet*, his Aid de Camp, to the left, with orders for them to engage, but he was killed in his return. These orders were not executed, some Officers insinuating *mal à propos* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, that there was a quagmire and an impracticable morass; whereas the Duke of *Vendosme's* and the Count *d'Evreux* had passed an hour before.

As to the retreat, the Duke of *Vendosme* was not for it; but, as he was backed in his opinion by the Count *d'Evreux* only, he was again obliged to submit. No sooner therefore had he given the word for the army to retreat, but all got on horseback, and with astonishing precipitation fled to *Ghent*; and there were not wanting those, who advised the Princes to set out post from thence for *Ypres*.

The Duke of *Vendosme*, who was obliged, for a good part of the time, to make the rear-guard with

his Aid de Camp, did not reach *Ghent* till almost nine in the morning, when he made a firm resolution to post the army behind the canal, which goes from that place to *Bruges*, though against the advice of all the General Officers, who threatened for three days together to abandon him; and said, they ought to endeavour to join the Duke of *Berwick*. That firmness saved the King's army, and *France* itself, for the fright the army was in would have caused a greater disgrace than that of *Ramilles*. Whereas the Duke of *Vendosme*, by posting himself behind the canal, has covered *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which is the essential point, and thereby revived and put courage into the troops, and given the Officers time to recollect themselves, and to know the Country. In a word, he has thrown the enemy out of action; and if they attack any of our strong places, as *Ypres*, *Lisle*, *Mons* or *Tournay*, the Duke of *Vendosme* will take *Oudenard*, make himself master of the *Scheld*, and so puzzle them. This, Sir, is the very truth, and the same the Duke of *Vendosme* has sent to the King, &c.

(1) *Burnet* observes, *Vendosme* took so much upon him, that the other Officers complained of his neglecting them; so they made their Court to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and laid the blame of all his miscarriages on *Vendosme*. He kept close to the orders he had from *Versailler*, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more considered, than those that were sent by the Duke of *Burgundy*: This was very uneasy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not shew the forwardness, in expelling his own person, that was expected: He seemed very devout, even to bigotry; but by the accounts we had from *France*, it did appear, that his conduct, during the campaign, gave no great hopes or prospect from him, when all things should come into his hands: *Chamillard* was often sent from Court to soften him, and to reconcile him to the Duke of *Vendosme*, but with no effect. Vol. II. 509.

1708. they had posted fourteen hundred foot, which abandoned the place upon the approach of the Confederate infantry. After this the Generals raised considerable sums in the province of *Picardy*, burnt the suburbs of *Dourlens*, and returned with hostages for the contributions they had agreed on to be paid to the Allies, without any manner of opposition.

Some time after, a detachment from the French army at *Lovendegen*, under the command of the Chevalier de *Rozen*, made an irruption into the Dutch Flanders; but they performed little more than the other part of the army commanded by the Duke of *Burgundy*. They fell in upon the Dutch lines of *Bervliet*, which they took, having no manner of guard to defend them, Lieutenant-General *Fagel* and Major-General *Murray* retiring before them, for want of a sufficient force to make a stand; their troops not amounting to more than three battalions, and a regiment of dragoons. Afterwards the French advanced, and fell into the Island of *Casandt*, where they plundered and burnt above a hundred houses belonging to the country Farmers and Boors, and besides, obliged the inhabitants of the Island to pay contributions. Thus they finished their expedition, without putting any thing farther material in execution, and retired back to rejoin their main body.

This invasion of Dutch Flanders did not occasion any alteration in the measures that had been concerted for a considerable siege; in order to which a great train of artillery, and a vast number of waggons laden with warlike stores, had, with all possible expedition, been provided at *Brussels*. Prince *Eugene's* army from Germany had now joined the Confederates; and the French foreseeing the storm, and rightly conjecturing, that *Lisle* was the place, which the Allies intended to bend their main force against, had made provisions suitable to the greatness of the danger they apprehended. For, besides the presence of the Marshal de *Boufflers*, Governor of all French Flanders, and of the Lieutenants-General de *Surville*, *Lee*, and other Officers of distinction, they threw into the place twenty-one battalions of the best troops of France. But notwithstanding the difficulties, that must naturally attend the siege of so strong and so well-provided a place, besides others occasioned by the Confederates being cut off from their magazines in *Antwerp* and *Sas van Ghent*; all which made the Duke of *Vendosme* say, "That he did not think so wise a Captain as Prince Eugene would venture upon so rash an enterprise;" yet nothing was able to deter the Confederate Generals from their resolutions. So that, having brought a great convoy of provisions, ammunition, and other warlike stores from *Brussels* to *Menin*, *Lisle* (1) was invested on the 13th of August, N. S. on one side by Prince Eugene, and on the other by the Prince of Orange-Nassau, Stadt-holder of *Friesland*, in the following manner: The artillery being arrived at *Pettes*, and all things concerted for the siege,

Lisle invested.

the Prince of Orange-Nassau was detached with thirty-one battalions, to take post at *Marquet* upon the *Deule*, within half a league of *Lisle*, and Lieutenant-General *Wood*, with thirty-four squadrons, marched to *Potteghem*. The grand army marched likewise from their camp at *Werwick* to *Helchin*; and, the same day, Prince Eugene, having passed the *Marque* at *Pont-a-Trefsin*, invested the town between that place and the Upper *Deule*, whilst the Prince of Orange-Nassau did the same with his detachment between the Upper and Lower *Deule*; by which means the enemy were shut up, and could put no further reinforcements into the place. The Duke of *Marlborough* took upon him to cover the siege; and to that end incamped at *Helchin*, where he had a convenience from time to time to reinforce the troops employed in the siege, or to march and fight the enemy, as occasion should require.

This important siege was to be carried on with fifty battalions; six Imperialists, nine Palatines, five Hessians, and thirty from the grand army; and, all matters being put into a proper posture for a vigorous siege, the trenches were opened on the 22d of August, between seven and eight in the evening, on the right and left of the Lower *Deule*; the right against the gate of *St. Andrew*, under the direction of Monsieur des *Roques*, and the other against *St. Magdalen Gate*, under the care of Monsieur du *Mey*. Four thousand workmen were commanded for this service, covered by ten battalions of the Imperial, Palatine, and Hessian troops, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Wilke*, and Major-General *Volkerhoven*. Ten battalions and six hundred horse were ready to sustain them; but the trenches were carried on with so good success, that the Allies had above two hours time to cover themselves, before they were perceived by the enemy; who made a terrible fire from the town, though with so little Execution, that the Confederates had not above three or four men killed, and about fifteen wounded. On the 23d, Lieutenant-General *Pettensof*, in the service of the Elector Palatine, and the Major-Generals *Sacken* and *Soble*, relieved the trenches with four Imperial and six Hessian battalions, and one thousand workmen at each attack. But *Pettensof* going from one attack to the other, and missing his way in the night, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and carried into the town. The 24th, Lieutenant-General *Spaar* relieved the trenches, with Major-General *Collier*, the Brigadiers *Wassenaar* and *Keppel*, and the British battalions of *Godfrey* and *Ingoldby*, two Prussian, the Danish guards, and the battalions of *Orange*, *Bellem*, *Swarts*, and *Mey*. The same night, three hundred and twenty grenadiers were commanded to attack the Chapel of *St. Magdalen*, wherein the enemy had a hundred and twenty grenadiers, with two Captains, and some subaltern Officers, who having lost one of their Captains, and about twenty men, the rest surrendered. The Besiegers had, in this action, near thirty

1708.

(1) *Lisle* is a large, rich, and strong City, the Capital of French Flanders, and, next to *Paris*, was reckoned the chief place of the King of France's dominions. The Allies invested it August 13, 1708. The Town was surrendered to them, October 23, and the

Citadel, December 11. It stands among the pools and marshes, fifteen miles West of *Tournay*, twenty-eight North of *Deway*, thirty-six South-West of *Ghent*, thirty-seven South-East of *Dunkirk*, and thirty-eight almost West of *Mons*.

1708. thirty men killed and wounded; some Officers and Monsieur du Mey (Director of the attacks) received a small contusion. The 26th the Besieged retook the Chapel, having made a sally with most of the grenadiers and two squadrons of dragoons. But the Prince of Orange-Nassau being in the trenches, caused two battalions to advance, who retook it, and caused the enemy to retire with precipitation, into the counterescarp. The 27th in the morning, the besiegers fired fifty pieces of cannon and twenty mortars upon the town with so good success, that they beat down one of the enemy's batteries. On the 29th, early in the morning, the Confederate troops stormed a fortified mill on the right near the gate of *St. Andrew* with three hundred grenadiers, beat the enemy from that post, and took several prisoners; but, at the same time, the enemy made so terrible a fire from the ramparts, that the Besiegers were obliged to quit it. The next day three hundred grenadiers were commanded to retake that mill, but the enemy set it on fire, and abandoned that post. On the last of *August* the Prince of *Holstein-Beck* relieved the trenches; and each battalion was ordered to furnish six waggons, to carry stones near the batteries, to throw the same with mortars into the enemy's works. The 1st of *September*, at night, the Imperialists relieved the trenches, and the Besiegers carried on the sap towards the salient angle of the counterescarp of the horn-work, within fifty paces of the pallisades; and a vast quantity of fascines and gabions were prepared for making their lodgment on the counterescarp. At the same time the breach being very wide, and the ditch almost filled up with the ruins of the walls, Marshal *Boufflers* was apprehensive, that the town would fall into the Confederates hands, and therefore ordered several of the largest pieces of cannon to be removed into the citadel. On the 4th the Prince of *Holstein-Beck* relieved the trenches; as did also Lieutenant-General *Spaar* the next day; and the approaches were carried on so successfully, that it was judged, the counterescarp would be stormed the same evening; but that enterprize was deferred till the 7th.

The French in vain attempt to relieve Lifle.

Whilst the siege of *Lifle* was thus vigorously carried on, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Vendosme*, and *Berwick* made two or three feint advances, as if they designed to attack the Duke of *Marlbrough*; who, upon those motions, gave orders for his army to be ready to march upon the first occasion; and, in the mean time, detached the Earl of *Aiblone*, with fifteen hundred horse, to observe the enemy. The Earl advancing towards *Leuse*, his van-guard fell in with an hundred horse, detached from the Duke of *Berwick's* army, whom they charged, defeated, and took thirty prisoners. The enemy made several marches and counter-marches, whereby it was apparent, that they designed to attempt the raising of the siege. The Duke of *Burgundy* likewise sent a spy, to endeavour to get into *Lifle*, and acquaint the Marshal *Boufflers*, that their army being on this side *Tournay*, he might depend upon being relieved; but that Messenger happened to be discovered and seized by the Allies. Upon this the Duke of *Marlbrough*, in expectation of an engagement, ordered the Confederate army, on the 5th of *September*, to march to the ground marked out for them, in order to give the enemy battle; and being rein-

forced by Prince *Eugene* with seventy-two squadrons and twenty-six battalions from the siege (with which troops came also King *Augustus* and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, as *Voluntiers*) and Lieutenant-General *Fagel* having marched with incredible speed out of *Dutch Flanders* and *Brabant*, and joined the Confederate army with seven battalions and as many squadrons, they continued till ten o'clock in order of battle. But the enemy declined coming to an engagement; so that the Confederate Generals ordered the tents to be pitched again, and the detachment of Prince *Eugene* returned to the camp before *Lifle*, except some Imperial and *Hessian* squadrons. The Generals concluding, that the enemy had no other design than to give them frequent alarms, to retard the siege, and streighten them in their forage, without venturing an engagement, one hundred men out of each battalion were ordered to cast up an intrenchment in the front of their army, which would both secure the troops from any sudden surprize, and leave the Besiegers at liberty to carry on their attacks without interruption.

The Confederates, thus finding it impracticable to bring the enemy to a battle, thought fit to storm the counterescarp of *Lifle*, which had been delayed by these movements; and, on the 7th of *September* in the morning, they made the necessary dispositions for that enterprize, having received a reinforcement from the grand army of seven hundred grenadiers, and the like number of fusileers, and six hundred workmen. Eight hundred grenadiers, supported by the like number of fusileers, thirty carpenters, and two hundred workmen, were commanded for the attack of the right, between the *Lower Deule* and the gate *St. Andrew*, under the direction of the *Sieur des Roques*; and sixteen hundred grenadiers, supported by the like number of fusileers, thirty carpenters, and two thousand workmen, were commanded for the attack of the left, between the river and the gate of *St. Magdalen*, under the direction of the *Sieur du Mey*. The batteries of the Confederates made a continual fire before the attack on all the battions to disturb the enemy; and after the signal of three guns, and a general discharge of all the artillery, the attack was made with so much order and courage on the part of the Officers and Soldiers, that the counterescarp was taken in a short time, notwithstanding it was defended by two hundred men of each regiment in the garrison; and the Besiegers lodged themselves in the covered way. But the enemy made such a terrible fire from their out-works with their cannon, mortars, and small arms, and sprung three mines in the covered way, that there were no less than one thousand men wounded and slain.

The Confederates, having made themselves masters of the counterescarp, endeavoured to perfect their works with all possible application. In the night, between the 9th and 10th, the enemy made a sally, but were repulsed with considerable loss. On the 11th, the Imperialists relieved the trenches, and an Adjutant came from the grand army, to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, that the French were advanced within sight of the intrenchments, and seemed to have a design to attack them: Whereupon the Prince marched with fifteen battalions, and the cavalry, to reinforce the Duke of *Marlbrough*. The Duke being at dinner, received advice,

1708. that the *French* foragers were advanced within a quarter of a league of the Confederate camp, and were sustained by several regiments. Lieutenant-General *Wood*, who happened to be at table, desir'd his permission, that he might charge them with two battalions only: The Duke granted his request; and having detached the regiment of Sir *Richard Temple*, and another *English* battalion for that enterprize, they fell upon the enemy, whom they repulsed as far as *Ennevelin*, where they had posted some forces in a castle, which was surrounded with ditches. The *English* endeavoured to dislodge them from thence, and charged the *French* with great bravery. But the Duke of *Vendosme* caused all his grenadiers, and the piquet of six brigades, which were incamped in the front of his army near *Pont-a-Marque*, to support his troops in the castle. Whereupon the two battalions were obliged to retire, after a very stout resistance, and retreated in good order, with the loss of about six or seven Officers, and near two hundred men killed or wounded. The next morning the *French* troops began to be in motion, and about two in the afternoon the Allies saw the head of their army, consisting of several battalions and squadrons, with their workmen, who levelled the ground between them and the Allies in trenches. The Confederate Generals now thought the enemy were resolved upon an attack, so that the troops were immediately ordered to their arms, and the regiments commanded to their respective posts, behind the intrenchments. Prince *Eugene* likewise joined the army; and, at the same time, orders were sent to the Earl of *Albermarle* (who was then between *Oudenard* and *Mennin* with thirty squadrons, to guard a convoy from *Brussels*) to return to the camp with the utmost expedition; and, accordingly the Earl, on the 12th, by break of day, arrived with his detachment. About four in the afternoon, the enemy began to cannonade the Confederate camp, directing their fire chiefly against the village of *Entiers* (where the Brigadiers *Evans* and *Wertmuller* were posted with two Brigades of foot) and were answered by the artillery, planted on the intrenchments, which continued till it was dark. The Confederate troops, which lay upon their arms all night, were the next day formed in order of battle, and early in the morning the enemy renewed their cannonading with between thirty and forty pieces, most twenty-four pounders, and the Allies did the like with almost equal execution on both sides. At length the enemy withdrew their heavy cannon; and the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* perceiving, that they had no other design than by frequent alarms to delay the storming the out-works of *Lisle*, the troops were ordered to encamp in such a manner, as to be immediately ready to receive the *French*, provided they should make any farther attempts, and the works about the village of *Entiers* were repaired, and enlarged for the greater security of that post. Prince *Eugene* being satisfied, that the Confederate camp was sufficiently secured, he returned, on the 13th of September, with his troops to the siege.

In the mean while, the *French* Generals were contriving means to distress the Confederate army in such a manner, as to oblige Prince *Eugene* to raise the siege; and, in order to this, they at last found an opportunity of engaging

some of the inhabitants at *Aeth* in a conspiracy to deliver up that town; while, on the other hand, they were indefatigable in concerting measures for cutting off the convoys, of which the camp before *Lisle* stood in need. The former scheme failed; for, before the conspiracy at *Aeth* was ripe for execution, it was discovered. But, in the latter part of their design, they succeeded; for, after various motions of both armies, they began to throw up lines for securing the passes of the *Scheld*, and worked at them so hard, that they appeared rather like the fortifications of a town, than intrenchments thrown up in haste, notwithstanding they were seventy miles in length. On these they laid cannon, and posted the greatest part of their army upon them, so that they did effectually stop all communication by the *Scheld*. Upon which, the *States* ordered all that was necessary, both for the army and for the siege, to be sent to *Ossend*: And if the *French* had begun their designs, with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the siege must have been raised, for want of ammunition to carry it on.

The Duke of *Burgundy* was very uneasy for want of intelligence from *Lisle*; which put *Dubois*, a Captain in his army, on one of the boldest enterprizes, which perhaps was ever undertaken by a single man: He determined to attempt getting into the City, notwithstanding the strict guards kept by the Besiegers. He undressed himself, and, having hid his clothes, swam over seven canals and ditches, and so got into the town. Marshal *Boufflers* having provided him with clothes, conducted him to both the attacks, shewed him the condition all things were in, and, having written a letter to the Duke of *Burgundy*, he rolled it up in wax, which the Captain put in his mouth. He then returned the same way he came, with the intelligence the Duke of *Burgundy* wanted; by which it was said, Marshal *Boufflers* acquainted him, that, if one of the Allies convoys could be intercepted, the siege would be raised; and that he would undertake the place should hold out till the 6th or 10th of October.

On the 12th of September, about nine in the morning, the Besieged came out of the town in great numbers, with four colours, and attacked the trenches on the left in six different places, having, at the same time, another body of troops in the covered way, ready to sustain them. But before they could do any other damage than the overturning a few gabions, they were engaged by the next battalions in the trenches, and obliged to retreat in great disorder, having had above sixty men killed, and among them several Officers; and, of the Confederates, fourteen men were killed, and near thirty wounded. Lieutenant-General *Arnam* continued that night in the trenches, which were relieved the night between the 13th and 14th by the Prince of *Holstein-Beck*; but the works were not advanced very much, because the troops, which had joined the grand army with Prince *Eugene*, were not returned to their respective posts. However, they arrived the 14th, a little before break of day. The same night the trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Spaar*, with ten battalions, as usual; and the Besiegers began to work upon some mines, in order to fill up the ditch of the renaille, and they placed a great many gabions on the pali-

1708. sadoes. On the 15th, Prince *Eugene* thought fit to alter the former dispositions for relieving the trenches, and ordered, that all the Lieutenant-Generals of his army should roll according to their turns: That one of them should mount the trenches every day with a Major-General: That the former should take his post at the attack on the left, and the latter on the right: And that twelve battalions, instead of ten, should mount the trenches, five *Imperialists*, *Palatines*, and *Hessians*, and seven detached from the troops of the Prince of *Nassau*. Accordingly, on the 17th in the evening, Lieutenant-General *Wilks* relieved the trenches with twelve battalions; and, the same night, Director *du Mey* attacked, with fifty grenadiers, and the like number of fusileers, a traverse in the covered way, from which he beat the enemy with considerable loss. From the 17th to the 20th, the Besiegers made their advances with all possible diligence. The assault was intended to be made on the 20th in the evening; but, the enemy having burnt the galleries and bridges, which were to be made use of therein, it was for this reason put off to the 21st in the evening. About half an hour after fix, the trenches were relieved by Lieutenant-General *Wilks*, Major-General *Saiken*, and Sir *Richard Temple*, with the usual number of battalions, the signal being given by a general discharge from the batteries, and the mines on the right and left sprung with good success. The grenadiers marched out with great intrepidity, mounted the breach of the tenaille on the right, obliged the enemy to retire into the retrenchment of that work, and made there a good lodgment. On the left, they had still greater success, for they possessed themselves of a place of arms on the counterscarp of the tenaille, and drove the enemy out of the counterscarp before the grand breach, so that here they made two lodgments; but, on a sudden, the enemy came down in such numbers, that the Officer, who commanded this party of the Allies with a considerable number of his men, were presently killed, the lodgments ruined, and the rest of the grenadiers obliged to retire. Prince *Eugene* seeing this, and believing, that his presence would re-animate the grenadiers, came out of the trenches, and, as the *French* accounts say, rallied them thrice, advancing at their head, till he received a wound by a musket-shot, which, grazing over his left eye, beat off his hat. The Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, who was near him, took his own hat, which was likewise shot through, and put it upon Prince *Eugene's* head, who was prevailed on to retire, in order to have his wound dressed. This action cost the Allies near a thousand men, to supply which, the Duke of *Marlborough* sent, the next day, a reinforcement of four hundred *British* and *Prussian* grenadiers from his army to the siege. The same morning the Duke and King *Augustus* went to make Prince *Eugene* a visit, and finding him ready to mount on horseback, they prevailed on him to continue a few days in his chamber, till he was perfectly recovered; during which time the Duke sustained the weight of the command, both of the siege and his own army; for he immediately went into the trenches, visited the works, and performed all that Prince *Eugene* would have done, had he not been prevented by his wounds.

On the 22d Major-General *Cadogan* set out

for *Offend* to view a considerable number of troops, which were landed there from *England*, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Erle*, and to concert the necessary measures for securing a great convoy they expected from *Offend*. These troops had been embarked on board the fleet for some time, made a feint of landing in *Boulogne-bay*, and afterwards alarmed the *French* coast of *Normandy*, to the great terror and expence of the inhabitants; and, at length returning to their own coast, the Duke of *Marlborough* desired they might be landed at *Offend*; and they proved a very seasonable reinforcement to the grand army in that critical conjuncture. The same day the four hundred grenadiers, who were detached from the Duke's army, and five and fifty fusileers, were to post themselves that evening in the tenaille on the left; but the grenadiers arriving too late, the attack was deferred till the next day; so that, on the 23d, all things being in readiness, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was in the trenches, caused a signal to be given for the storm to begin, which was carried on with all imaginable success. The troops drove the enemy quite from the tenaille on the left (that on the right being taken the 21st at night) and made a great lodgment along the covered way, without any considerable loss, except some Engineers and Officers, who were wounded. It was observed on this occasion, that the enemy did not defend these posts with the same vigour, which they had formerly exerted; from whence it was conjectured, that either the garrison had been much weakened in the hot disputes, which they had sustained, or began to want ammunition, which afterwards proved very apparent. For, the siege having been protracted to an unusual length, and the garrison having sustained several assaults, and made all the while prodigious fire, Marshal *Boufflers* found means to acquaint the Duke of *Vendosme*, that he had scarce ammunition sufficient for four Days; which pressing necessity obliged the enemy to venture upon a bold attempt of supplying the place. In order to that, the Duke of *Vendosme* detached the Chevalier de *Luxemburg*, and under him Monsieur de *Tournefort*, with a body of horse and dragoons to endeavour to supply the Besieged, each man having a bag of forty pound weight of powder behind him. They advanced the 28th at night, along the causey from *Dorway* to *Lisfe*, and were met by an out-guard of one hundred horse, commanded by Count *Schlick*, who had been incamped at *Pont-a-Tressin* with thirty squadrons. This out-guard challenged them, and they declared that they belonged to the Allies grand army, and were conducting some prisoners to the camp. But a subaltern Officer, having a mistrust, advanced to examine them, who, thinking it impossible to conceal themselves any longer, rode full gallop along the causey, and got into the line of circumvallation. The guard and centinels having fired at them, the camp in general took the alarm, and several *Palatine* dragoons, getting on horseback with the utmost expedition, fell upon the enemy, and got into the barrier of the town, which the Besieged were at first cautious of opening; and left their men for some time exposed, by which means a great many were killed, and several returned back into the Confederate camp, and endeavoured to save themselves by favour of the night.

1709. night. The infantry made several discharges at them, and the powder they had in their bags taking fire did great mischief. Those, who made their escape, threw away their powder, which was set on fire by their horses striking against the pavement. The Allies took seven officers and about forty prisoners; but what numbers were killed and blown up, could not easily be known (1).

The French
endeavour
to intercept
the convey
from Ot-
tend

Whilst these things were transacting before *Lisle*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, on the 25th of *September*, returned to the camp at *Lanoy*, was employed in making detachments, and taking other measures for securing a great convey of ammunition, that was expected from *Ostend*. The Duke had ordered six battalions, and eight hundred horse under Brigadier *Lanfsberg*, ten squadrons under Brigadier *Starkerberg*, and six battalions under General *Els*, to guard the convey. But having received advice, that the *English* troops under Lieutenant-General *Erle* had advanced to *Leffingen*, on the canal between *Bruges* and *Newport*, and that the Count *de la Motte* had been reinforced with several Brigades from the *French* army to intercept him, he concluded, that the detachment, he had ordered, would not be sufficient to oppose the enemy. And therefore Major-General *Webb*, and Brigadier Count *Nassau-Woudenburg*, son to the Veldt-Marshal d' *Auverquerque*, marched the 26th, by break of day, with twelve battalions more, to join the detachment on the road between *Mennin* and *Ostend*, and were ordered to advance as far as *Ichtegem*, in the country called *le Franc de Bruges*, about four leagues from *Leffingen*. Major-General *Cadogan* marched in the mean time, with a detachment of horse and foot, to meet the convey upon their passing the canal of *Bruges*. Notwithstanding it was impossible to

take other precautions for securing that convey, than those which were taken, yet the Confederates were under great uneasiness for it, upon advice, that the body of troops, which the enemy had about *Brussels*, were marched by *Ninove* to *Ghent*, to join the Count *de la Motte*; and that the intercepting of that convey was judged so important, that the Duke of *Berwick* was gone to *Bruges* to command the army assembled there. The *French* having concerted all the necessary measures for disturbing the Allies, and depriving them of any supplies, the Count *de la Motte* marched from *Ghent* with about twenty-two thousand men, and came up with six thousand of the Confederate troops, that were ordered to guard the convey; which occasioned one of the most glorious and remarkable actions recorded in history; of which there cannot be a better relation, than what was presented by Major-General *Webb* to the Queen, on the 6th of *October*, and afterwards published by authority, in the following manner (2):

After that the detachments, which were sent to cover the march of the waggons from *Ostend* to the siege of *Lisle*, had joined at *Turout* the 27th of *September*, General *Webb*, who, as eldest Major-General, commanded in chief, received advice, that Major *Savery* of the regiment of *Geithem* had possessed himself of the post at *Oudenburgh*; whereupon he sent six hundred grenadiers, under the command of Colonel *Preslon*; a battalion of *Orkney's*, under the command of Colonel *Hamilton*, with that of *Fine*, commanded by Colonel *Voogt*; the whole under the direction of Brigadier *Landberg*, to reinforce that post. The 28th, at eight in the morning, all the horse (under the command of Major-General *Cadogan*) were ordered to *Hogledede*, to wait the arrival of the convey there, except a hundred

The French
W. Webb
dare

(1) The Hereditary Prince of *Hesst-Cassel* gave the following account of this affair to the *States-General*.

Hesst and Major Lord,

Yesterday towards the evening we heard a great blow, which we supposed to be a mine: Half an hour after another crack was heard, and at midnight such a blast, that the ground shook with it. This alarmed the whole army. I went to the right, from whence the noise came (having first given order to all the cavalry under my command to saddle and mount) and found that a great detachment of the enemy, coming from *Doway*, had endeavoured to break through at the aperture of the line of circumvallation, on the highway between *Doway* and *Lisle*, where the *Palatinate* horse are incamped. Part of them having passed, and our men putting themselves in a posture to oppose them, the bags of powder, which most of the *French* horse and dragoons had behind them, of about fifty pound weight each, took fire, which made a terrible noise. The foremost of them upon this accident rode full gallop towards the town. Nevertheless, before they could reach it, the same disaster befel them a second time, just as they came up to the barrier, which might in all probability be occasioned by the horses shoes striking upon the pavement, or by the sparks of the first fire, that fell upon their men, who were not aware of it. It is said, that at least an hundred men perished in this manner near the gate; and it is likely, this is the last noise we heard. Between fifty and sixty troopers were killed upon the place, where they passed the line; and it was a dreadful spectacle to see the way strewn with dead carcasses, horses, heads, arms, and legs half burnt. The others, who were

behind, retired as fast as they could. I caused them to be pursued, but it was impossible to overtake them. They found, however, upon the road, for two leagues beyond the camp, sacks of powder, swords, pistols, and loose powder, which shews the precipitation, with which they made their retreat. Our *Hessian* *Hussars* set fire to a great many sacks, which they found in the road, as they returned from the pursuit. We reckon, that about three hundred men got into the town, but carried too little powder with them, to balance their loss. On the other hand, it is plain, that ammunition, which is so necessary, for their defence, begins to fall short in the place.

Your High Mightiness will, no doubt, have had direct advice of the advantage, which the troops, lately arrived from *England* sustained by those General *Cadogan* carried with him from the army, have obtained near the canal, that goes from *Ostend* to *Newport*, over the Duke of *Berwick's* troops, that attacked them. The great convey is arrived at *Mennin*. I congratulate your High Mightiness upon both these accounts, and am, &c.

From the camp for *Lysle*
September 29, 1708. FRÉDÉRIC, Prince of *Hesst*.

(2) The *London Gazette* of the 25th and 23d of *September*, having, from a wrong and partial information transmitted by Mr. *Cusdomel*, the Duke of *Marlborough's* Secretary, given the honour of the action to Major-General *Cadogan*, without to much as mentioning Major-General *Webb*, to whom it was entirely due, the latter resenting the affront, sent the army in disgust, came over into *England*, and gave the Queen a true relation of the affair of *Hogledede*.

'i H' y

1708. hundred and fifty horse, which were sent the night before, under the command of Count *Lottum*, to *Oudenburg*, with orders to the two battalions and six hundred grenadiers, to guard the convoy to *Cocklaer*, and afterwards to rejoin the foot at *Turout*. About noon, Count *Lottum* returned to *Turout*, with advice, that, in his way to *Ichtegem*, he met with an advanced guard of the enemy, which he pushed into the plain, where he observed sixteen squadrons mounting in great haste, on the alarm which their advanced guard gave them : Whereupon he thought it necessary to return in all haste, to give the General an account of it. On this advice all the foot, consisting of twenty-two battalions, Count *Lottum*, with his hundred and fifty horse, making the advanced guard, with the Quarter-Masters and Grenadiers, that were not detached, were ordered to march immediately, to gain the village of *Ichtegem*, by the way of *Wynendale* (1). As soon as the advanced guard got to *Wynendale*, they perceived the enemy in the opening of the plain ; whereupon the Quarter-Masters and Grenadiers were drawn up in order of battle. Major-General *Webb* and Count *Nassau-Woudenburg*, at the head of the hundred and fifty horse, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, giving orders at the same time to the foot to advance, and form themselves as fast as possible in the plain. The horse were left at the opening of the plain, under the command of Count *Lottum*, to amuse the enemy, and, to embarrass them the more, the Quarter-masters and Grenadiers were posted in a low coppice on that side of the plain, where the enemy were expected to pass. As soon as our troops passed out of the defile into the plain, Major-General *Webb* drew them up in order of battle, posting them in the opening, between the wood of *Wynendale* and the coppice, on the other side, where the Quarter-masters and Grenadiers were posted. We had scarce got six battalions into the opening, when the enemy began to cannonade us with forty pieces of cannon, whereof ten were of three bores. But, notwithstanding the great fire of the enemy, the hundred and fifty horse kept their ground ; which produced the desired effect, in giving the General time to form his foot in two lines. The left wing was extended beyond the low coppice, as well to prevent the enemy from passing that way, as to cover our flank. On our right wing was posted, in the wood of *Wynendale*, the regiment of *Hukelom* ; and on our flank on the left, the regiment of the hereditary Prince of *Prussia*, commanded by Colonel *Rbador*, with orders not to discover themselves, nor fire, till they could take the enemy in flank. Some platoons of grenadiers were advanced forty paces upon the right and left, with the same orders ; and the Quarter-masters were also posted in a road on the left, that crossed through the fore-mentioned low coppice. The enemy, after three hours cannonading, advanced towards us on the plain in twelve lines, whereof six were foot, and six horse. Whereupon Count *Lottum* was ordered to retire, and post himself three hundred paces behind the foot, which he did in very

good order. The *French* continued to march straight up to us with forty battalions and sixty squadrons. But, the General perceiving they extended themselves to their right in the coppice, he sent Count *Nassau* to observe their motion, who immediately ordered thither the regiment of *Grumkau*, commanded by Colonel *Befchefer* : And Brigadier *Eltz*, being come up with the last regiment, was posted on the right in the wood of *Wynendale* : About half a quarter of an hour before the engagement began, Brigadier *Landberg*, with the two battalions and six hundred grenadiers, that had been detached, having advice, that the enemy advanced to attack us, rejoined us just time enough to form a third line. Some minutes after the enemy began the attack, marching within a hundred and fifty paces of our flank on the right, where the battalions, who hid themselves, according to the General's orders, and who were not to fire till the *French* flank came opposite to them, gave them such a warm fire, that their left wing gave into the center ; and the regiment of the hereditary Prince, who was posted on the flank on our left, much about the same distance, did not miss the opportunity of their disorder, to give them a vigorous discharge, which put their whole line in confusion. Nevertheless, the enemy pushed on, and put two of our battalions into disorder. But the *Swiss* regiment of *Albemarle*, under the command of Colonel *Hirtzell*, advancing upon their horse, that were endeavouring to penetrate, engaged them long enough to give time to the General and Count *Nassau*, to bring up the regiments of *Benldorf*, *Gauvain*, and *Lindeboom*, to supply the room of those that were pressed ; which was done in a moment. However, the enemy, supported by so many lines, made another attempt to penetrate ; but our battalion rather advanced than gave way, though the General gave orders against advancing, fearing, lest that might render the fire of our flanks useless. This precaution had all the desired success ; the regiments and grenadiers making such a continual fire, as forced their two wings upon their center, and obliged the whole to retire in the greatest confusion, notwithstanding all the efforts their Officers could make by encouragement or violence, to keep them up ; so that they only fired at a great distance on our lines, which ours returned, advancing by platoons, as at their exercise, with all the order imaginable. Major-General *Cadogan*, who came up some time after the action began, offered to charge the enemy in their disorder with two squadrons of horse ; the other four, which he had sent for, not being arrived till near seven at night. But it was not thought advisable to expose so small a number to charge the enemy, who had brought up all their horse to favour their retreat. The battle lasted two hours, and was very hot, in which we had nine hundred and twelve officers and soldiers killed and wounded. But the enemy, (as we were assured by letters from *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and by report of prisoners and deserters) lost between six and seven thousand men. They made their retreat in so great confusion, that they left most of their cannon

(1) *Wynendale* is an inconsiderable place in *Spanish Flanders*, adjoining to a wood, called the wood of No. 58. Vol. IV.

Wynendale, eleven miles South-West of *Bruges*, and twenty-eight North of *Lille*.

(1) If

1708. cannon in a wood, which they did not carry off till the next day at eleven o'clock, after hearing that our convoy were passing *Rouffelaer*. We remained on the field of battle till two o'clock the next morning, having first carried off all our wounded, and several of the enemy. This victory is the more surprising, that, by reason of several detachments, we had not above six thousand in the action; whereas the enemy, by their own accounts, had no less than twenty-four thousand men.

The Count de la Motte, being obliged to retire, gave the convoy an opportunity to arrive the same night unmolested at *Rouffelaer*, and the next day at *Mons*: And, as this great action was chiefly owing to General *Webb's* conduct and military abilities, so that eminent service was deservedly acknowledged, both by the unanimous thanks of the Commons of Great-Britain, and, in a particular manner, by the King of Prussia who conferred on that General the noble Order of *Generalfrey* (1).

On the 30th of September, Prince *Eugene* being recovered of his wound, visited the trenches, to the inexpressible joy of the Confederate troops. The next day the trenches were relieved by the Prince of *Holstein-Beck*, Major-General *Sacken*, and Sir *Richard Temple*, with five battalions on the right, and seven on the left; and that evening they attacked and made a lodgment on the counterescarp, before the great breach on the right, the enemy retiring behind the traverses on the left. On the 3d a disposition was made for attacking the ravelin on the right, and three hundred grenadiers were detached from the Duke of *Marlbrough's* army to join the troops for that service. The attack began about noon, and succeeded so well, that by half an hour after one they made a lodgment on the ravelin, and forced the enemy behind the traverses to leap into the water, where most of them were killed or drowned; so that the Besiegers were now masters of both the counter-guards and the ravelin. On the 7th the Besiegers continued to finish the batteries on the counterescarp, to ruin the batteries of the enemy on the courtine, and beat down the bridge of communication, which they had from a place of arms to the ravelin. They carried on two mines on the left attack towards the salient angle of the counterescarp, over-against the breach, and the miners discovered two mines of the enemy, from which they took out the powder. On the 8th in the evening, the enemy sallied out, and overturned several gabions about our places of arms at the left attack; and the next day was partly spent about repairing the works, and setting up the gabions again, which the enemy had overturned the night before. On the 12th the Besiegers continued to enlarge the place of arms for the general assault, and finished two descents into the ditch on the right.

But on the left the enemy returned behind two traverses of the covered way behind the courtine, which hindered the advancement of the work on that side. On the 13th the Besiegers sprung a mine under the place of arms, which blew up several of the enemy's men; and, in the evening thirty grenadiers attacked the enemy behind the two traverses on the left, and overlet the boat, by which they would have retired; so that, of a Lieutenant, a Sergeant, and twenty men, three only were made prisoners, the rest being either killed or drowned. The 15th the Besiegers sprung four mines in the place of arms on the right, where the enemy had cast up an intrenchment; enlarged the places of arms for the general assault; and on the left made some progress in the lodgment in the covered way. The 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, the Besiegers made all the necessary preparations for a general storm, by continuing to drain the ditch, making apertures in the walls, working on the galleries, filling up the ditch, perfecting their lodgments and places of arms, and finishing their batteries, which consisted of forty-five pieces of cannon and fifty-five mortars; to supply which a new convoy of twenty thousand weight of powder, with a great number of bombs, cannon-balls, and hand-grenado's, arrived at the siege from *Ostend*.

The Duke of *Vendosme*, exasperated at Count de la Motte's shameful defeat at *Wynendale*, marched in person to *Oudenburg* with the best part of the French army, and ordered the dykes between *Bruges* and *Neuport* to be cut in several places, in order to lay the country under water, and hinder the communication between *Ostend* and the Duke of *Marlbrough's* army. But, notwithstanding the great inundation, Major-General *Cadogan*, favoured by the British troops at *Leffinghen*, found means to carry through the water considerable quantities of ammunition and other necessaries. Hereupon the Duke of *Vendosme* bent his efforts against the village of *Leffinghen* with seven or eight thousand of his men (2). They intrenched themselves, and threw up batteries against the place, as if it had been one of the most regular fortifications in the world. On the 19th of October, the enemy fired the whole day from one of their batteries with red-hot bullets against the houses, wherein about four hundred barrels of powder were lodged; but, to prevent mischief, that ammunition was ordered to be laid under water, preserving only as much as was thought necessary for maintaining that post. On the 20th, upon advice that the Duke of *Vendosme* was to be that night in the trenches, it was resolved to attack the enemy on the other side of the canal; and fifty grenadiers of the Dutch regiment of *Vanderbeek*, commanded by Captain *Moor*, and the same number of the regiment of *Caris*, commanded by Captain *Clare*, the whole supported

(1) If this great convoy of eight hundred waggons had been intercepted, the siege must have been raised. For the Duke of *Marlbrough* had sent some ammunition from his army to carry on the siege, and he could spare no more: He began to despair of the undertaking, and so prepared his friends to look for the raising the siege, being in great apprehensions concerning this convoy, upon which the whole success of this enterprise depended.

(2) *Leffinghen* is an inconsiderable village in the neighbourhood of *Ostend*, where a body of the Confederate troops were posted, in order to keep open a communication, with the grand army of the Allies, to the Besiegers of *Lisle*; and from whence the Duke of *Vendosme* could not drive them, without attacking it in form.

1708. ported by two hundred *English*, were order'd for that service. Four grenadiers were sent before, who, pretending to be deserters, amused the enemy, whilst the rest of the troops came up, who, charging the *French* with great bravery, drove them from that post to a second intrenchment, and seized their battery, where they continued for some time. The enemy lost an hundred men in this attack, besides forty taken prisoners, among whom were a Captain and the Chevalier *de Croissi Colbert*, a Major-General and Engineer, who offered the soldier, that took him, two hundred pistoles and a Commission for his liberty, which he generously refused. On the Confederates side Captain *Clare* was killed, and Captain *Moor* received a mortal wound through his body with a bayonet, besides which two subalterns were wounded, and fifteen private men killed or wounded. On the 15th, early in the morning, the *French* attacked a Church-yard, wherein Colonel *Caulfield*, who commanded in *Leffingben*, had posted an hundred and fifty men, who made but little resistance, and retired into a redoubt near the canal. At last a great body of the enemy, consisting of fifty companies of grenadiers, supported by ten thousand foot, possessed themselves of the village, and obliged Colonel *Caulfield*, with the rest of his troops, to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion.

The Confederates take possession of the town of Lisle.

This easy conquest was not an equivalent for the great loss which the enemy sustained two days after by the surrender of the town of *Lisle*. For the batteries of the Besiegers, consisting of about fifty pieces of cannon and twenty-five mortars, began to fire, on the 21st of *October*, with so much success, that, on the 22d, the garrison beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town. Whereupon hostages were exchanged, and it was agreed, that Marshal *Boufflers* should capitulate for whatever related to the garrison, with Prince *Eugene of Savoy*; and that the Magistrates and Council of the town should propose their own terms for themselves and the castellary of *Lisle*, and agree about the same with the Field-deputies of the *States-General*; which was done accordingly. The 23d in the morning, the capitulation was concluded and signed, containing in substance, "That the *French* should that afternoon, surrender the *Magdalen-Gate*, and all magazines of provisions and ammunition in the town. That all their sick and wounded should either be transported to *Doway*, or remain in *Lisle* till their recovery, at their own charge. That the horse, who had entered the town since the siege, might be sent to *Doway*, with the wives and families of the officers and soldiers, &c. That all prisoners taken during the siege be restored on both sides: And that the troops of the Allies should not enter the town before the 25th of *October*; by which time the *French* garrison was to withdraw into the citadel." These articles being agreed on, and all things disposed for the performance of the capitulation, the cavalry, which got into the place, under the command of the Chevalier *de Luxembourg*, marched out the 25th for *Doway*, with the other persons that were allowed by the capitulation; and, at the same time, the Prince of *Holstein-Beck*, who was appointed to be Governor of the town, marched in with two *English* and thirteen other battalions, and a detachment of horse. It is difficult to determine the

loss on either side, from the 13th of *August*, N. S. when *Lisle* was invested, to the 23d of *October*, the day on which the town surrendered. But, according to the *French* account, they had twelve thousand men in garrison, when the Confederates broke ground against them, besides three thousand *Burgbers*, who did constant duty with the regular troops; of which four thousand five hundred only retired with Marshal *Boufflers* into the citadel; and it is computed, that about two thousand more were sick and wounded at the time of the capitulation; so that the *French* lost betwixt six and seven thousand men, upon a reasonable computation, and the Allies near eight thousand.

The cessation of all acts of hostility between the town and the citadel, which was to expire the 26th, according to the articles of capitulation, was continu'd till the 29th; during which time the inhabitants, who were very much afraid that the *French* would not have so much regard to their houses as the Allies had, used their utmost endeavours to persuade *Boufflers* to capitulate. The enemy made extravagant demands of money, and pretended to march out with all their cannon; and that the Allies should set at liberty Marshal *Tallard*, with some other unreasonable pretensions, which the Allies rejected with scorn. These negotiations being broke off, the hostilities began at five o'clock; but during the cessation, the Besiegers had cast up intrenchments, and drawn a parallel from one end of the esplanade to the other. They had also made several coupures on the wall near the citadel, to the right and left. The hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* posted himself at *la Bassée*, and orders were given to fortify that place. The Duke of *Mariborough* continued at *Rouffelaer*, for the more easy subsistence of the Confederate troops. From thence he detached the Earl of *Stair*, to provide corn for the army in the districts of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*. That detachment had the good fortune to surprize four Companies of *French* grenadiers, at the bridge between *Dixmuyde* and *Newport*. On the other hand, they met with the great mortification to have four of their squadrons undergo the same fate. Those troops were all *Prussians*, and defended themselves for some time with great bravery; but finding, that all the avenues were closed, and that there was no possibility of forcing their way through the enemy's troops, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

While these matters were transacted, the brave Veldt-Marshal *Averquerque* departed this life on the 18th, in his quarters at *Rouffelaer*, in the 67th year of his age; whereby the command of the *Dutch* troops fell of course to the Count *de Tilly*, as the eldest General in the service of the *States*. On the 29th, about five in the afternoon, the Besieged in the citadel of *Lisle* began hostilities, by the discharge of five pieces of cannon, which they continued to fire the rest of the evening, without doing the Besiegers any considerable damage. On the other hand, the Allies contracted the lines of circumvallation, and erected batteries of cannon and mortars, which they were ready to fire upon the citadel by the 11th of *November*. The Besiegers carried on their approaches by the sap; and, the Besieged sparing their small stock of ammunition, as well as the Besiegers, the attack of that fortress

The siege of the citadel of Lisle prosecuted.

1708. fortrefs was maintained with confiderable lofs. On the 13th, the Confederates lodged themfelves by the palifadoes of the firft covered way; and the next day they made themfelves mafters of the whole counterfcarp, except two places of arms, which the enemy abandoned the 15th. The Allies erected two batteries on that work, but did not defign to play their artillery from thence, till they had lodged themfelves on the fecond counterfcarp. For which purpofe, they prepared a great quantity of fascines, continued to drain the ditch, made feveral openings into it, paffed the fame the 17th in the night, and lodged themfelves on the glacis of the fecond cover'd way, without any lofs. Four days before the Prince d'Auvergne was detached from *la Baffée*, to attack the fort *St. Venant* upon the *Lys*, on the frontiers of *Artois*, in which the enemy had pofted a hundred men, who, upon the approach of that Prince, made only one difcharge, and retired towards *Aire*.

While the fiege of the citadel of *Lifle* was carrying on with all the vigour that is confiftent with the cautious method of fapping, both out of a juft regard for the lives of valiant men, who had already gone through incredible fatigue and innumerable dangers, and for want of fufficient ftores of ammunition; the enemy thought to have taken fuch infallible meafures for diftreffing the Allies, as well by their inundations between *Bruges* and *Newport*, as by their intrenchments along the *Scheld*, that their public Minifters in *Rome* and *Venice* boldly asserted, "That the confederate army was fo coop'd up, that they would foon either be famifhed, or obliged to abandon *Lifle*." But the two great Confederate Generals being indefatigably intent upon their proper bufinefs, the Duke of *Marlborough* in providing corn out of the country of *Artois*, and the diftricts of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyde*; and Prince *Eugene* in managing what was lent him by the Duke of *Marlborough*, both armies lived in parfimonious plenty; and the fiege of the citadel was carried on with all the fuccefs, that could be expected.

The Elektor
of Bavaria's
defign up-
on *Bruffels*.

The enemy opened a new fcene; Their parties made incursions into the diftrict of *Boifleduc*, burning and ravaging part of the open country; and, at the fame time, the Elektor of *Bavaria* approached *Bruffels* with a body of ten thoufand men. But the Duke of *Marlborough*, having concerted meafures with Prince *Eugene* to pafs the *Scheld*, immediately difpatched orders for feveral *British* and *Dutch* Regiments to be tranfported from *Oftend* to *Antwerp*, and fent to *Monfieur Pafchal*, the Governor of *Bruffels*, to affure him, that he would certainly come to his relief. Upon which encouragement, the States Deputies refolv'd to ftay in *Bruffels*; and the vigorous meafures, they took with the Council of State and the Governor, were very instrumental in the prefervation of that important place. Nor were the States-General lefs follici-

tous for *Antwerp*, whither they difpatched fome of their own Members, with General *Frefheim*, an experienc'd Officer, and ordered troops to haften thither from *Nærden*, *Heuſden*, *Grave*, and other places. On the 22d of *November*, N. S. the Elektor of *Bavaria* invefted *Bruffels* (1); and, the next day, fent a Trumpeter, with a fummons to General *Pafchal* to furrender, in thefe terms: "His Elektoral Highnefs knowing, that the Commandant is not in a condition to defend himfelf with the few troops he has; if he obliges his Elektoral Highnefs to begin the attack, he fhall have no capitulation for himfelf or his garrifon. Let not the Commandant flatter himfelf, that he can retire with his garrifon to *Antwerp*, if he delays to furrender; for he is to know, that he will foon find troops pofted to hinder his retreat." The Governor, who had nine battalions and a thoufand horfe under him, returned an answer by the fame Trumpeter: "That he was very unfortunate in not having the honour to be known to his Elektoral Highnefs; that he durft affure him, he would do all that a man of honour ought to do, and that he was fatisfied with his garrifon." The Elektor was not a little furpriz'd at this refolute answer: and, on the 26th of *November*, in the morning, the enemy began to fire from their batteries againft the City (but with little fuccefs) and in the evening, with their fmall fhots againft the men in the outworks, and, about nine at night, they attacked the counterfcarp with great fury, between the gates of *Louvain* and *Namur*. The fire was terrible on both fides, and lafted till five the next morning; during which time the enemy made nine attacks, and at laft lodged themfelves on the glacis of the counterfcarp. But about fix o'clock the Befieged made a fallly from the cover'd way fword in hand, with fuch fuccefs, that the enemy were driven out of their works, after a moft obftinate and bloody engagement. The action ceas'd the 27th, about ten in the morning, and the Allies expected to be attacked a fecond time at night; for their fpies unanimoſly reported, that the enemy had a defign, not only to make a general affault, but would alfo fire with red-hot bullets, to excite the Burghers to fedition; upon which the Befieged difpos'd all things as well as poffible for refifting the enemy's attacks. But in the afternoon, inftead of renewing the engagement, the Elektor of *Bavaria* demanded a fufpenſion of arms, in order, as he pretended, to bury the dead, and draw off the wounded; which prov'd but a ſtratagem to raife the fiege with lefs difadvantage. For upon the arrival of two Couriers from *Mons*, with intelligence, that the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* had paffed the *Scheld*, in order to relieve *Bruffels*; his Elektoral Highnefs ſent away his baggage, and in the night march'd off with his troops, without found of trumpet or beat of drum, and with

1708.

(1) *Bruffels* is a very fair, large, and noble City of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquiſate of the Dukedom of *Brabant* in the quarter of *Bruffels*, ſubject to the Queen of *Hungary*, and the Seat of her chief Governor for thefe parts. It was abandoned by the French immediately after the memorable battle of *Ramillies*, and made its ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Marlborough*.

The Elektor made ſeveral furious affaults upon it during the ſiege of *Lifle*, but the Duke of *Marlborough*, paſſing the *Scheld*, made him precipitately quit the ſiege. It is pleaſantly ſeated on the river *Senne*, twenty-four miles South of *Antwerp*, thirty South-Eaſt of *Ghent*, and ninety-fix South of *Amſterdam*.

(x) *Burnet*

1708. with such precipitation, that the enemy left in their camp twelve pieces of cannon nailed up, two large mortars, and about twenty barrels of powder. They also left about eight hundred men wounded in the adjacent villages; and the Dragoons and Hussars, who, the next morning, went out in pursuit of the enemy, brought in a great many prisoners, and some baggage. So that it was computed, that, what with their killed, wounded, prisoners, or deserters, this unsuccessful expedition cost them above three thousand men; whereas the loss of the Allies did not amount to above five or six hundred killed or wounded.

For this brave and resolute defence of the City of *Brussels*, Lieutenant-General *Paschal* was justly advanced by King *Charles III.*, to the dignity of a Marquis. However, it had not been possible for that General to defend himself much longer, with a garrison of scarce five thousand men, in so large and unfortified a place. The preservation of *Brussels* was therefore principally owing to the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*, who, with incredible secrecy and expedition, passed the *Scheld* the 27th of *November* in the morning, with very little opposition; the *French*, in a panic fear, abandoning those lines and intrenchments, which they had been casting up for three months past. This affair was managed with so much precaution, as redounded greatly to the reputation of the Confederate Generals. For the Duke of *Marlborough* being early acquainted with the extremity, which the City of *Brussels* was in, recalled the troops, which were in the district of *Furnes*, commanded by Lieutenant-General *Fagel*, which joined the army at *Rousselaer* on the 22d, and also the detachment, which was at *Lens* and *la Bassée*. The same day they received advice, that the dam which the enemy had been making near *Gavre*, to stop the course of the *Scheld*, was broke and carried away by the rapidity of the stream, which very much facilitated their passing that river. The army arrived the 25th at *Harlebeck*, and continued there till four in the afternoon, for giving time to Prince *Eugene* to come up to the place appointed.

Measures concerted for passing the Scheld.
The measures were concerted thus: That Prince *Eugene's* army should pass the river between *Eskenasse* and *Hauterive*; the Duke of *Marlborough* and Count *Tilly* at *Kerkboven*; and Count *Lotum*, with the Earl of *Orkney*, between *Gavre* and *Asperon*. Major-General *Cadogan*, and Brigadier *Evans*, were sent before to lay the pontoons over the *Scheld*, who not only performed

their orders, but passed the river, and posted themselves and their detachment on the other side, and put to flight a body of the *French*, which lay intrenched thereabouts. The Confederate troops were therefore ordered to march with all possible expedition, and, as they passed the river, they formed themselves in order of battle. Prince *Eugene*, having advice of these proceedings, passed directly over the river, and joined the Duke of *Marlborough* at *Kerkboven*. Upon their conjunction, they advanced to *Berchem*, in order to dislodge the enemy from that post; but Monsieur *Souteron*, who commanded there, retired with the utmost precipitation. The *Dutch* cavalry pursued them, and happened to fall in with a party of grenadiers, who had lined some hedges and ditches, in order to secure the retreat of the rest. In this action the Allies had about sixty men either killed or wounded; among the latter Brigadier *Baldwin*, in the service of the *States*, was shot through the body; and the Earl of *Albemarle*, Prince *William of Hesse*, and Count *Maurice of Nassau*, had their horses killed under them. The Confederates pursued the enemy till it was dark, and incamped on the hills near *Oudenard*, to the joy of the whole army, who expected to have met with great difficulties in passing the *Scheld*, and to the surprize of the Generals themselves, who could not have imagined, that the enemy would have so easily abandoned posts so advantageous by nature, and which they had fortified with so much application and labour. In the several pursuits, the Confederate troops took great part of the enemy's baggage, their bread-waggons, several colours, standards, and two or three pair of kettle-drums, and killed and made prisoners near a thousand men (1).

The Duke of *Marlborough*, upon his arrival at *Oudenard*, took the necessary measures for advancing towards *Brussels*, and, in his march, he was informed at *Alost*, that the Elector of *Bavaria*, upon the first notice of the passage of the *Scheld*, had quitted the siege with great precipitation, leaving all his artillery and wounded men behind him. The Duke came to *Brussels* on the 29th of *November* in the morning, to take proper measures for sending a supply of ammunition and stores to the siege of the citadel of *Liste*, and to thank the garrison of *Brussels* for their vigorous defence. He was received with great acclamations of joy, and complimented by the *States of Brabant*, and the Magistrates of the City, upon their deliverance, which they justly attributed to his conduct and expeditious march. The day before, Prince *Eugene*,

(1) Burnet says (Vol. II. 509.) The Duke of *Marlborough*, hearing the Duke of *Bavaria* was going to attack *Brussels*, made a sudden motion towards the *Scheld*: But, to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he designed to march directly towards *Ghent*, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they seemed to have no notice nor apprehension of his design on the *Scheld*: He advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horse to come up with the artillery: The lines were so strong, that it was expected, that, in the breaking through them, there must have been a very hot action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have cost them at least ten thousand men; but to their great surprize, as soon as they passed the river, the

French ran away without offering to make the least resistance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, so they could not pursue; for the horse were not come up, nor did the garrison of *Oudenard* fall out; yet they took a thousand prisoners. Whether the notice of the feat, that the Duke of *Marlborough* gave out of his design on *Ghent*, occasioned the *French* drawing off their cannon, and their being so secure, that they seemed to have no apprehensions of his true designs, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning those lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a surprize to all the world: Their Counsels seem'd to be weak, and the execution of them was worse; so that they, who were so long the terror, were now become the scorn of the world.

1078. *gene*, with his troops, and a detachment of eight battalions and thirty squadrons from the grand army, returned to *Lisse*, and the sixteen battalions under Count *Lottum* marched back to the camp. But, the same morning, Lieutenant-General *Dompere*, with forty squadrons, advanced towards *Alost*, being ordered to incamp between that place and *Asbe*, in order to relieve *Brussels*. The Duke of *Marlborough*, with King *Augustus*, and several other persons of distinction, having been entertained at dinner by General *Pafkhal*, and given the necessary directions, returned in the evening to his camp at *Alost*, where the troops rested the 30th. The day following, the Confederate army removed from thence, and incamped with the right at *Oudenard*, and the left near *Bierlegghem*. At the same time, Lieutenant-General *Dedem* was ordered to advance with twenty battalions, and to pass the *Scheldt* at *Oudenard*, where he incamped on the other side of the river, to assist at the works that were ordered to be made for the security of that place, and to be near at hand to join Lieutenant-General *Hompesch*, who, with thirty-eight squadrons and eight battalions, were maintained near *Menin*; by which dispositions a communication was maintained with Prince *Eugene*, who was at *Lisse*.

The siege of the citadel at *Lisse* was all this while carried on with great diligence; and, in the absence of Prince *Eugene*, the Besiegers had lodged themselves on the second counterescarp, and began, on the 1st of *December*, to raise batteries thereon; which being finished in six days, the Prince sent a summons to *Boufflers*, offering him an honourable capitulation, if he would surrender before the batteries had begun to fire; otherwise to expect no other terms, than for him and his garrison to be made prisoners of war. The Governor, whose stock of ammunition was almost exhausted, and who was informed, that the communication between *Brussels* and *Lisse* was free and open, thought fit to prevent the consequences of a breach being made in the body of the citadel, by beating a parley the 8th of *December*, *N. S.* hostages being exchanged, the articles were signed the day following; and, on the 10th, the Marshal, with the whole garrison, marched out with all the usual marks of honour, and were conducted to *Dewey* (1).

If the difficulties of an enterprize increase the glory of it, the taking of *Lisse* must be one of the most glorious actions that ever was known (2). The place itself was as strong as art could make it, on the fortifications whereof the celebrated Monsieur *de Vauban* had exerted his utmost skill.

(1) The Prince of *Orange* wrote the following letter to the *States-General* on this occasion:

High and Mighty Lords,

All the lodgments before the Citadel having been joined, and all things being ready to make the descents into the covered way, and to finish the batteries on the left, in order to batter in breach; the enemy beat a parley yesterday morning at seven o'clock. The hostages on both sides being exchanged, Prince *Eugene* went with those of the *French* to the Abbey of *Leu*; but the capitulation was not signed till this day at four in the afternoon; and I thought it my duty to send it by Major *Thilo van Thilau*, my Adjutant-General. I most humbly congratulate your High Mightinesses on this new conquest, which is so much the more considerable, because the enemy had been obliged to surrender in a season of the year so far advanced, and that we have not on our part fired a gun, and have lost very few men. I pray God to bless more and more the arms of your High Mightinesses, and those of your Allies; so that after a series of glorious and happy successes, there may result from thence a firm and lasting peace; and that the lustre and glory, which this State has attained to, by the particular favour of the Almighty, under the most wise Government of your High Mightinesses, may be long preferred. I am, &c.

From the camp before *Lisse*,
December 9, 1708.

J. W. FRISO, Prince of
Orange and Nassau.

(2) Dr. *Hare*, in his *Thanksgiving-sermon* above-quoted, observes, that *Lisse* was looked upon by the *French* as impregnable, 'it being the master-piece of the ablest Engineer that Kingdom has produced; and the great King had added such beauty to its strength, as shewed, he thought no body would dare to touch a place, which he had been at so much charge to make his own; and he was justified in thinking so by an undisturbed possession of more than forty years. In truth, the very slender knowledge our best Engineers had of it is a sufficient proof, they never dreamt of seeing that glorious day, when a confederate army should be able to come against it. It was so great an enterprize in the judgment of the enemy, that they could not

believe we really meant it, when it was plain we could mean nothing else: They thought it was a feint only to draw them from the posts they were intrenched in, or pretended to think so, to colour their slaying so long in them to so little purpose, or to excuse their not endeavouring to prevent our artillery from coming up. But, when it was too late to dissemble their concern, then what confusion were they in! What a noise was there, that they would and must raise the siege, cost what it will! How many Councils were there held! What furious motions did they make, or rather what not! Sometimes they threatened a powerful diversion, that they would besiege this place and that, and a third, and a fourth, and give us sufficient reasons to repent so rash an enterprize: Sometimes nothing would do, but they would fight us; and once they ventured nearer than they would have done, when we had by intrenching helped them to a decent pretence for not attacking us, and they were assured we should not attack them. But in their cooler thoughts they were content to sit down with a design to starve us; a poor design, had not the siege been drawn out into an unexpected length; and, to compas it, there was no action so mean, they did not condescend to; no faith so sacred, they did not violate. Once indeed they had the courage to try a braver part, and with a great body of troops marched to intercept a convoy, without which they knew the siege could not be carried on; but the event soon shewed, it had been better for them to have lain still, their attempt having served to nothing else, but to make another place famous by a fresh defeat of them. *Wendela* will be always named among the successes of this memorable year, where a small body of foot, under the command of a Member of this Honourable House, maintained themselves against near thrice their number, though supported by a good number of horse, and provided with numerous artillery; and, after a brave defence, obliged them to a scandalous retreat. Thus we have the fullest proof even from the enemy, that the right use was made of our first success, and that a more fatal blow could not have been given them; but we want not the voice of enemies or friends to witness the importance of this enterprize, by the success of which not only their frontier is broke into in the most desirable part, and a fair advance made towards penetrating into the heart of *France*; but, what the great Monarch

1708. skill. It was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of a Marshal of France, and several other experienced Generals; provided with all manner of necessaries, and encouraged to a vigorous defence by the approach of a powerful army, which was as numerous, if not stronger, than the forces of the Allies. And yet the Allies, without having any communication with their own territories, ever since the Duke of Vendôme took the village of *Leffinghen* after a siege of eight days, reduced *Lisle*, found means to subsist about it till the reduction of the citadel, and got corn from the territories of the enemy. The French thought this beyond the power of man, and therefore boasted, that, without striking a blow, they would oblige the Allies to abandon the siege. And, indeed, the difficulties, which the Allies had to struggle with, were so many and so great in themselves, that the confidence of the enemy did not appear altogether unreasonable. But what would have

been impracticable by the Duke of Vendôme and other French Generals, was accomplished by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who, after the reduction of the town and citadel of *Lisle*, were resolved to crown their conquests, before the end of the campaign, with the recovery of *Ghent* and *Bruges* (1).

The French Generals not imagining, that the French Confederates would have attempted any thing army separated. after the last important conquest, especially in so advanced a season of the year, separated their *Ghent* army, and returned to *Paris*. But, all necessary preparations being made for the siege of *Ghent*, that City was invested on the 20th of December, N. S. in the following manner: Count *Lothum*, with thirty-nine battalions, and thirty-six squadrons, were posted between the *Upper-Scheld* and the *Lys*: The hereditary Prince of *Hesse*, with forty squadrons, and twenty battalions, between the *Lys* and the canal of *Bruges*, and from thence to the canal of *Sas*: The Duke of *Wurtemberg*

narch owes more to than his sword, his treasure also is extremely affected by it; it loses him a great revenue, which at this time he can very ill want; it makes a mighty interruption in traffic and commerce through his own Kingdom, and almost cuts off the greatest advantage he had by an open trade with our Allies. In short, taking *Lisle* is cutting a nerve in the body politic, one of the largest and most useful nerves; from whence his greatest armies received their nourishment, from whence his *Flanders*-forces were always paid.— Could we not have formed that siege, little had remained of our victory, but the glory of regaining by the sword what surprize and treachery had taken from us; but a siege, much less so great a one, we could not undertake without artillery; and to have artillery, while the enemy were in possession of *Ghent*, every body, I believe, will own they thought impossible, till he, who has a genius equal to all difficulties, shewed the way, and contrived the means; which were executed with that wonderful dexterity and diligence, that the greatest train, that perhaps was ever brought so far by land, was provided in a little time, and conducted between two armies of the enemies, without the least disturbance, safe to us. After this success, which might justly be esteemed a second victory, there seemed to be little to do, but to attend quietly four or five weeks the issue of the siege; but by setting out wrong at first, our Engineers soon came to want, what of all things was hardest to be supplied; and the slow progress, that was made afterwards, put the siege in the utmost danger of miscarriage, and the army of starving. And those unpromising appearances made not a few with the weather would give us a pretence to raise the siege we seemed unable to go through. Never sure had covering army so much work, never had Commander so great a trial of all the qualities, that go to make a consummate General. To hinder so long the junction of the enemy, to prevent their disturbing the siege, or making a diversion, to keep for ten weeks a communication with *Brussels*, and, when that was stopped, to open another with *Ostend*, and after that still to find out new resorts, and subsist a great army thrice the time that was expected, in an enemy's country, that we seemed to have eat up, even before we were perfectly confined to it; these are difficulties nothing could surmount, but a mind, that cannot be puzzled or dismay'd. But this is not all; while we were besieging, we were besieged ourselves, the enemy had hemmed us in on every side, and for ten weeks together intrenched the *Scheld* with all the diligence they could, resolved, it seems, we should not pass on any terms. But, when the siege they had laid to *Brussels* made the trial necessary, neither river, nor army, nor intrenchments availed any thing. We surprized the enemy, at a time, when they were most concerned to be upon their guard; and, what is be-

yond all belief, passed the river they had been so long fortifying, without the loss of one man; and by that happy passage their siege was raised before it was well begun. These are such difficulties, as greatly enhance the value of the successes we rejoice in; and serve for shades to illustrate and set off the many masterly strokes, which a curious eye cannot but discern in the beautiful plan of this great and wonderful campaign. I might add, that the length of our siege made it late in December, before we could attempt to retake the places the enemy had stolen from us, which is itself such a circumstance, as is without example in that country; but in the end, this success was also added to the rest, and the campaign was happily concluded with the year.—There is nothing the interposition of God has more visibly appeared in, than the favourable weather we were blessed with so long together; which was so necessary for us, that without it every body saw we could have done nothing; and yet so extraordinary, that the like has not been known in the memory of man; nor was there any thing the enemy trusted more to, than that the rains would overtake us; which had they done, had not the heavens been shut up in the latter season, we must inevitably have been obliged to raise our siege, though no disturbance had been given by the enemy. Had we known in December to the very end of it so much ill weather, as they commonly have three or four months before, we must have been content to let the enemy enjoy quietly their treachery, which could not but have had a very ill influence on the next campaign. To what can we impute this, but to his good providence, who opens and shuts the heavens as he will? Wonderful has his favours to us been in this respect, beyond our most forward hopes, beyond what we dared to wish for. To pass by several very remarkable instances of this kind, the passing and repassing of the *Scheld*, the first of which was the saving of *Flanders*, and the other of *Brabant*, both depended on great marches, that were made without the least disturbance from the weather, which might easily have defeated the success of them; though the first was soon followed with a great rain the very night of the battle, and the other was preceded by a greater, which the enemy felt all the evil of, being then on their march to invest *Brussels*; but this weather lasted no longer, than till we were ready to make use of better. But there was another circumstance in our repassing of the *Scheld*, which I cannot omit: A night march, which we were forced to make in order to it, was happily for us, by an unforeseen coincidence, directed by the full assistance of the moon.

(1) The Marquis de Feuquieres in his *Memoirs* gives the following account of the errors committed in the defence of *Lisle*. Marshal de Boufflers says he, Governor-General of French Flanders, and of *Lille*

Wurtemberg between Muleheim and the Lower Scheld, with twenty-five squadrons, and twenty-six battalions: Count Tilly with thirty squadrons, and thirty battalions, between the Upper and Lower Scheld: And the Duke of Marlborough incamped at Meerlebeck, that he might be near the center of the several attacks. On the 14th, in the evening, the trenches were opened at the attack commanded by General Lotum; and two thousand Workmen, covered by seven battalions, and two more in reserve, with six hundred horse, were ordered for that service, under the command of Lieutenant-General Fagel, Major-General Wecke, and the Lord North and Grey. The men worked about half an hour before the enemy discovered them, and then they made such a terrible fire, that the Allies had near thirty men killed, and about seventy wounded. They carried on their works with good success from St. Peter's gate towards fort Monterey, and finished a parallel of a thousand paces from the right to the left, within two hundred paces of the counterescarp. On the 25th at night, the trenches were opened at the Duke of Wurtemberg's attack, with four battalions and six hundred horse, commanded by Major-General Murray, who covered fourteen hundred pioneers, and this attack was directed against the castle. The same night they opened the trenches before the Brussels gate, between the Upper and Lower Scheld, with four battalions and six hundred workmen, commanded by Brigadier Evans, who carried on their works with great success, and made a communication without any loss. But, the works on the right being very difficult, and time as well as fascines being wanting to finish the same, the garrison made a sally with ten companies of grenadiers, who put the first troops into some confusion; and, whilst Brigadier Evans was bringing up the next battalions

to support them, he was taken prisoner with Colonel Grave of the Lord North and Grey's regiment. They had likewise about twenty officers and soldiers killed or taken; but the enemy retired upon the first firing of the troops, and had not time to level the works. On the 26th the batteries began to fire upon the Red Fort, and the garrison, consisting of two hundred men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The following days the approaches were carried on with a great deal of success; and, the batteries being ready to fire, on the 30th at six in the morning, with red-hot bullets, and the mortars to throw bombs and carcasses into the town, the Count de la Motte sent out a trumpeter to the Duke of Marlborough, and demanded an honourable capitulation, which was granted him; pursuant to which, one gate of the city, and another of the castle, were delivered to the troops of the Allies on the 31st of December, N. S. and two days after Count de la Motte marched out with his garrison, which consisted of above thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, in order to be conducted to Tournay. The Duke of Argyle, with six British battalions, immediately after took possession of the town and citadel.

The reduction of Ghent occasioned a great surprize at the French Court, and was indeed in itself very wonderful, considering the situation and largeness of the place, the numerous garrison, the hard season of the year, and the fatigue which the troops had already undergone in this extraordinary long and difficult campaign. The consequence of surrendering that important city was the enemy's quitting of Bruges, Plasendale, and Lessinghen, and retiring into their own territories. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, having thus gloriously finished this campaign, and settled the winter

Ghent capitulates.

the French abandon Bruges.

the

in particular, defended this place against the armies of the Allies, who besieged it. The place was strengthened with a garrison of near sixteen thousand men; and yet the Besiegers only attacked it on the side of *Mogdalen-gate*, before a front of fortification, that comprehended near a thousand fathoms in extent; and even this attack was separated by the *Duile*; and consequently the enemy approached the same front by two attacks, intersected by the river, which afforded them the only communication they had with each other. This conduct of the enemy might have induced the Besieged to think it very practicable to make sallies under the protection of the works, either on one side of the attack or the other; by which means they might have destroyed the works of several days; and yet they only made one sally, with above five hundred men, which did not produce any considerable effect.

The Besiegers, in the conduct of their works, committed a greater error, and of which the besieged neglected to take the advantage. The error was this: Their comprehension of this great front ceased in proportion as they approached the place; so that, when they advanced to the glacis, their grand front was so contracted, that it only equalled the extent of the two salient angles before the tennaille of the counterescarp; by which means the front of the attacks was more extensive than that of the assailants. As the Besiegers therefore were under no necessity of forming such a disposition, but committed this essential error in consequence of mere incapacity in the conduct of works, it seemed reasonable to chastise them for their proceeding; and yet the Besieged wanted resolution to attempt it, though they easily might have opened their glacis,

under the protection of the counterescarp, and those works, that were not comprehended; and they might have made such lodgments on the glacis, as would have constantly enabled them to gaul the flanks of the Besiegers contracted front of the attack. This advantage was so much in favour of the Besieged, as the Besiegers made but one attempt to storm the counterescarp at the two salient angles before the tennaille, where they only appeared with five or six hundred men, because they could not march a greater number in the small front they had formed. Most of these men were killed in their advance upon the pallisade; and this single experiment should have convinced the Besieged, that their capital operation for the defence of the place was to make such lodgments on the glacis, as were above-mentioned, in order to multiply the fires against the attack, and to take those, who approached, in flank, and to greater advantage, than in the covered way, which was not comprehended within the Besiegers works.

Though the want of powder frequently silenced the Besiegers cannon, and consequently suspended the fire of the bombs; yet the Besieged did not improve that favourable opportunity in any reparation of the breaches during the night, or clearing away the ruins in the day, though the inhabitants of *Lille* were numerous and loyal, and might have been employed in this work, while the Besiegers artillery ceased to batter the breaches. The guard even of the attacked work was kept with so little vigilance, that only one sentinel was awake, and the post was surprized, while all the soldiers were asleep, after the desertion of that treacherous sentinel, so that the work was carried without

the

1708. ter-quarters for the forces of the Allies, set out, the 9th of January, from *Brussels* for the *Hague*, having left all the Confederate troops under the command of Count *Tilly*, General of the *Dutch* forces.

A very
hard win-
ter.

If *Ghent* and *Bruges* had not surrendered when they did, it could not have been possible to have kept them in the field much longer; for, within two or three days after, there was a great fall of snow, and that was followed by a most violent frost, which continued the longest of any in the memory of man: And, though there were short intervals of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme frost, the whole lasting about three months. Many died in several parts by the extremity of the cold; it was scarce possible to keep the soldiers alive, even in their quarters; so that they must have perished, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard season.

Campaign
in Italy.

The miscarriage before *Toulon* did not discourage the Duke of *Savoy* from meditating a new irruption into *France*, in return for the siege of *Turin*. The preparations made by his command through *Piedmont* during the winter and the spring, his assembling so great a body of troops on his frontiers, and preparing, not only a train of field-pieces, but a quantity also of heavy cannon, gave the *French* apprehensions, not only of an incursion, but of some important siege. And, according to the *French* Writers, the Duke never dissimbled his intentions, which were to enter *Dauphine*, and to extort contributions as far as *Lyons*. But though the bad weather could not suffer him to take the field till the month of *July*, yet the lateness of the campaign was soon made up by the rapidity of his conquests; which the vigilance and activity of the *Marshall de Villars* (whom the *French* used to call their *Fortunate General*) could neither foresee nor prevent. The Duke, the better to cover his design, had first, with great labour and fa-

tigue, bent his March towards *Savoy*, over Mount *Cenis*, as if he intended to penetrate into *Dauphine* through fort *des Barreaux*; but, having by this feint drawn the enemy's forces on that side, he turned short towards *Sezane* and *Oulx*, prevented *Villars's* quick march, and took such right measures, that from the 12th to the 31st of *August*, *N. S.* he compassed his true design, which was to make himself master of the important fortresses of *Exilles*, fort *la Perouse*, and the valley of *St. Martin* and *Fenestrella*. By which conquests he secured his own dominions against *France*, and gained free entrance into the enemy's country, the *French* having built a strong citadel at *Fenestrella*, after the blowing up of the fortifications of *Pignerol*, in order to cover that frontier. The greatest difficulty in taking these places was from the impracticableness of the ground, which drew the sieges out into such a length, that the snow began to fall by the time *Fenestrella* was taken. By this means the *Alps* were cleared, and *Dauphine* was now open to him: And all things were ready for a greater progress in another campaign. Besides these advantages, the Duke likewise made a Divercion in favour of King *Charles III.*, obliging the enemy to send a great detachment from *Rouffillon* to *Villars's* support and assistance.

The Queen of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General* had solicited the Imperial Court and the *German Princes* to act with greater vigour than they had hitherto done, and particularly pressed the Emperor to give the utmost assistance he *could* to his brother in *Spain*, and heartily concurred with King *Charles* in desiring, that Prince *Engene* might be sent thither to command in chief. But this point could not be obtained (1); and, Count *Guido de Staremberg* being appointed in that Prince's room, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the last of *April*, the supplies demanded by King *Charles* being arrived there before. Great hopes were conceived of this new General,

1708.

the least opposition on the part of the Besieged. It would have been a very easy affair however to have doubled the sentinels in every place, where the negligence or infidelity of one exposed them to the Besiegers.

But the most surprising circumstance of all is, that *Marshall de Boufflers* capitulated for the City, almost as soon as that half-moon was lost, and without waiting ten or twelve hours, to see the besiegers fill up the ditch, which would have employed them, at least for that time, on account of its breadth, depth of water, and quantity of soft soil on its bottom. For of what particular importance could it be to *Marshall de Boufflers*, whether the rest of the provisions and ammunition were consumed in the defending the City some time longer, or in a new defence of the Citadel? It was, however, a very essential point, to prolong the defence of the City, as much as possible, since the surrender of it to the enemy would afford excellent accommodations to an army, who greatly needed them in that advanced season, when the rains are so frequent in *Flanders*, that, if they had happened during the siege of that City, they would certainly have rendered that great enterprise unsuccessful.

The dispositions for the defence of *Lisle* were very inconsiderate. The siege from the beginning was rendered too fatiguing to the garrison, which was divided into two bodies, alternately upon duty, for the space of twenty-four hours. This time was much too long. Half of the troops were posted in out-works, and the rest were stationed on the ramparts, and employed in the works; so that the garrison had never any fatigue. No. 58. Vol. IV.

ted hours of rest, which are so absolutely necessary for the officers as well as the soldiers, both for the preservation of their health, and to render them capable of defending the place for a greater length of time. The inhabitants of *Lisle* were numerous and well-affected; and yet they were not employed in any service, either for the relief of the garrison, or the preservation of the place.

It was reported, that *Marshall de Boufflers* wanted provisions towards the close of the siege, and could not supply the Citadel with a sufficient quantity for the garrison. This indeed is true, but the fault must be imputed to the disorder and want of oeconomy in the distribution of the provisions, which was always equal; so that no care was taken to lessen the allotments in proportion to the loss of men. A Company, that had been greatly weakened in the progress of the siege was allowed the same subsistence, as it received when it was much stronger; so that at the latter end of the siege the provisions were distributed in almost double the quantity that was necessary; and this irregularity alone would have occasioned the loss of the place, had it been accommodated never so well.

(1) This affair will be best explained by the following extracts of letters published by Mr. Cole in his *Memoirs of Affairs of State*:

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Vienna, January 7, 1707-8.

This evening Count *Gallas* is at Prince *Engene's*, where the affairs of King *Charles* are to be under debate.

1708.

General, who had before commanded the Imperial troops in Hungary; but it was generally believed, that the affairs in Spain would have had much better success, if they had been managed by Prince Eugene.

Burnet.

The Duke of Orleans still continued to command in Spain; and, according to the vanity of that Nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty armies in many different places, and to put an end to the war there. Great rains had fallen all the winter in all parts of Spain; so that the campaign could not be opened so soon as it was first intended. The troops of Portugal, which had lain at Barcelona ever since the battle of Almanza, were brought about by a Squadron of English ships, to the defence of their own country. Sir John Leake came likewise over to Lisbon from England with recruits and other supplies, with which the Queen of Great-Britain was to furnish the Crown of Portugal. When all was landed, Leake failed into the Mediterranean to bring troops from Italy, for the strengthening of King Charles, whose affairs were in great disorder.

Soon after Staremberg's arrival in Spain, Major General Stanhope came to us (says the Author of the manuscript to often mentioned) with a Commission of Commander in chief of all her Majesty's forces in Spain, as Belcastle had orders to command the Dutch. All the troops marched out of their winter quarters to different camps, in the road to Cervera and Lerida. When Leake came with his fleet to Barcelona, King Charles sent immediately for Count Staremberg from the camp at Montblanc, to consult with the Generals Stanhope and Carpenter, and Admiral Leake, whether he could undertake any thing for the service; and, nothing being fixed, the Admiral failed for Italy, from whence he brought both the new Queen of Spain and eight thousand men with him. But, by reason of the slowness of the Court of Vienna, these forces

came too late to raise the siege of Tortosa; before which place the enemy came the 30th of June. Upon the news of this, a Council of war was held, to see whether we could undertake any thing to save that town, which, on the sea-side, was the key of Catalonia from Valencia. Count Efferen, a Palatine Major-General, was sent to command in Tortosa, with a good garrison. The trenches were opened on the 9th of June, and, in about a month's time, the Governor, having no reason to expect any relief, surrendered upon honourable terms, and marched his garrison to our camp at Constantino, in the Campo de Terragona. During the siege, Leake dissipated a fleet of Tartans, sent from France to supply the Duke of Orleans's army, and took about fifty of them; which was a very seasonable relief to those in Barcelona, and which, it was hoped, though in vain, would have caused the siege to be raised.

From Constantino the army marched for Cervera with a good train of artillery, where they were joined by all the forces from Italy, and by some Dutch and Spanish battalions from Lam-paerdan. Besides Tortosa, the enemy also took Denia, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. But these losses were abundantly made up to the Allies, by the reduction of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and of the famous Port-Mahon, with the whole Island of Minorca.

Sir John Leake having taken on board the fleet a few troops commanded by the Marquis of Alconzel, better known by his former title of Conde de Cifuentes, arrived before Cagliari (1), the capital of Sardinia, on the 12th of August, N. S. and immediately summoned the Marquis of Jamaica, the Viceroy, to submit to King Charles III. The Marquis insisted at first upon extravagant terms: But on the throwing of a few bombs into the City, the inhabitants resolved to compel him to surrender, with his garrison, at discretion; whereupon both he and the

Ma-

late. I had orders from Britain, to urge their sending Prince Eugene to Spain, and also a letter writ by the Queen to the Emperor, recommending the same as a matter of the greatest consequence, but to no purpose. Prince Eugene is to be at hand to defend them, in case of need, against the Turks, and to secure them from any future insults from the Swedes, who has demanded the like liberty for the Reformed to exercise their Religion in Sillesia, as by Count Wratisslaw's Convention at Alt Ransladt the Lutherans are to enjoy. Count Guido of Staremberg is declared General for Spain, without consulting Britain or Holland, whether they will put their troops under his command. I have writ my thoughts pretty freely upon these practices, and Monsieur Bruyninx has done the same. Prince Eugene has a commission to act as the Emperor's Lieutenant-General, which but for the Duke of Savoy he had had last year; the Emperor's Lieutenant-General being to command all who may serve with him. I do not know how the Elector of Hanover will relish the being commanded by Prince Eugene. I believe he will not submit to it; but they must rather let the Commission lie dormant this next summer.

The Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Sunderland.

Venice, January 17, 1707-8.

I am glad, that both Houses of Parliament have taken notice of the sending Prince Eugene into Spain. If any thing will prevail with the Court of Vienna, I think that should; but I am far from thinking, that it

The Dutch Envoy at Vienna to the Earl of Manchester.

Vienna, January 28, 1707-8.

We can by no means succeed to make Prince Eugene go into Spain, and his Imperial Majesty alleges reasons for this, that seem to have some weight; but the Emperor designs to send thither the Count Guido of Staremberg, who is likewise a good General.

Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Manchester.

Whitehall, February 17, 1707-8.

I wish with all my heart, the Court of Vienna would come to reason, in relation to the sending Prince Eugene to Spain; but that matter seems to be quite over, and Staremberg will be the man.

(1) In the *Memoirs of affairs of State*, published by Christian Cole, Esq; p. 545, is the following letter of Sir John Norris to the Earl of Manchester, relating to the designed expedition.

Ranelagh, with the fleet bound to Cagliari, July 26, 1708.

My Lord,

The 17th instant we arrived with the fleet and troops at Matters, where we landed the Queen of Spain, the being from thence to make her entry into Barcelona. The next day our transports got to Barcelona, where we landed the horse and foot in good condition. We lost but forty horses in the passage, and nineteen that were in a Genoese vessel, which lost company

1708. Magistrates accepted such articles, as the Admiral was pleased to grant (1). The greatest part of the *Spanish* garrison readily lifted themselves in King *Charles's* service. Besides which, near two thousand horses were found there, ready to be transported to *Spain*, for remounting the enemy's cavalry; part of which were disposed of to the dismounted dragoons, who were employed in this expedition. The Marquis d'Alconzel, who was constituted Vice-Roy and Captain-General of that Kingdom, having held an assembly of the Deputies of the several States, they gave assurances of their affection and fidelity to King *Charles III.* and, for a proof, offered to furnish thirty thousand sacks of corn for that King's service. This supply made the conquest of *Sardinia* the more considerable, for, in *Catalonia*, they were, at that time, much straitened for want of provisions.

The Conquest of Minorca. N. S.

The conquest of the Island of *Minorca* (2), which followed soon after, was entirely owing to Major-General *Stanhope*, who was the first projector, and had the principal share in the execution of the design. In the beginning of *August* he received a letter from the Lord-Treasurer, to acquaint him, that the Admiralty had represented to the Queen, that it was almost impracticable, and very dangerous for our fleet to winter in the *Mediterranean*, except some safe harbour were procured for it. Upon this, General *Stanhope* immediately fixed his thoughts upon the Island of *Minorca*, which was a very great enterprize, and required a greater number of troops,

than could be spared out of our army. He took a short journey to *Barcelona*, to consult the proper measures with the Admiral; which done, he returns post to the camp, and acquaints *Staremburg* with his design, who much applauded it; but as to forces he could spare none, for we were then within four miles of the enemy, who were much superior to us, and we daily expected to be attacked. However, *Staremburg* consented that *Stanhope* should take *Southwell's* regiment, a battalion of *Neapolitans*, another of *Portuguese*, and a small detachment of *Spaniards*. All which marched immediately to *Barcelona*. General *Stanhope* follows them, on the 10th, and had the good fortune of meeting there with Brigadier *Wade*, just returned from *London*, which was a great advantage to him. The 21st, he embarks with this handful of men and a few dragoons. What was wanting in troops, was in some measure made up by a fine train of *British* artillery, with mules to draw it, commanded by Colonel *Boreguard*, with that excellent Engineer Brigadier *Petit*, who, in that capacity, might be said to have taken and defended *Barcelona*, for which services King *Charles* had raised him to the rank of a General Officer. *Stanhope* was here informed of the strength of the garrison of fort *St. Philip*, which would have damped the courage of any man that had not been so zealous in the undertaking. The fleet and transports sailed from *Barcelona* the 23d, and the men landed the 26th to the South-west of fort *St. Philip*, within two miles of it. As they sailed by the fort, the garrison

1708.

pany with the fleet, and was taken by a cruizer of the enemy. The troops have joined the rest of the army, which all people say is in a good condition, and that there is a good agreement with the Commanders of each Nation. But from our unfortunate loss of *Torifa*, and the accidents of this campaign, the foot we brought does but just make up the number we have lost; and in that the enemy is much superior; but in horse we have the advantage, both in number and goodness, &c. We are under this difficulty, that the land we have there, with the island of *Majorca*, will not afford grain enough to feed the army and country; for which reason we are now going with the fleet, to try if we can reduce the island of *Sardinia* to the obedience of King *Charles*. The troops we have to do it with are our seamen, twelve hundred marines, and some unmounted *Spanish* dragoons; and, if half be true of what is represented to us, we shall succeed in the reduction of that Kingdom. We have the *Conde Cifuentes* with us, but he is not to meddle till the place has declared. We go directly for *Cagliari*, which is the seat of the Vice-King, and the capital of the country. I am, &c.

JOHN NORRIS.

(1) Sir *John Norris* wrote the following letter upon the taking of this City to the Earl of *Manchester*.

From on board the *Ranelagh* before
My Lord, Cagliari, Aug. 18, 1708, O. S.

This being the first opportunity of my writing to *Italy*, since our arrival before *Cagliari*, will plead my pardon, that I did not sooner tell your Lordship, that we anchored before the town the 3d instant in the afternoon, and sent a summons to the Vice-King, to render the Town and Kingdom of *Sardinia* to the obedience of King *Charles*, with a letter to the Burghers, to assure them of their effects and ancient privileges, in case they made their obedience. The

Officer sent had leave to wait four hours for an answer, if required; at which time, being night, he return'd with an answer from the Vice-King, that it was so late, that he could not that night get all the Government together, but would do it the next morning, and send their answers. We judged it best to keep on the fright, and cause no delay, and that instant began bombarding, and hove that night an hundred and twenty shells into the town, and landed our men at the point of day; and, as soon as it was light, the Vice-King sent off a flag of truce, to desire to capitulate; after which the mob took possession of the gates, and delivered them up to us. Thus we have got a City much stronger than *Barcelona*, and that has eighty-seven brass cannon mounted, and the whole island, without the loss of a man. In our capitulation we obliged them to furnish *Catalonia* immediately with fourteen hundred tons of corn, and to-morrow it will sail for *Catalonia*, it being embarked in our transports.

Last night we received letters from the King of *Spain* and Mr. *Stanhope*, and news, that the King had appointed fifteen hundred soldiers under Mr. *Stanhope*, to go to reduce the island of *Majorca* and the fortrels of *Port-Mahon*. He desires our assistance in the same; on which we this morning agreed to go to that service, and to-morrow we sail for that island; and, though the *French* have a garrison there, yet, if the weather proves good, I believe we may say we shall carry it. This will suit us in visiting the Pope, as we intended, for helping the Pretender, till another season. But after this service our winter-ships will go to *Naples*, to convoy to *Catalonia* the troops the King expects from thence, and the rest of our ships will be obliged to go home to rest for the next year, &c. I am, &c.

JOHN NORRIS.

(2) *Minorca* (so called from being less than *Majorca*, another island about six leagues from it) lies in the *Mediterranean*. Its greatest length is forty-five, and greatest

rifon was not a little intimidated, to see a fleet with two flags (*Leake* and *Whitaker*) and so many transports, expecting no less than an army of ten or twelve thousand men; and, indeed, it had the appearance of it. With the four battalions were landed about seven hundred and sixty marines, commanded by Colonel *Lee*, which made up the whole number, Officers included, three thousand two hundred and sixty four (1). This little army marched to a rising ground over-against the fort, having made as great a show as possible in their march; for it was all in sight of the enemy, whose alarms were much increased by it; and still more, when they saw our troops drawn up in a long line where they could be seen, but the best perspective glass could not discover whether there was a second or third line. From hence they went that evening to a camp marked out by the Engineer, within less than two miles of the fort. The garrison consisted of a thousand *Spaniards*, and six hundred *French* marines, under the command of Colonel *la Jonquiere*, an old Officer, who was sent there by way of punishment, for not behaving so well as was expected from him against the *Cevennois*. The Inhabitants of *Minorca* were very much for us, being weary of the yoke of their King, who had taken all their privileges from them, as he had done from his subjects of the Kingdom of *Aragon*, from whence they had been transplanted to this Island.

Batteries were erected the next day, and the morning after they began to fire against two of the four towers, which are built at proper distances like little bastions, in a wall of stones without cement, that covers the fort a quarter of a mile from it, and that from sea to sea. These towers were soon battered down by our cannon. They had four pieces of cannon in each, with room enough for cannoners, and ammunition. General *Stanhope*, who wanted to induce the garrison to a speedy surrender, ordered a great many papers to be writ in *Spanish* and *French*, in which he promised very honourable terms to the Besieged, if they did not put him to the trouble of raising batteries; but, if they refused, he threatened that all the *Spaniards* should be sent to the mines, and the *French* be worse used. These papers were tied round arrows, which were shot in great numbers into the Suburbs of the fort, and into the vacancy between the fort and the stone-wall, where small parties were placed to observe us. It was by a shot from one of these parties that Mr. *Philip Stanhope*, brother to the General, Captain of the *Milford* galley, a young Gentleman of great hopes, was killed, the ball fixing in his forehead, as he was held up by two of his sailors to look over the wall, which was nine feet high.

The arrows had a good effect, especially upon the *Spaniards*, who dreaded the mines. After the towers were beat down, the cannon continued to fire upon the wall, and, in a short time, levelled it to the ground. Through the breach General *Wade* marched to a redoubt, at the head of all the grenadiers and some marines, with so much intrepidity, even within reach of the enemy's fire, that it struck the garrison (as one of the Officers afterwards told our Author) with admiration and terror, inso-much that the soldiers could not be brought to fire at them, though commanded, and the cannon could not reach them, the ground being too low where they marched. *Wade* took the redoubt, left some men in it, and returned to the camp unattacked.

The next day their panic increased; a battery of large cannon was fixed against fort *St. Philip*, and the first ball was ordered to be so fired, as to fall in the ditch; which it did, and was immediately taken up and carried to the Governor. A Council of war was instantly held, wherein it was resolved, by a small majority, to beat a parley. Hostages were quickly exchanged, and *Wade* was sent to agree on a capitulation. When he came to the Governor's house, he found the large hall on the table, which most of the Officers had been wondering at. They were not many hours in agreeing upon the following terms: The garrison was to march out the next day with all marks of honour, and to be shipped off immediately; the *Spaniards* to be transplanted to a harbour in *Murcia*, and the *French* to *Marseilles* or *Toulon*: The magazines to be given up, their arms to be left in the Court of the fort, and the outward gate to be delivered into our hands that evening, as soon as the capitulation was signed; which was done in a short time, and a guard was ordered to the gate. *Wade* returned to the General in the camp, and both were extremely well pleased with this success.

On the morrow *Wade* went with all the forces to see the garrison evacuate the fort; and he had not men enough to form the two lines through which the garrison was to march to the sea-side, except they were placed at an unusual distance. The enemy then saw their mistake, as well as before, when they were coming up from the camp, but it was too late. All the boats of the fleet which were come into the harbour the night before, when the capitulation was signed, were ordered to attend to carry the garrison into the transports. When the *French* were got into three vessels, a Field-officer was sent to let them know, that General *Stanhope* made them prisoners of war by way of reprisals for the garrison of *Denia*, which, after a brave defence, were, contrary to the capitulation, made prisoners of war by Count *d'Asfeld*.

Fort

greatest breadth twenty-four *English* miles. The chief places are, 1. *Citadella* on the South-West side about the middle of the island, in the bottom of a bay, thought to be the *Tamna* of *Ptolemy*. 2. Fort *Formelli* on the North-East side over-against *Citadella*. 3. *Port Mahon* at the bottom of a large bay, which runs about three *Spanish* miles to the South-East. The harbour is guarded by fort *St. Philip*, and is accounted the best and largest in the *Mediterranean*. *Minorca* lies in Lat. 39. 45. It was taken by General *Stanhope*

in 1708, and confirmed to the *English* by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

<i>French</i>	—	—	—	51
<i>Neapolitans</i>	—	—	—	16
<i>Spaniards</i>	—	—	—	98
<i>Portuguese</i>	—	—	—	57
<i>Marines</i>	—	—	—	70
				3284

(1) The

Fort *St. Philip* being in our hands, the whole Island gladly submitted, except *Port-Fornelli*. On the 17th of *August*, Sir *John Leake*, with the *Dutch*, sailing for *England*, *Whitaker*, Rear-Admiral of the *Red*, was left with his Squadron before *Port-Mahon*, who, with a few men of war failing to *Port-Fornelli*, and meeting little resistance, brought away the garrison, consisting of about two hundred men, prisoners of war. Thus the conquest of the whole Island, with the loss only of forty men killed or wounded, was finished in less than three weeks, to the great admiration of all *Europe*. The *Besiegers* found in the forts about a hundred pieces of cannon, three thousand barrels of powder, and all things necessary for a good defence. The *Spaniards* were all carried to *Murcia*, except the inhabitants of the Suburbs, who had liberty to return to their houses. As soon as they landed, the Governor threw himself out of a window and died. The *French* marines were sent to *France*, except a Captain, who refused to sign the capitulation, and two Lieutenants, who were left to take care of the prisoners, that were detained on account of the affair of *Denia*. When they arrived at *Toulon*, *Lajonquiere* was confined for life, and all the Captains received marks of their Master's displeasure. But the Captain, who stood out against the capitulation, was promised a reward. General *Stanhope* appointed Brigadier *Petit*, Governor of fort *St. Philip*, and Deputy-Governor of the whole Island. By this

conquest our fleet had got a safe Port to lie in and refit, and to retire to on all occasions; for till then we had no place nearer than *Lisbon* (1).

Besides the conquest of *Minorca* by the Allies, and the taking of *Tortosa* by the Duke of *Orleans*, nothing considerable was undertaken during the campaign, though the armies were incamped some months within a few miles of one another. But the enemies would not venture to attack us, notwithstanding their superiority; and *Masfal Staremborg*, who was reckoned the best General of the age for the defensive, was contented to preserve what we had left in *Catalonia*. Our army went into winter-quarters the last of *October*; and, about the middle of *November*, the Generals *Staremborg* and *Stanhope* formed the design of surprising *Tortosa*, which was executed with the greatest secrecy, but not with the expected success. A detachment chiefly of grenadiers went, the 22d at night, to scale the town, but, by the ignorance or treachery of the guides, the first ladders were set up over against the main-guard, and close to it: So that the whole garrison was immediately alarmed, and marched to *Barcelona* gate, where the grenadiers were endeavouring to get the bastion that covered it, who were so warmly attacked, that they were forced to retire, leaving many men killed, and most of the rest wounded. This put an end to the design, and to all the operations of the campaign (2).

Besides

(1) The Earl of *Sunderland* wrote the following letter to General *Stanhope* upon the reduction of *Minorca*:

S I R,

Whitehall, *October* 20, 1708.

I received on *Monday* the favour of yours of the 30th of *September*, N. S. by Captain *Moyer*, with the welcome news of your having taken *Port-Mahon*; which, though it came at the same time as the news of taking of *Lisbon*, yet was not at all lessened by it: Every body looking upon our being in possession of *Port-Mahon* as of the last consequence to the carrying on the war in *Spain*; besides the other advantages, which, if we are wise, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. I cannot express to you the sense the Queen, and every body here, has of your zeal and conduct in this affair, to which this very important success is so much owing. I heartily condole with you for the loss of your brother, which indeed is a publick loss to us all, he was so deserving a young man. As soon as we heard of your being gone upon this expedition, orders were sent to Sir *George Byng*, as soon as he should come to *Lisbon*, to carry with him into the *Mediterranean* a sufficient quantity of stores for a Squadron to winter there; and, upon the good news Captain *Moyer* has brought, those orders are renewed, so that you may depend upon that being effectually provided for. I do not say any thing to you of what you mention in relation to the troops from *Naples*, because you will receive by Mr. *Griggs* the Queen's approbation of what you have done in relation to it. I send you inclosed a letter of the Queen's to the Countess of *Oropesa*, writ with her own hand. You will receive directions from my Lord Treasurer, to give her, at the same time, from the Queen the thousand pounds you have so often mentioned. I must not omit telling you, that the Queen does intirely approve of your leaving an *English* garrison in *Port-Mahon*, for the reasons you mention, though some of them must be kept very secret. Her Majesty does approve also of the Governor you have named, and is very well satisfied with your having the Commission you mention from the King of *Spain*, being satisfied you make no use of it but what

Numb. LIX. Vol. IV.

is for the public service. I have nothing more to trouble you with, but to assure you, that I am, with the greatest truth and esteem,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

SUNDERLAND.

P. S. Besides the orders that are gone to Sir *George Byng*, Captain *Moyer* carries with him orders from the Prince to Sir *Edward Whitaker*, in relation to the Squadron's wintering at *Port-Mahon*. You will receive with this packet a letter of the Queen's to the King of *Spain*, in favour of the *Conde de Salazar*, at the desire and recommendation of several *Spanish* and *Canary* Merchants.

(2) In our return from the camp to *Barcelona* (says the Author of the Manuscript account of the campaigns in *Spain*) I went with Major-General *Carpenter* to view the convent of *Mountferrat*, sixteen miles from it, which, for miracles and riches, is said to be equal, and by the *Catalans*, far to out-do that of the Lady of *Loretto*. The treasure of this Chapel is immense in jewels and plate, and the income of the Fryars, who are forty *Benedictines*, besides Lay-Brothers, is very considerable; and all owing to the pretended miracles of the blessed Virgin, whose statue in wood, of a very curious workmanship, and believed to be sent by St. Peter from *Rome* to *Barcelona*, and carved by St. Luke, is set up behind the great altar. The mountain, on which the convent stands at the half way, is exceeding high and beautiful; the very top nature has adorned with twelve high rocks at equal distances, in the shape of sugar-loaves, which bear the names of the twelve Apostles; in each a hermitage is built, little frequented, because inaccessible, but all inhabited by hermits, men of good families, and all reputed of great sanctity. A *German* Captain left his command and retired into one of them, having made great interest to obtain the first vacancy; there was a hermitage some hundreds of years, where this magnificent convent

B b

vent

1708.

Besides the having a safe Port to retire to, the conquest of *Minorca* brought a further advantage to the Allies, by defeating the *French* King's project of uniting the Princes and States of *Italy* in a league against the Emperor, in order to rekindle war in that country: And a Confederate fleet was seasonably at hand to assist the Imperialists, who made a considerable progress in the Ecclesiastical State, and threatened to march to *Rome*, upon the following occasion:

Differences
between
the Empe-
ror and the
Pope.

The Emperor, and his Brother, King *Charles*, had, for several years, impatiently borne the Pope's partiality, which was of great prejudice to their affairs, and, in consequence, to the common cause. But the Pope having openly owned his engagements with the House of *Bourbon*, and his designs against that of *Austria*, and the whole Confederacy, by his proceeding in relation to the Pretender's expedition to *Scotland*, which, if attended with success, would have ruined the grand Alliance, and given a fatal wound to the liberties of *Europe*; the same did not only most sensibly affect those two Potentates and the Duke of *Savoy*, against whose just pretensions in Ecclesiastical affairs the Pope had fulminated his censures, but was resented, with due indignation, by her *Britannic* Majesty. Hereupon, the Ecclesiastical revenues in the Kingdom of *Naples* and Duchy of *Milan*, belonging to persons residing out of those countries, who had neglected to take the oaths to King *Charles*, were put under sequestration by the Imperial Officers. And, not many days after, while the Pope held a Congregation about that affair, Cardinal *Grimani* not only notified to him the disappointment of the Pretender's expedition, but, as Vice-roy of *Naples*, and a Grande of *Spain*, signified to him, That King *Charles* expected he should send a Nuncio to *Barcelona*,

Apr. 16.
N. S.

to acknowledge him as King of *Spain*, desiring his Holiness to consider the fatal consequences of his delaying that recognition, and continuing to own his competitor. Besides which, at the solicitation of the Court of *Great-Britain*, the Emperor was determined, in concert with the Duke of *Savoy*, to revive his old pretensions to *Comacina*, and other places in the *Ferrarese*, in order to check the Pope, and oblige him to enter into such measures, with respect to the rights and late acquisitions of King *Charles*, as equity, and the peace and welfare of *Naples* and the *Milanese*, with the firm establishment of their present Sovereign, necessarily required. The Court of *Rome* ordered their Minister at *Vienna*, to communicate to the Emperor a letter from Signior *Piazza*, Secretary of the memorials to the Pope, wherein he endeavoured to extenuate what his Holiness was charged with, on occasion of the late *French* expedition against *Great Britain*, though whatever arts they used to cover their remittances of money into *France*, they could not palliate the Pope's appointing public prayers for the success of the intended invasion. On the other hand, the Pope's refusal to send, according to King *Charles's* demand, a Legate a *Latere*, to compliment his Royal Consort in her passage through *Italy*, and to treat her as Queen of *Spain*, having given a fresh disgust to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Barcelona*, the Imperial troops, commanded by Monsieur de *Bonneval*, in conjunction with those of the Duke of *Modena*, invaded the Duchy of *Ferrara*, and took possession of *Comacina*, a sea-port town on the *Adriatic* sea, *Lugo*, *Argenta*, *Canale*, *Presnero*, *Magnavacca*, *Condogoro*, *Pamposa*, *Bagnacavallo*, and some other small places, on pretence of their being allodial states, belonging to the Duke of *Modena*, and sists of the Emperor, to which the Holy See had no lawful claim, and which were

1708

vent stands now. Great Devotions were paid to a little statue of the Virgin which was worshipped here, and abundance of miracles wrought, but none so wonderful as those of the last found out statue, which they tell you was discovered in this manner: Some centuries ago great numbers of people of the neighbouring towns, going in a great procession to this hermitage on the feast of the Assumption, in the month of *August*, were very much frightened, as they came to the bottom of this mountain, by a bull's coming out of a thicket, jumping and leaping in such a manner, as drove most of the Processioners back, except the Priests and some of the boldest *Catalans*, who were big with expectation of some miracle, which was soon wrought in their sight; for this bull stopped of himself, after they had used their best endeavours to drive him away, about an hundred yards from the place where he came out; here he began to tear up the ground with his feet and horns, which confirmed the people in the hopes of a miracle, and, spades and pick-axes being immediately sent for, they began to dig up that spot where this famous statue was found, and carried with extraordinary devotions and rejoicings into the chapel of the hermitage; here it was let up in the room of the little one, being well-cleaned and varnished, and provided with fine cloaths, and such crowds came to this place from all the parts of the Kingdom, and from all the islands, as not only enriched the hermitage, but the whole neighbourhood: I asked whether the bull was not canonized, the Fryar answered me, no; but however the bull was very well taken care of, and had in great veneration, and religiously visited as long as he lived, which was to an uncommon

old age. As to the miracles wrought by the Lady of *Montserrat*, they outdo many of those that are recorded in their legend; but I shall relate only that, which was the occasion of building this famous monastery: One *Garinus*, hermit in this place, debauched a beautiful young Lady, daughter of the Count of *Barcelona*, Sovereign of all *Catalonia*, who came to perform her devotions at the hermitage in her father's company, who used frequently to come to this mountain to hunt roebucks and wild-goats, with which it abounded. After this horrid fact, the young Lady was destroyed, and her body cast into a very deep ditch behind this hermitage, which the hermit carefully covered up; and then began his journey to *Rome*, in the night, to sue for a pardon and absolution from the Pope. When the Count sent for his daughter, neither she nor the hermit were to be found, which caused a great affliction in the Count's family, and many severe reflections against the young Lady and the Hermit, who were judged to have absconded together. The penance imposed by the Pope on the hermit, was, that he should return to the mountain in the night, strip himself quite naked, walk upon all four, live upon grass, and never stand upright before seven years were expired, and his lodging was to be in the hole of some rock; and that during the time of his penance, he should not cease to put up his prayers to the Lady of the hermitage, that the Count's daughter might be restored to life. The penance was strictly performed, and in the middle of the seventh year, the Count went for the first time, since this misfortune, to hunt on the mountain, when the dogs made up to the habitation of *Garinus*, and would have torn him in pieces,

1708. were expressly excepted in the treaty between *Clement the Eighth*, and *Cæsar of Este*. At the same time, the Vice-roy of *Naples* forbid, on pain of death or banishment, the remitting any money to *Rome*, or any other part of the territories of the Church; and the Council of the Kingdom drew up a long memorial of the pretensions of his Catholic Majesty against the Court of *Rome*, which struck at the very foundations of the temporal power of the Pope. Upon the first alarm of the Imperialists marching into the *Ferrarese*, the Pope wrote a letter to the Emperor, wherein he remonstrated, "That these things were attempted by the abuse of his Imperial Majesty's name, against all justice, equity, and reverence due to the *Roman Pontiff*, and the rights of the Church: That they were contrary to the divine and human laws, and repugnant to the title of the Defender of the Church, which his famous Ancestors had taken as a great honour and glory." The Pope declared withal, "That he would assert this cause, though he should be sure to lose his life upon that account." But, before his letter reached *Vienna*, General *Bonneval* had put his orders in execution; and, when received, it rather exasperated than allayed the resentment of the Emperor, who thereby plainly saw, that the Pope was so far from offering any satisfaction, that, on the contrary, he threatened him both

with his spiritual and temporal arms. And, indeed, the Pope resolved to repel force by force, and, for that purpose, began to raise an army, the command of which he gave to Count *Marigli*, who was formerly dismissed the Emperor's service, for not performing his duty at the siege of *Brijae*. At the same time, the Pope's Ministers revived the project, which they had set on foot three years before, of a league of the Princes and States of *Italy*, for their mutual security, which was defeated by the terror of the Confederate fleet. Nor had his Holiness's earnest application to the *French King* for succours better success, that Prince having, at this juncture, too much work upon his own hands, and his country lying, besides, at too great a distance from the Ecclesiastical State. Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Court of *Rome* went on with their new levies, which were increased by the troops sent from *Avignon*. But though the Pope's subjects drew the first blood in the *Ferrarese*, and forced the *Germans* to quit several posts; yet the Emperor, chusing rather the way of negotiation than of the sword, sent orders to the *Marquis de Prié*, a *Piedmontese* Lord, to pursue his journey to *Rome*, to know from the Pope himself, Whether he would have peace or war? In the mean time, his Imperial Majesty, and the Duke of *Savoy*, by their intercession with the Queen of *Great Britain*, suspended

1708.
The Pope
raises an
army.

pieces, if the huntmen had not made haste to his rescue: They were surprised to find a kind of monster, who would not speak, nor lift himself up, though he had the shape and features of a man. The Count ordered him to be tied and led to *Barcelona*, where he continued chained in a corner of the stable, without eating any human food, but herbs; and many people had the sight of this monster. At last, on the very day, that the seven years expired, the Count made a very great feast for his family and others of his friends. Some of the company desiring to see the monster, he was brought to the door, when a child of five or six months old, son to one of the Count's daughters, fixing his eyes upon him, spoke these words with a loud voice, *Garinus* rise up, thy sins are forgiven thee; upon which he run back with his keeper to the stable, the company being all struck with fear and amazement at this great miracle: He began to speak to his keeper, and desired a sheet to cover himself with, and that he would go to the Count to obtain leave to come into his presence, having a very great secret to reveal to him. He was immediately admitted, and upon his knees confessed his crime, but assured the Count withal, that by his continued prayers to the Lady of *Mountferrat*, and her prevailing intercession, his daughter would be found living, and as well in all respects as ever she was. The miracle of the child's speaking made the Count believe without hesitation all that *Garinus* told him, so that he gave immediate directions for a very grand procession of all the orders of *Fryars* and others to go to the holy mountain, for so it is called, to see the miracle that was wrought upon his daughter. When they came there, the young Lady was found, and presented to her father, in the same clothes she had on when she went from him, and looking as fresh, as young, and as well, as if she had never gone from her father's house. The Count was affected with so much gratitude for this surprising miracle in favour of his family, that he made a vow, before he left the place, to build and to endow that large Monastery, that is now there. This whole history is beautifully painted in the cloysters of the convent, and for the satisfaction of all strangers, who resort thither in great numbers yearly, it is printed upon large paper, and upon very thin silk, to make it more port-

able, and fold for half a crown. The Lay-brother, who shews the curiosities of this place, is a *Fleming*, and speaks several languages: He was Lieutenant in Count *Noyelle's* regiment, and preferred this idle life to the fatigues of an army. After we had viewed every thing, and especially the treasure, which, if all the jewels it contains be real, is beyond valuation, we were carried to the Abbot's apartment, where a nice collation was provided. After we had partaken of it, I walked with the interpreter into a balcony, into which the Abbot's dining-room opens; from hence he shewed me the hole in the rock, where the famous *Garinus* lived during his penance: I asked him in *French* whether he did believe it; the Abbot, who was talking with General *Carpenter*, who spoke very good *Spanish*, overheard me, and in a kind of emotion told me, Yes, Sir, we believe it as much as we do the gospel, which put a stop to all farther inquiries. Speaking of the richness and beauty of the crowns, that are put upon the statue's head, especially on great festivals, the Abbot told us, That a *Fleming* jeweller was many years in making that of diamonds, that it is reputed worth sixteen millions of pieces of eight, and that of emeralds, by reason of the bigness of the stones, is reckoned worth little less. That of diamonds is certainly, for the largeness of the stones, and the beautiful order in which they are fixed, the most excellent and richest piece of work of that kind now extant; and, to fit it off the more, the top of it is a complete ship, with masts, and sails, and cordage, &c. all of diamonds, a present of *Isabella*, Queen of *Aragon*. And it is no wonder if this place be so immensely rich, considering the numberless vows, that are made by persons in all sicknesses and distresses, especially by women in labour, which are always very religiously performed. The two Kings *Charles* and *Philip* made here their vows for the success of their arms, and did offer each his present in person at the altar of the shrine; the first of a rich sword set with diamonds, and the other of a gold chalice enriched with many jewels. They have in the outside of the convent a good large house for the entertainment of strangers, and of all the people that come to pay their vows, with very good accommodations, which brings the convent a great yearly income.

1708.

pended the execution of the orders sent to Sir John Leake for bombarding and destroying Civita Vecchia.

The Pope's coffers being exhausted, he held a consistory on the 24th of September, N. S. at which assisted forty-two Cardinals, whom he acquainted, "That he was obliged to have recourse to extraordinary means, and therefore thought, that part of the three millions of golden crowns, deposited by Sixtus the Fifth in the castle of St. Angelo, ought to be employed in these pressing necessities of the Church." His proposal appeared extraordinary to some Cardinals, who represented, that this treasure was sacred, and never to be made use of, but when all other means failed: That the present case of the Church was indeed difficult enough, yet far from being desperate, since they had to deal with the first Christian Prince, who could not have in view the destruction of the Church: That this dispute might be made up in a pacific way, instead of being decided by the sword. And therefore they exhorted the Pope to consider seriously the fatal consequences of a rash rupture with the Emperor, and to stand on his guard against the suggestions of some fiery persons, who were altogether for war, in hopes to better their fortunes during the confusions of it. But this representation had little effect upon the Pope, who was too partial to hearken to any advice, that was not for the interest of France; and, most of the Cardinals there present being of the French and Spanish factions, they resolved to take out of the Treasury of the castle of St. Angelo five hundred thousand golden crowns, upon a solemn promise made by the Pope, that the like sum should be again deposited in the same place as soon as the war was over. The Pope was so highly elated with his success in this important debate, that he declared he would not hearken to any proposals made on the part of the Emperor, nor receive any Envoy or Minister from him, till the Imperial forces were withdrawn from Comacino, and other parts of the Ecclesiastical State; which rash resolution was probably suggested to him by the Marshal de Teslé, who was lately come to Rome with the character of the French King's Ambassador Extraordinary, in order to inflame the rupture, and encourage the Pope with great assurances of support. He was ordered likewise to try, whether the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Republics of Venice and Genoa, could be engaged in an Alliance against the Imperialists. The Emperor bore all the Pope's threats with great patience, till the Duke of Savoy ended the campaign, when the Imperial troops, that had been commanded by that Duke, were ordered to march into the Pope's territories, and were joined by some more forces drawn out of the Milanese and Mantuan. The Pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner; for, while they were in a sort of a cessation, they surprized a body of the Imperialists, and without mercy put them to the sword. But, as the Imperial army advanced, the Papalists, or, as the Italians in derision called them, the Papagallians fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's territories and places were all cast open to them. Bologna, the most important and the richest of them all, capitulated, and received them without the least

resistance. The people at Rome were uneasy at the Pope's proceedings, and at the apprehensions of a new sack from a German army. They shewed this so openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly against the war. Upon this the Pope declared, that he was ready to receive the Marquis de Prié, who arrived at Rome on the 24th of October, N. S. however many days passed before the Pope would admit him to his audience, upon a punctilio about the ceremonial, because he had no other character than of Plenipotentiary of the Emperor, which, it was pretended, was not admitted at the Papal Court. This difficulty being at last removed by the Pope's signifying to the Marquis, that he would receive him with the same ceremonies, as were observed at the audience of Count Martinitz, when he went through Rome for Naples, to take possession of the dignity of Viceroy of that Kingdom, that Minister went to his audience, on the 10th of November, N. S. and, in a few days after, delivered his proposals for an accommodation, importing in substance, "1. That the Pope should disband his new levies. 2. Give winter-quarters to the Imperial troops in his territories. 3. And the investiture of Naples to Charles III. and acknowledge him as King of Spain: And, 4. That he should allow the Imperialists passage through his dominions, as often as there should be occasion." The Pope was amazed at these high terms, but there was no remedy left. The ill state of affairs in France was now so visible, that no regard was had to the great promises, which Teslé was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of Italy into an Alliance for his defence. In conclusion the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's demands long enough to give the Imperialists time to eat up his country, at last submitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King Charles for some months, though he then promised to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The Pope turned over the manner of acknowledging King Charles to a congregation of Cardinals; but they had no mind to take the load of this upon themselves, which would draw an exclusion upon them from France in every conclave, and therefore left it to the Pope, who affected delays; so it was not done till the 15th of January, 1709, N. S.

With regard to the campaign in Germany, Campaign in Germany, the Elector of Bavaria had been sent to command on the Upper Rhine. The true reason was believed, that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in Flanders. He was put in hopes of being furnished with an army so strong, as to be able to break through into Bavaria. The Elector of Hanover again undertook the command of the army of the Empire. Both armies were weak, but they were so equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either side; and therefore, after some months, in which there was no considerable action, the forces on both sides went into winter-quarters.

The affairs in Hungary continued in the same ill state, in which they had been for some years. The Emperor did not grant the demands of the Diet, that he had called; nor did he redress their grievances; and he had not a force strong enough to reduce the malecontents; so that

1708

The Pope submits.

Campaign in Germany. Burnet

Affairs in Hungary.

1708. that his Council could not fall on methods, either to satisfy or subdue them.

Poland continued still to be a scene of war and misery. To other calamities they had the addition of a plague, which laid some of their great towns waste. The party formed against *Stanislaus* continued still to oppose him, though they had no King to head them. The King of *Sweden*'s warlike humour possessed him to such a degree, that he resolved to march into *Muscovy*. The Czar tried, how far submissions and intercessions could soften him; but he was inflexible. He marched through the *Ukrain*, but made no great progress. The whole *Muscovite* force fell on one of his Generals, who had about him only a part of the army, and gave him a total defeat, most of his horse being cut off.

The Elector *Palatine* was this year restored to the possession of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the title and rank, which had been vested in the House of *Bavaria* by the treaty of *Munster*. And the Elector of *Brunswick Lunenburg* was at last acknowledged as such by the Electoral College. The Duke of *Savoy* received the investiture of the *Mantuan*, *Montferrat*, and other adjacent countries; and the ban of the Empire was, on the 30th of *June*, N. S. published against the Duke of *Mantua*, which probably hastened his death, which happened five days after. The mediation of *Great-Britain* did not a little contribute towards the pacifying of the intestine divisions of the city of *Hamburg*. But though, at the desire of the King of *Sweden*, the Queen had readily accepted the guaranty of the treaty of *Alt-Ransbach*, yet the Reformed in *Silesia* received no benefit from her Majesty's earnest interposition in their favour; the Court of *Vienna*, now freed from the dread of the King of *Sweden*'s resentment, pretending, that the *Lutherans* only, and not the *Calvinists*, were included, both in that treaty, and in that of *Westphalia*.

Affairs at sea. Our affairs at sea were less unfortunate this year, than they had been formerly. The Merchants were better served with convoys, and no considerable losses were sustained. Commodore

Commodore Wager destroys the Spanish Galleons.

Wager gained a signal advantage against the *Spanish* Galleons in the *West-Indies*. He had, on the 22d of *December*, 1707, returned to *Jamaica*, from the coast of *Hispaniola*, upon some advices of the arrival of *Monfieur Du Casse*, with a *French* Squadron of great force, in order, as it was supposed, to make some attempt upon *Jamaica*. The next day the Commodore, being then with his squadron in *Port-Royal* harbour, held a Council of war, to consider of the several advices he had received. During the month of *January*, he sent out several ships to cruise, and to get intelligence of the enemy; and, on the 5th of *February*, it was resolved, in a Council of war, to go over to the *Spanish* coast. Accordingly, the Commodore sailed in a few days after to the *Keys*, where he was joined by several other ships and sloops. Upon advice, that the *Spanish* Galleons were gone from *Carthagena* for *Porto Bello*, the Commodore sailed with such ships as were ready, leaving directions, how and where the rest should join him. On the 25th they came to an anchor off the *Ile of Pines*. In *March*, the Commodore received advice at two several times from Captain *Pudner*, who was stationed near *Porto-Bello*, that the Galleons, with the King's money, could not

No. 59. Vol. IV.

sail before the first of *May*; upon which it was resolved to return to *Jamaica*, but it was given out, that they were only gone to cruise. On the 6th of *April*, the Commodore anchored at *Port-Royal* *Keys*, and having taken in provisions, he sailed again on the 14th, and, about eight or ten days after, gave chase to several ships off *Bocca Chica*, some of which escaped into *Carthagena*, and others he lost sight of in hazy weather. On the 23d of *May*, the *Anne* sloop joined the Commodore from the *Bastimentos*, and brought a letter from Captain *Pudner*, with advice, that the Galleons, being thirteen sail, were at sea, coming from *Carthagena*. The Commodore had then with him the *Expedition*, *Kingston*, *Portland*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, and cruized till the 27th, in expectation of the Galleons; but, not meeting with them, he began to fear they had intelligence of his being on the coast, and were gone for the *Havanna*. On the 28th of *May*, about noon, the Galleons, in all seventeen sail, were discovered from his top-mast-head; and, at the same time, they discovered him, but, despising so small a force, resolved to proceed. He chased them till evening, when they, finding they could not weather the *Baru*, a small Island, which lay in their passage to *Carthagena*, resolved to dispute the matter there, and stretching therefore to the Northward with an easy sail, they drew as well as they could into a line of battle. The Admiral, who wore a white pennant at the main-top-mast-head, in the center, the Vice-Admiral, with the same pennant at the fore-top-mast-head, in the rear, and the Rear-Admiral, who bore the pennant on the mizzen-top-mast-head, in the van, about half a mile from each other, there being other ships between them. Of the seventeen two were sloops, and one a brigantine, which stood in for the land; two others of them were *French* ships, which, running away, had no share in the action; the rest were *Spaniards*. The Commodore instantly made his disposition; he resolved to attack the Admiral himself; gave orders to Captain *Simon Bridges*, who commanded the *Kingston*, to engage the Vice-Admiral, and sent his boat to the *Portland*, commanded by Captain *Edward Windsor*, with orders to attack the Rear-Admiral; and, as there was no immediate occasion for the fire-ship, she plied to the windward.

The Sun was just setting, when Commodore *Wager* came up with the Admiral, and then beginning to engage, in about an hour and half's time (it being dark) she blew up, not without great danger to the *Expedition*, from the splinters and planks, which fell on board her, on fire, and the great heat of the blast. Hereupon the Commodore put abroad his signal lights for keeping company, and endeavoured to continue fight of some of the enemies ships; but finding, after this accident, they began to separate, and discovering but one, which was the Rear-Admiral, he made sail after her, and coming up about ten o'clock, when he could not judge which way her head lay, it being very dark, he happened to fire his broad-side into her stern, which did so much damage, that it seemed to disable her from making sail; and being then to leeward, he, tacking on the *Spaniard*, got to windward of him, and the *Kingston* and *Portland* (which had by reason of the darkness of the night, or the blowing up of the Admiral,

C c

lost

lost sight of the other ships) following his lights soon after, came up with him, and assisted in taking the Rear-Admiral, who called for quarter about two in the morning. On board of this ship he sent his boats to bring to him the chief Officers; and, before the rising of the sun, he saw one large ship on his weather bow, and three sail upon the weather-quarter, three or four leagues off, lying then with their heads to the North, the wind being at North-east, an easy gale. Then he put out the signal for the *Kingston* and *Portland* to chase to windward, not being able himself to make sail, being much disabled; and, as he had a great part of his men in the prize, so were there no less than three hundred prisoners on board his own ship.

On Sunday the 30th, the wind being from the North east, to the North North-west, and but little of it, the *Kingston* and *Portland* had left off chase; but the Commodore made the signal for continuing it, which they did, and ran him out of sight, the fire-ship still continuing with him; and he having lain by some time, not only to put the prize in a condition of sailing, but to refit his own rigging, made sail eastward on the 31st, when the *Kingston* and *Portland* joined him, and gave him an account, that the ship they chased was the Vice-Admiral, to which, as they said, they came so near, as to fire their broadsides into her, but were so far advanced towards the *Salmadinas*, a shoal off *Carthagena*, that they were forced to tack, and leave her. This gave the Commodore great uneasiness, and determined him to call the Captains of these ships to account; but, in the mean time he sent them orders to take or destroy a Galleon of forty guns, which he understood by a *Swedish* ship, that had been trading at *Baru*, had taken shelter in that Island. She was just coming out of Port, as the *Kingston* and *Portland* appeared; upon which her crew ran her ashore, set her on fire, and blew her up, so that nothing could be got out of her, as the Captains affirmed, and, as it appeared to the Commodore afterwards, was true. On the 2d of June, the Commodore finding his provisions and water short, the wind contrary, and nothing more to be done in those parts, resolved to set the *Spanish* Prisoners ashore, according to their

request, on the Island of *Baru*, and then proceed for *Jamaica*; which he performed accordingly; and the *Spanish* Rear-Admiral retained, as long as he lived, a grateful sense of the Commodore's civility.

On the 8th of July, the *Expedition*, *Kingston*, and *Vulture* fire-ship, brought the prize safe into *Port-Royal* harbour (1): Here the Commodore found the new act of Parliament for the distribution of prizes; and though he had before permitted the sailors to plunder as they thought fit, when the prize was taken, yet now he appointed agents, in obedience to that act of Parliament, and ordered Captain *Long* to deliver up near thirty thousand pounds worth of silver and effects, that he had taken between decks, in order to satisfy the sailors of the uprightness of his intentions. He likewise took care to dispatch intelligence to *England*, that ships might be fitted out to cruise for the galleons, that had escaped; and, on the 23d of July, he held a Court-martial on the two Captains *Bridges* and *Windsor*, who were both dismissed for not having done their duty in the late engagement (2).

Another Squadron of the *British* fleet, under the command of Sir *George Byng*, carried over the Arch-duchess *Mary Anne*, married to the King of *Portugal*, which was performed with great magnificence: She had a quick and easy passage, arriving at *Lisbon* on the 27th of *October*. This did in some measure make amends to that crown for our failing them in not sending over the supplies, that had been stipulated. And it was a particular happiness, that the *Spaniards* were so weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded state, in which the *Portuguese* were at that time.

After this large account of foreign affairs, it is time to return to the transactions at home.

In the month of July, an Ambassador from the Emperor of *Fez* and *Morocco* arrived in *rocco* Ambassador *confined* *Great-Britain* with a present of six lions for the Queen; but upon his coming to *Hammer-smith* near *London*, he was put under an easy confinement by way of reprisal for the restraint put upon Captain *Delaval*, the Queen's Envoy in that country, before he reached that Court; which happened upon a false report, that some ill usage had been offered to *Hamet Ben Hamet Cardenas*,

(1) The prisoners gave an account, that the Admiral was a ship of sixty-four brass guns, with six hundred men, called the *St. Joseph*, and had on board, as some said, five millions of pieces of eight; but, according to others, seven millions in gold and silver: That the Vice-Admiral mounted sixty-four brass guns, and had between four and five hundred men, with four, or, as some said, six millions of pieces of eight: And that the Rear-Admiral was mounted with four and twenty guns, having eleven more in the hold, and between three and four hundred men: But that, upon some difference between the Admiral and him at *Porto Belle*, orders were given, that no money should be shipped on board her; so that thirteen chests of pieces of eight, and fourteen pigs or fows of silver, which were privately brought on board in the night, and belonged to some of the passengers, was all the treasure, which was on board, except what others might have about them, or were in trunks, of which they could give no account. This is the account, which the prisoners gave. Several relations published soon after that time make the riches of the Admiral and Vice-Admiral to have been far greater, the former at least thirty,

and the latter twenty millions of pieces of eight. They all however agree, that the Rear-Admiral had no registered money on board. The other *Spanish* ships had little or no money on board, but were chiefly laden with cocoa, as the Rear-Admiral was, and but one of them was of any considerable force, being of seven hundred tons burden, and having forty brass guns, and an hundred and forty men. But the two *French* ships had about an hundred thousand pieces of eight on board.

(2) Captain *Bridges* of the *Kingston* was dismissed, because he left off chase when within shot of the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral, doubting the pilot's knowledge, and being near the shoal of *Salmadinas*, though the pilot offered to carry the ship within shoal. Captain *Windsor* of the *Portland* was also dismissed, for not bearing so near the enemy, as to keep sight of some of them, when they were engaged on the 28th in the night; for leaving off chase the next day, and for shortning sail on the 30th, before he came up so far with the *Spanish* Vice-Admiral near *Salmadinas*, as he might have done.

1708. *Cardenas*, the late *Morocco* Ambassador here. But, upon better information, the Captain was released, as was also the *Morocco* Ambassador. However the *British* Envoy did not think fit to go in person to the Court of *Morocco*, and only sent thither, with her Majesty's letter and present, Mr *Corbiere*, his Secretary, who was received with great demonstrations of respect.

The Muscovite Ambassador arrested.

About this time an indignity offered in *London* to Count de *Matueof*, the *Muscovite* Ambassador, was highly resented, not only by himself, but likewise by all concerned in the preservation of the rights and privileges of public Ministers. *Thomas Morton*, a laceman in *King-street*, *Covent-Garden*, and some other tradesmen, to whom the Ambassador owed several sums of money, amounting in the whole to about three hundred pounds, finding he had taken his audience of leave, and being apprehensive, that he would leave the Kingdom without paying his debts, though a Merchant in the City, trading to *Muscovy*, had set a day for satisfying most of them, held several consultations together, and at last resolved to arrest him; which was done accordingly, on the 21st of *July*, in the open street, with several aggravating circumstances. For the Ambassador, not knowing at first the reason of his being seized, and imagining he was set upon by villains, struggled in his own defence, and was ill-used and overpowered by the bailiffs, who carried him to a spunging-house at the sign of the *Black Raven*, where he was detained till the Earl of *Feversham* and a Merchant of the City had bailed him. The Ambassador, incensed at this insult, in violation of the law of Nations, applied himself for redress to the Government; and the next day wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, wherein he urged, "That the Queen, who was so jealous of the respect due to the Ambassadors of crowned heads, and had so gloriously vindicated the honour of the Earl of *Manchester*, her Ambassador at *Venice*, and caused a rigorous punishment to be inflicted on the Officers of the Custom-House, some of whom were set in the pillory, and others condemned to the galleys, only for insulting the Gentlemen of his retinue, could not but most justly revenge the affront lately put upon him by a corporal punishment. That Count *Zobor*, who was delivered up to the discretion of the King of *Sweden* for picking a quarrel with his Envoy, likewise afforded an instance of the satisfaction he required, as being desirous of nothing with greater earnestness, than to avoid all the ill consequences of this affair. For, in case the criminals were connived at, under any colour whatsoever, he should be obliged to take other measures, and retire without recredentials, leaving the whole matter to the management of his *Czarish* Majesty, his Master, as the Protector of his injured honour, and of his abused Minister."

At the same time Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Envoy, the Baron *Spanheim*, Ambassador from the King of *Prussia*, and several other foreign Ministers, thinking themselves concerned in the affront put upon their character, demanded a due reparation for the same: All which ha-

ving been laid before the Queen, who still continued at *Windsor*, she expressed a very great resentment for the indignity offered to the *Muscovite* Ambassador, and commanded an extraordinary Council to be summoned on the 25th of *July* on that occasion. Mr. *Morton*, and some other creditors, with the Attorney, Bailiffs, and other persons concerned in the arrest of the Ambassador, having been examined, were committed to the custody of several Messengers, and ordered to be prosecuted with the utmost severity, according to law. The next day, before Mr. *Boyle* was returned from *Windsor*, the *Muscovite* Ambassador wrote to him another letter, importing, "That, as he had not received any testimony of concern, or regret, either from the Queen, or any of her Ministers, since he had sent him his complaints in writing, he found himself obliged to press for his departure; and therefore intreated Mr. Secretary to get a passport for him as soon as possible." Mr. *Boyle* acquainted the Ambassador, "That seven of the principal accomplices, in the desperate attempt upon his person, were committed to prison, and under prosecution, by order of the Privy-Council, who were to meet again about that affair as soon as possible." But the Ambassador, being impatient to leave the Kingdom, wrote a third letter on the 27th of *July* to Mr. Secretary, for a passport for himself and family. Mr. *Boyle* wrote, two days after, a letter to the Ambassador, acquainting him, "That he had that morning sent him the passport he desired: That orders had been issued out to the Officers of the Custom-House to wait on him, to cause his equipages to be transported without any molestation; and he hoped, they had already done that to his satisfaction: That an extraordinary meeting of the Queen's Privy-Council was to be held that day, to inquire further into the circumstances of that dismal affair: That they had made a strict search after those, who were any ways concerned therein; and had caused ten others to be apprehended: That express orders had been given again to the Attorney-General, to prosecute the seventeen persons now confined, with the utmost rigour; and to omit nothing, that might contribute towards the making him the most signal reparation, that could be, according to our law." Notwithstanding these assurances, the Ambassador refused the ordinary presents made to Ministers of his character, which were offered him by the Queen, and retired in disgust into *Holland*, from whence he transmitted a memorial, with a letter from the Czar of *Muscovy* to the Queen, dated the 17th of *September*, wherein that Prince demanded no less, than that a capital punishment, according to the rigour of the law, be inflicted on all the accomplices of the indignity put upon the person of his Ambassador; or, at least, such a one, as was adequate to the nature of the affront, which every particular person put upon the Ambassador." Such a punishment being altogether inconsistent with the laws of *England*, this unlucky affair gave no small uneasiness to the Queen and Ministers (1).

On

(1) Mr. *Addison* gave the following account of this affair, in a letter to the Earl of *Manchester*, dated at

the *Cock-pit*, *July* 23, 1708, O. S. and published in *Cole's Memoirs of affairs of State*, p. 546. "We had

1708.
The death
of Prince
George of
Denmark.
Barnet.

On the 28th of *October*, about ten in the forenoon, died Prince *George of Denmark*, in the 56th year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and some months married to the Queen. He had, for many years, been troubled with an asthma, and sometimes spitting of blood, which often endangered his Life; and, about three months before, a dropical humour, with which he had been formerly afflicted, seized his legs and most parts of his body. This was attended with a sleepiness, cough, and an increase of the asthma; and, on *Saturday* the 23d of *October*, the violence of the cough produced a spitting of blood, and an increase of the sleepiness, with an addition of convulsive motions of the tendons; which symptoms not yielding to the remedies administered by his own and several other physicians, he fell into a suffocation, and which neither bleeding, nor a vomit, could relieve him, so that he soon after expired. The Queen, who, during the whole course of her marriage, had been a most tender and affectionate wife to him, in his last illness, which lasted some years, would never leave his bed, but sat up, sometimes half the night in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on very deservedly as a pattern in this respect. The Prince was Duke of *Cumberland*, Lord High-Admiral of *Great-Britain and Ireland*, Generalissimo of all her Majesty's forces both by sea and land, and Warden of the *Cinque-ports*. He had shewed himself brave in the wars both in *Denmark* and in *Ireland*. His temper was mild and gentle. He had made a good progress in mathematics. He had travelled through *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, and knew much more than he could well express; for he spoke acquired languages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all vice. He meddled little in business, even after the Queen's accession to the Crown. He was so gained by the Tories, by the act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their interest. He was unhappily prevailed with to take on him the post of Lord High-Admiral, of which he understood little, but was fatally led by those, that had credit with him, who had not all of them his good

qualities, but had both an ill temper and bad principles. His being bred to the sea gained him some credit in those matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, so great misfortunes had followed on them. As soon as the Prince had resigned his last breath, the Queen came from *Kensington* to her palace at *St. James's*, where she resided the whole winter. On the 11th of *November*, the body of his Royal Highness was carried from *Kensington*, to the *Painted Chamber*, within the palace of *Westminster*, where having lain in state till the 13th, it was that night interred in the *Abbey-Church*, with all the pomp consistent with a private funeral.

The death of Prince *George* occasioned some alterations at Court; for the Earl of *Pembroke* was, on the 25th of *November*, advanced to the post of Lord High-Admiral, which he entered on with great uneasiness, and a just apprehension of the difficulty of maintaining it well in a time of war. He was at that time both Lord-President of the Council, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Earl of *Warburton* had the Government of *Ireland* (who made Mr. *Addison* his Secretary) and the Lord *Sommers* was made Lord-President of the Council. The great capacity and inflexible integrity of the Lord *Sommers* would have made his promotion to this post very acceptable to the Whigs at any juncture, but it was most particularly so at this time; for it was expected, that propositions for a general peace would be quickly made; and so they reckoned, that the management of that, upon which not only the safety of the Nation, but of all *Europe* depending, was in sure hands, when he was set at the head of the councils, upon whom neither ill practices nor false colours were like to make any impression. Thus the minds of all those, who were truly zealous for the present Constitution, were much quieted by this promotion, though their jealousies had a deep root, and were not easily removed.

It may here be observed, that, notwithstanding the Duke of *Marlborough's* successes this year, and the Queen's kind letter to him on occasion of his victory at *Oudenard* (1), his interest

The Duke of Marlborough's interest with the Queen began to decline.

an unlucky business about two days ago, that befel the *Muscovite* Ambassador, who was arrested going out of his house, and rudely treated by the bailiffs. He was then upon his departure for his own country, and the sum under an hundred pounds that stopped him; and, what makes the business worse, he has been punctual in his payments, and had given order, that this very sum should be paid the day after. However, as he is very well convinced, that the Government intirely disapproves such a proceeding, there are no ill consequences apprehended from it. Your Lordship knows, that the privileges of Ambassadors are under very little regulations in *England*; and I believe, that a bill will be promoted in the next Parliament for setting them upon a certain foot; at least it is what we talk of in both offices on this occasion.

(1) This letter is printed in the *Account of the Duties of Marlborough's conduct*, and was as follows:

Windsor, July 6, 1708.

I want words to express the joy I have, that you are well, after your glorious success; for which, next to God Almighty, my thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never say enough for all the great and faithful services you have ever done me. But be so just as

to believe, I am as truly sensible of them as a grateful heart can be, and shall be ready to shew it upon all occasions. I hope you cannot doubt of my esteem and friendship for you, nor think, that, because I differ with you in some things, it is for want of either. No, I do assure you, if you were here, I am sure you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things, as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter should come too late to *London*, and therefore dare say no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you, and send you safe home again. And be assured I shall ever be sincerely

Your Humble Servant.

To this the Duke answered:

MADAM,

July 23, 1708.

I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your goodness to me. And I am sure, it will be always my intention, as well as my duty, to be ready to venture my life for your Service.

As I have formerly told your Majesty, that I am desirous to serve you in the army, but not as a Minister, I am

1708. with her began greatly to decline, through the intrigues of Mrs. *Majham* and Mr. *Hurley*, all the summer (1).

At the same time the Lord *Sommers* was made President of the Council, the Archbishop of *York*, the Dukes of *Mountague* and *Montrose*, the Earls of *Louden*, *Rivers*, and *Essex*, the Lord *Ferrers*, and Mr. *Peregrine Bertie* were sworn of the Privy-Council; as, a little before, were Chief-Justice *Holt*, the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Earls of *Seafeld*, *Scarborough*, and *Ranelagh*, and Lord *Coningsby*. The Earl of *Cholmondeley* was made Treasurer of the Household in the room of the Earl of *Bradford* deceased, Sir *Thomas Felton* Comptroller, and Mr. *Edmund Dunch* Master of the Household. Sir *James Mountague* Attorney-General, and Mr. *Robert Eyre* Solicitor-General, the Duke of *Dorset* was appointed, the 3d of December, Constable of *Dover*, and Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*.

The second Parliament of Great-Britain met, the 16th of November, with great advantage; for the present Ministry was now wholly such, as gave an intire content to all, who wished well to the public affairs; and the great successes abroad silenced those, who were otherwise disposed to find fault and complain. The Queen did not think it decent to come to Parliament during this whole Session; and therefore, having granted a Commission under the Great Seal, appointing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord-Steward, and the Master of the Horse, to represent her Royal Person, the Commons were desired to come up to the House of Peers, and hear the Commission read. Which done, the Lord-Chancellor signified to the Commons, that they should immediately proceed to the choice of a Speaker, and present him the *Thursday*

following. The Commons being returned to their House, the Lord *William Powlet* moved to chuse for their Speaker Sir *Richard Onslow*, a worthy man, intirely zealous for the Government, and very acceptable to the Whigs. He was seconded by Sir *William Strickland*. But Major-General *Mordaunt*, by way of irony, proposed, "That they should chuse Mr. *Joddrel*, the Clerk of the House, who, having been assistant to good Speakers, to indifferent ones, and to the worst, seemed to be as well qualified for that station as any body." But, at last, General *Mordaunt* supported the Lord *Powlet's* motion, commended Sir *Richard Onslow's* experience and integrity; and added, "That, being possessed of a good estate, he did not lie open to the temptations, that might bias persons, who had their fortunes to make against the interest of their Country." Upon this he was led to the Chair by the Lord *Powlet* and Sir *William Strickland*, after he made a short speech, in which he modestly endeavoured to decline that important trust in so critical a juncture of affairs, "wherein the good or bad success of this necessary war did in a great measure depend on the resolutions of that great Assembly." The Tories, upon a surmise, that the Court or Whig-party would have been divided between Sir *Richard Onslow* and Sir *Peter King*, Recorder of *London*, had designed to have put up Sir *Thomas Hanmer*; but, being disappointed in that expectation, they thought it prudent, not being able to make a majority, unanimously to concur with the rest. Indeed, the Tories perceived, they had so little strength in this Parliament, that they resolved to lie silent, and to wait for such advantages, as the circumstances of the affairs might afford them. The same day, the Duke of *Queensberry* was introduced into the House of Peers by the Dukes of *Somerjet*

1708.

I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion. And I think myself obliged upon all accounts on this occasion to speak my mind freely to you. The circumstances in this last battle, I think, shew the hand of God; for we were obliged, not only to march five leagues that morning, but to pass a river before the enemy, and to engage them before the whole army was passed, which was a visible mark of the favour of Heaven to you and your arms.

Your Majesty shall be convinced from this time, that I have no ambition, or any thing to ask for myself or family. But I will end the few years, which I have to live, in endeavouring to serve you, and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodness to me. But, as I have taken this resolution to myself, give me leave to say, that I think you are obliged in conscience, and as a good Christian, to forgive, and to have no more resentments to any particular person or party, but to make use of such as will carry on this just war with vigour; which is the only way to preserve our Religion and Liberties, and the Crown on your head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a blessing to your people, shall be the constant wish and prayer of him, that is with the greatest truth and duty,

Madam, &c.

(1) The Duchess of *Marlborough*, in the *Account of her conduct*, p. 206, observes, that the Duke was perfectly sensible of the change in her Majesty towards him; and, having complained of it in a letter to the Duchess, she sent that letter to the Queen, inclosed in the following one from herself:

No. 59. Vol. IV.

"I cannot help sending your Majesty this letter, to shew how exactly Lord *Marlborough* agrees with me in my opinion, that he has now no interest with you: Though when I said so in the Church on *Thursday* [August 19, 1708.] you were pleased to say it was untrue. And yet I think he will be surprized to hear, that when I had taken so much pains to put your jewels in a way, that I thought you would like, Mrs. *Majham* could make you refuse to wear them in so unkind a manner; because that was a power she had not thought fit to exercise before. I will make no reflections upon it; only that I must needs observe, that your Majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by Lord *Marlborough*."

In answer to this the Queen wrote the Duchess these few words:

Sunday.

"After the commands you gave me on the Thanksgiving-day of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these lines, but to return the Duke of *Marlborough's* letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason do not say any thing to that, nor to yours, which inclosed it."

Upon receiving this letter, the Duchess wrote again as follows:

"I should not trouble your Majesty with any answer to your last short letter, but to explain what you seem to mistake in what I said at Church. I desired you
D d not

1708. *Somerset and Ormond*, as a Peer of Great Britain, and Duke of *Dover*. After this, both Houses adjourned to the 18th, when the Commons being come to the House of Peers to present their Speaker, the Lord-Chancellor, in the name of the Commissioners, signified to them the Queen's intire satisfaction in their choice of a person so well qualified for that office, both by his great abilities, and his zeal and affection for the Government, and the Protestant Succession: And then he delivered to both Houses the following speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Chancellor's speech to both Houses.

"IN pursuance of the authority given us by her Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal, among other things, to declare the causes of her Majesty's calling this Parliament;

"We are, by her Majesty's command, in the first place, to oblige to you, that the extraordinary length of this year's campaign hath obliged her Majesty to defer your meeting longer than otherwise she would have done, that you might be informed with the greater certainty of the state and posture of the war, in order to your resolutions for the ensuing year.

"This necessary delay hath now so far shewn us the success of affairs abroad, as that, whether you consider the places acquired by the Allies, or the farther and continued proofs given this last year of their superior courage and conduct (which, as to the future part of the war, is equal to all other advantages) we may, with thanks to God, and justice to those he hath been pleased to use as instruments in this great work, conclude, that, upon the whole, we are brought much nearer than we

"were last Session, to the end of our undertaking this war, the reducing the dangerous power of France, and settling such a peace, as may secure itself from being violated.

"Her Majesty therefore commands us to assure you, she hath not the least doubt, but that this Parliament will be of the same opinion with her last, as to the vigorous prosecution of this war, and the ends of it; believing it impossible, the Representatives of the British Nation can endure to think of losing the fruits of all our past endeavours, and the great advantages we have gained (particularly this present year) by submitting at last to an insecure peace.

"And therefore, since probably nothing can hinder our success abroad for the time to come, but misunderstandings among ourselves at home; we have it in command, to conjure you, by your duty to God, and to her Majesty, your zeal for the Protestant Religion, your love for your Country, and the regard you cannot but have for the liberty of Europe in general, to avoid all occasions of division, which are ever hurtful to the public, but will more especially be so at this juncture, when the eyes of all our neighbours are upon you with a very particular concern; and your unanimity and good agreement will be the greatest satisfaction and encouragement to all our Allies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"You cannot but be convinced, that the several parts of the war, which were provided for by the last Parliament, will require your support, at least in the same degree. But, in Flanders, the nature of the war is much altered, by the great advances made there to wards

not to answer me there, for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret, as if I had desired you not to answer me at all, which was far from my intention. For the whole end of my writing to you so often, was to get your answer to several things, in which we differed, that, if I was in the wrong, you might convince me of it, and I should very readily have owned my mistakes. But, since you have not been pleased to shew them to me, I flatter myself, that I have said several things to you, that are unanswerable. And, I hope, some time or other you will find leisure to reflect upon them, and will convince Lord *Marlborough*, that he is mistaken in thinking, that he has no credit with you, by hearkening sometimes to his advice; and then, I hope, you will never more be troubled with disagreeable letters from me; for I should be much better pleased to say and do every thing you like. But I should think myself wanting in my duty to you, if I saw you so much in the wrong, as without prejudice or passion I really think you are in several particulars I have mentioned, and did not tell you of it; and the rather, because no body else cares to speak out upon so ungrateful a subject. The word *command*, which you use at the beginning of your letter, is very unjustly supposed to come from me. For though I have always writ to you as a friend, and lived with you as such for so many years with all the truth and honesty and zeal for your service, that was possible; yet I shall never forget, that I am your subject, nor cease to be a faithful one.

Through the whole summer after Mr. *Harley's* dismission, the Queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And, that this might be the better

managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the Prince was panting for breath in that small house she had formerly purchased at *Windsor*, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park such persons, as Mrs. *Masham* had a mind to bring to her Majesty, could be let in privately by the garden. And when, (continues the *Duchess* of *Marlborough*) upon the death of the Prince, one would have thought, that her Majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object, that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and, when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprized, just like a person, who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done, had she duly considered. But the true reason of her Majesty's chusing this closet to sit in, was, that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. *Masham's* lodgings, who by that means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased. And that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. *Harley*, became every day more and more manifest by the difficulties and objections, which her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost every thing proposed by her Ministers. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. *Harley* and his Associates, when at length they had compassed their designs, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boast, that they, while the Queen's Ministers were asleep, were frequently at Court, giving advice in secret, how to perplex them in all their measures.

But they were much mistaken, if they imagined, that

1708.

“wards entering into *France*, which hath so far
 “alarmed our enemies, that they are drawing
 “more troops daily to that side, for the defence
 “of their own country. And therefore her
 “Majesty hopes you will have so right a sense
 “of our present advantages, as to enable her
 “Majesty to make a considerable augmentation
 “for preserving and improving them, which,
 “by the continuance of God’s blessing on our
 “arms, must soon put a glorious period to this
 “long and expensive war.

“As to the condition of the fleet, we have
 “it in command from her Majesty to acquaint
 “you, that the constant and remote services,
 “in which the ships have been employed, have
 “made a greater sum than usual requisite, as
 “well for the extraordinary repairs, as the build-
 “ing of new ships. And the taking of *Port-*
“Mabon, as it hath afforded the means of hav-
 “ing a part of the fleet operate with more
 “readiness and effect on the enemy, or where-
 “ever it may be useful to the common cause in
 “those parts, so the making such provisions, at
 “so great a distance, as will be proper for that
 “service, must of necessity cause some extraor-
 “dinary expences. All which her Majesty re-
 “commends to your serious consideration, de-
 “siring you to provide timely and effectual
 “Supplies for those ends; and likewise, for the
 “carrying on such fortifications for the security
 “of our Ports, and extinguishing the enemy’s
 “hopes of profiting by disturbances in *Scotland*,
 “as you shall think fit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“The *Union* is esteemed by her Majesty to
 “be so happy and great a part of the successes

“of her Reign; and her Majesty hath so much
 “at heart the confirming and improving it,
 “that she is pleased to command us, to remind
 “you of preparing such bills, as shall be
 “thought conducive to that end; and particu-
 “larly to make the laws of both parts of
 “*Great-Britain* agree, as near as may be, for
 “the common interest of both people, especi-
 “ally as to those laws, which relate to criminal
 “cases and proceedings, and settling the *Militia*
 “on the same foot throughout the United
 “Kingdom.

“Her Majesty is graciously pleased we should
 “also assure you, that if you can propose any
 “means for the improvement of our trade or
 “manufactures, or better employment of the
 “poor, her Majesty will take the greatest satis-
 “faction in enacting such provisions; there be-
 “ing nothing she so earnestly desires, as that
 “God would bless her with more and more op-
 “portunities of doing all possible good to so
 “well deserving a people, so firm and affectio-
 “nate to her interests.

“And as her Majesty doth not doubt, by
 “God’s blessing and your good affections, to
 “continue to defeat the designs of the *Preten-*
“der, and his open or secret Abettors; so her
 “Majesty will always endeavour, on her part,
 “to make her people happy to such a degree,
 “as that none (except of desperate fortunes)
 “shall enter into measures for the disturbance
 “of her Government, the *Union*, or the Pro-
 “testant Succession, as by law established, with-
 “out acting at the same time manifestly against
 “their own true and lasting interest, as well as
 “their duty.”

Both Houses immediately resolved upon ad-
 dresses

that their proceedings at the time I am speaking of were so intirely covered. The Ministers were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently repmented to her Majesty, what a discouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her service, to find, that she had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counsel of others, who counter-worked them in every instance. Upon this subject I myself wrote and spoke a great deal to her with my usual plainness and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impression on her in this respect, but that her change towards me in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and begged to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her so great an alteration. This drew from the Queen a letter, dated October 26, 1709, wherein she charges me with imbecility (as her word is) against poor Malham; and with having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of my cousin. In speaking of the misunderstanding betwixt her Majesty and me, she says, they are for nothing, that she knows of, but because she cannot see with my eyes, and hear with my ears. And adds, That it is impossible for me to recover her former kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me, as the Duke of Marlborough’s wife, and her Groom of the Stole. This declaration to plain and express of her Majesty’s thorough change towards me was the more extraordinary, as in this same letter are these words: You have asked me once or twice, if you had committed any fault, that I was so changed; and I told you, no, because I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind. Upon the receipt of this letter, I immediately set myself to draw up a long narrative of a series of faithful services for about twenty-six years past; of the great sense the Queen formerly had of my services; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them;

of the use I had made of that favour; and of my losing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raised out of the dust. And, knowing how great a respect her Majesty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative the directions given by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man* with relation to friendship; the directions in the *Common-Prayer-Book* before the Communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by Bishop Taylor upon the same head: And I concluded with giving my word to her Majesty, that if, after reading these, she would please only to answer in two words, that she was still of the same opinion, as when she wrote that harsh letter, which occasioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the least trouble upon any subject, but the business of my office, as long as I should have the honour to continue her servant; assuring her, that, however she might be changed towards me, and how much soever we might still differ in opinion, I should ever remember, that she was my Mistress and my Queen, and should always pay her the respect due from a faithful servant and dutiful subject. I sent from St. Albans this narrative, which she promised to read and answer. And, ten days after, writing to me upon another occasion, she said she had not leisure yet to read all my papers, but, when she had, she would send me some answer. But none ever came, nor had my papers any apparent effect on her Majesty, except that, after my coming to town, as she was passing by me, in order to receive the Communion, she looked with much good nature, and very graciously smiled upon me. But the smile and pleasant look, I had reason afterwards to think, were given to Bishop Taylor and the *Common-Prayer-Book*, and not to me.

(1) It

1709 distresses of condolence upon the death of Prince George, and of congratulation for the glorious successes of the last campaign. Which addresses were presented in a private way to the Queen, that of the Lords by the Marquis of Dorchester, and that of the Commons by such Members as were of the Privy-Council.

*Partiality
in judging
elections.
Burnet.*

The Proceedings in both Houses this Session were agreeable to the directions given at Court; for, the Court being now joined with the Whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: All elections were judged in favour of Whigs, and Courtiers, but with so much partiality, that those, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injustice of the Tories, in determining elections, when they were a majority, were not so much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the same thing: They pretended they were in a state of war with the Tories, so that it was reasonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: But this did not satisfy just and upright men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their friends (1).

The chief business of this Session was concerning the supply, the Scotch elections and invasion, the naturalization of foreign Protestants, and the trials of treasons in Scotland.

*The Sup-
plicant-
ed for the
year 1709.*

The supplies, that were demanded, were granted very unanimously in the House of Commons, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of ten thousand men more. This was thought necessary to press the war with more strength, as the surest way to bring on a speedy peace. The States agreed to the like augmentation on their side. The French, according to their usual vanity, gave out, that they had great designs in view the next campaign: And it was confidently reported by the Jacobites, that a new invasion was designed both in Scotland and on Ireland. The whole supply, voted by the Commons for the service of the year 1709, amounted to above seven millions. The land-tax of four shillings in the pound, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to; but it took some time to find funds for the rest, and it would have proved a very difficult matter, if the Bank of England had not offered to circulate two millions five hundred thousand pounds in Exchequer bills for the Government, on condition the time for their continuance was enlarged twenty-one years from August 1, 1711, and their stock of two millions, two hundred and one thousand, one hundred and seventy-one pounds was doubled by a new subscription. The Commons,

*An en-
largement
of the
Bank
Pr. H. C.*

agreeing to the proposal, addressed the Queen 1709. to issue out a Commission under the great Seal for taking the subscriptions; which being done, the books were opened at *Mercers-Hall*, on the 22d of February, about nine in the morning, and by one o'clock in the afternoon the whole sum of two millions, two hundred and one thousand, one hundred and seventy-one pounds (at the rate of an hundred and fifteen pounds for every hundred pound) was subscribed. Such was the crowd of people, that brought their money to this new fund, that it was believed a million more would have been subscribed before night, if there had been room. This shewed both the wealth of the Nation and their entire confidence in the Government. It was observable, at this very juncture, the French Court had a project for erecting a *Royal Bank* for circulating their *Mini-bills*, but the design was soon found to be impracticable, because of the great scarcity of money in that Kingdom, and the almost entire ruin of their public credit. By this subscription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, the Commons created good funds for answering all the money they had voted in the beginning of the Session. The *two third subsidy* was appropriated for the interest of the money raised by the Bank-cheme.

The Scotch Elections occasioned great debates in both Houses. The Commons, on the 3d of December, took into consideration that part of the act of Union, which relates to the election of Members to serve in that House for Scotland. The petitions and representations, concerning the incapacity of the eldest sons of Scots Peer to sit in the Parliament of Great-Britain, were read, and Council heard upon it. The substance both of these representations and the Council's arguments, was, 'That by an act of the Scots Parliament, intitled, *An act for settling the manner of electing sixteen Peers and forty-five Commoners, to represent Scotland in the Parliament of Great-Britain*, which act was ratified by the act for uniting the two Kingdoms, it is declared, *That none shall be capable to elect, or be elected, to represent a Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of Great-Britain for this part of the united Kingdom, except such as are now capable to elect, or be elected, as Commissioners for Shires or Burghs to the Parliament of Scotland*.' That from hence it evidently followed, that the Scots Peers eldest sons could not sit in the House of Commons of Great-Britain, unless it did appear, that they were capable to be elected, and sit as Members of the Parliament of Scotland. But, as a proof of the contrary, several instances were alledged of their being

*The Peers
of Scot-
land, el-
dest sons
incapaci-
tated to sit
in Parlia-
ment.
Pr. H. C.*

(1) It was proposed, that all questions at the trial of elections should (if any Member insisted on it) be determined by ballot, but it was carried in the negative. The House, having heard the merits of the contested election for the City of Westminster, sent Huggins, then High-Bailiff, to Newgate, for refusing to tender the oaths of Abjuration; and voted Thomas Medlicot, Esq; who was set up by the Tories, in opposition to Sir Henry Dutton Colt, to be duly elected for that City, Yeas 154, Notes 142. Several accidents happened to Sir Henry's disadvantage in that contest, in which the Whigs, for the most part, favoured him, though they did not much esteem or love him, otherwise than as he was a man of Revolution-principles. Huggins is the

same person, that lay lately so long in Newgate for a criminal case, in the exercise of the Office of Warden of the Fleet. On the other hand, Sir Simon Harcourt having been returned for Abington, and Mr. John Hicks having lodged a petition against him, the cause was argued, and the debates continued till two in the morning, on the 28th of January, when Mr. Hicks carried it by a great majority. Sir Simon took his leave of the House with a speech, which he began with asserting: 'Whatever the determination of this House may be, this I am sure of, and it must be admitted, that I am as duly elected for the borough of Abington as ever any man was.'

E e bate

1708.

No. 59. VOL. IV.

1708. bate it was carried, that the oaths were duly tendered to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted; the returns of some, certifying that they had taken the oaths, were not sealed; and some had signed these without subscribing witnesses. Other exceptions were offered from provisions, which the law of *Scotland* had made, with relation to bonds and other deeds, which had not been observed in making of proxies. But the House of Lords did not think these were of that importance, as to vacate the proxies on that account. After a full hearing, and a debate, which lasted many days, there was but one of the Peers, who were returned, that was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into the House; the Marquis of *Annandale* was received, and the Marquis of *Lothian* was set aside.

A faction among the Scots in Parliament.
Burnet. The *Scots* Members in both Houses were divided into factions. The Duke of *Queensberry* had his party still depending upon him. He was in such credit with the Lord-Treasurer and the Queen, that all the posts in *Scotland* were given to persons recommended by him. The chief Ministers at Court seemed to have laid it down for a maxim not to be departed from, to look carefully to elections in *Scotland*; that the Members returned from thence might be in an intire dependance on them, and be either Whigs or Tories, as they should shift sides. The Duke of *Queensberry* was made third Secretary of State: He had no foreign Province assigned him, but *Scotland* was left to his management. The Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montrose*, and *Roxburg* had set themselves in an opposition to his power, and had carried many elections against him. The Lord *Sommers* and the Earl of *Sunderland* supported them, but could not prevail with the Lord-Treasurer to bring them into an equal share of the Administration. This had almost occasioned a breach; for the Whigs, though they went on in a Conjunction with the Lord-Treasurer, yet continued still to be jealous of him.

A bill for a general naturalization.
1709.
Burnet. The bill for naturalizing all Protestant Foreigners was also the subject of great debates this Session. Since the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*, so fatal to *France* by the decrease of her trade, and the loss of numberless subjects, *England* abounded with *French* Protestants. They had indeed been well received, but with much more reserve than in the *United Provinces*, *Brandenburg*, and *Prussia*. They had however done all the service they could, and the *English* themselves had not behaved with more bravery and resentment against *France* than these Refugees.

For ever excluded from their native country, 1708. they had long been seeking to be incorporated by an act of naturalization with a people, to whom they had fled for refuge. But their endeavours had hitherto proved ineffectual. The present Parliament, wherein the Whigs had the majority, whose maxim it was to countenance foreign Protestants, at length granted their desire. For, on the 5th of February, Mr. *Wortley Montague* made a motion for a bill for naturalizing foreign Protestants, and, in a set speech, shewed the advantages, that would accrue to the Nation by such an act; alledging, amongst other particulars, "the example of the King of *Prussia*, who had not only invited, but furnished abundance of *French* Refugees with means to settle in his Dominions; wheteby "he had fertilized an almost barren country, improved trade, and vastly increased his revenue." Adding, "That if Foreigners were induced to settle under a despotic Government, where they found protection and encouragement, they would undoubtedly be the more inclined to bring their effects, and at least their industry, into *Great-Britain*, where they would share the privileges of a Free Nation." Mr. *Compton*, and several other Members, supporting this motion, the House ordered the bill to be prepared and brought in.

Whilst this bill was depending, a paper was printed, and industriously dispersed, importing, 1st, That the confux of Aliens, as would probably be the effect of such a law, might prove dangerous to our Constitution; for these would owe allegiance to their respective Princes, and retain a fondness for their native countries; and therefore, whensoever a war should break out, might prove so many spies and enemies. And, besides this pretence, the professed enemies of our established Church and Religion might flock over, with design to effect its overthrow. 2dly, That a general naturalization might undoubtedly spread an universal disgust and jealousy throughout the Nation; there having been many complaints and commotions in *London*, and elsewhere, on occasion of Foreigners. 3dly, That the design of inviting multitudes of Aliens to settle here, might prove in time a further mischief; for they would not only be capable of voting at elections, but also of being chosen Members of Parliament; have admission into places of trust and authority, which, in process of time, might endanger our antient Polity and Government, and, by frequent intermarriages, go a great way to blot out and extinguish the *English* race (1).

The

(1) Several other reasons were urged, as 4. That antiently naturalizations by act of Parliament were seldom or never made, but upon special reasons, and for particular occasions. And though some acts have given encouragement to foreign Merchants and Weavers to settle here; it was when our weaving-trade, and other manufactures, were inconsiderable, to the advancement they have since attained: And that from the settlement of the great customs in *Edward the First's* time, in all acts of Parliament for subsidies since passed, Aliens had always been charged with an increase of customs above natives, and a discrimination kept up between them; as was particularly remarked by the learned Lord-Chief-Justice *Hale*, in a Tract against a general Naturalization. 5. That it was more than

probable, that the greatest number, that would come over, would be of poor people, which would be of fatal consequence with respect to the many poor industrious families, who would thereby be reduced to the uttermost straits; it being evident, that no hands were wanted to carry on our manufactures, from the great quantities, that lay on hand, their cheapness, and the lowness of wages now given. What then would be the effect of such an addition? For these Aliens would altogether settle in places of manufacture; there being no instances of any of the late Refugees betaking themselves to the spade, plough, or sail. And it would be a very great charge to those parishes, wherein they should settle; there being now great numbers of *French*, who for want of work were relieved, and, in a great measure,

Reasons against it.
Fr. H. C.

1708.
Reasons
for it.

The Majority of the House easily discerned the fallacy of these popular arguments, being thoroughly convinced, both by their own observation, and the reasons alledged both within and without the walls, that (as the preamble of the bill set forth) *the increase of people is a means of advancing the wealth and strength of a Nation*: This maxim was abundantly verified, not only in *Prussia, Holland*, and other Protestant Countries, which had greatly increased in riches by the *French* Refugees settling there, but principally in *Great-Britain*, where, by the industry of the Refugees, several new manufactures had been set up, and others improved, to the great advancement of trade, and the total turning the balance thereof, to the prejudice of *France*, and the benefit of this Nation. That, besides the improvement of commerce, the *French* Refugees had greatly contributed towards the support of the *Revolution* Settlement, by putting the best part of their own substance, and of their friends and relations abroad, into the public funds; of which they had a fresh instance, in subscribing near five hundred thousand pounds into the Bank of *England*; so that, by a modest computation, the Refugees were reckoned to have above two millions sterling in the Government. That, as they could not be supposed to have brought one half of that money into *England*, so it was prudence to divert the thoughts they might have, upon the conclusion of the war, of carrying their vast gains abroad (which would very much lessen the current cash and credit of *Great-Britain*) by granting them the advantages and privileges enjoyed by her Majesty's natural-born subjects; which would not only engage them to settle here, but likewise bring over such of their friends

and relations, as might hope to inherit their estates. That the *French* Refugees had at all times, in their several stations and capacities, given signal proofs of their love for our happy constitution, and of their zeal and affection for the Government: And, in particular, such of them, as had military employments, which they had discharged, both in the late and present war, with distinguishing bravery and conduct. That this war had already consumed such vast number of men, that it was highly necessary to supply that loss, by inviting Foreigners to come over, whether the war continued, which would still increase the scarcity of men; or whether it was drawing to a period; in which case a great number of hands would be requisite to carry on the manufactures. In short, that all the objections against a naturalization were grounded upon this false supposition, that *Foreigners would ever continue, and be looked upon as such*; which was sufficiently confuted by past and daily experience.

When those who were against the bill perceived they should have no strength, if they set themselves directly to oppose it, they studied to limit strangers, in the receiving the Sacrament, to the way of the Church of *England*. This probably would not have hindered many, who were otherwise disposed to come among us: For the much greater part of the *French* came into the way of our Church. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of Strangers: And therefore since, upon their first coming over, some might chuse the way, to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any Protestant Communion. Accordingly, the bill was

1708.

The bill
passed both
Houses, and
received
the Royal
assent.
Burnet.

carried

measure, maintained by the Queen's bounty and charity of their Churches, and other well-disposed persons, who, when naturalized, would have recourse to their own respective parishes for an allowance. 6. That a general naturalization would, in effect, defeat the patent of the act of navigation, which had always been esteemed to conduce to the interest of the Nation, by the encouragement and increase of *English* Mariners, and advance of trade. 7. That hereby, in process of time, Aliens would be advanced in riches, and her Majesty's subjects impoverished; for those beneficial trades, buying and selling by commissions, remittances, and exchanges of money, would, in a great measure, be ingrossed by Foreigners, by reason of their many friends and relations abroad. Besides, such Aliens generally living in lodgings, and at little charge, frequently escaping public taxes and Parish duties, would be able to undersell and undermine the native Merchants. 8. That hereby the treasure of the Nation would be exhausted and remitted into foreign parts; for it might well be supposed, that those Aliens, that have valuable estates, could not or would not transport the greatest part thereof hither; and leaving children, and their nearest relations behind them, they would come hither only upon a design of getting riches, and to return home again therewith, particularly upon a prospect of war; an instance of which we have in the practice of our Merchants, who, when they have got estates abroad, constantly return home to enjoy the same. 9. That the Queen's customs would hereby be considerably diminished; for many statutes, which lay a greater duty on Aliens than on natives, would, as to this, be repealed. 10. That opportunity would hereby be given to Merchants, to colour the goods and merchandizes of other strangers beyond sea, their correspondents, friends, or relations, to the great detriment of her Majesty's customs, and trade of the na-

tive subjects; a practice which was offered to be proved before their late Majesties and the Lords of the Treasury: Which reasons did influence the judgments of our Ancestors, as appears by the statutes of 11 Hen. VII. c. 11. 11 Hen. VII. c. 14. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 8. 11. That the duties of package and scavage of the goods of all Merchants, as well Denizens as Aliens, were the indispensable right and inheritance of the Commonalty and Citizens of *London*, let to farm by lease (wherein were about eighteen years to come) for a fine of one thousand pounds, and the yearly rent of nine hundred and fifty pounds; and, among other things, were, by act of Parliament, charged towards the raising of eight thousand pounds *per annum* for ever to the Orphans, and other Creditors of the said City; which duties would be wholly lost, to the great prejudice of the said City, and would render them incapable to support the government of the same. 12. And in the last place, That, the Nation being now engaged in an expensive, though necessary war, taxes high, trade obstructed, great quantities of woollen, and other manufactures lay unfold; and, as an effect hereof, the several prices of making them very small, many families destitute of work throughout the Kingdom: What then, at such a time as this, must be the consequence of inviting hither, by a general naturalization, multitudes of poor Foreigners, who would only employ themselves in trade and manufactures?

About the same time the City of *London* having, on the 18th of February, petitioned the Commons, that they might be heard by their Council against the bill, and their request being granted, their Lawyers chiefly insisted on the 11th of the above-mentioned reasons; but upon examination it was found, that the duties of package and scavage did not, of late, yield above twenty pounds *per annum*, most of the Foreign Merchants having been already naturalized.

(1) *Buckingham*,

carried in the House of Commons by a great majority, for naturalizing all foreign Protestants, upon their taking the oaths to the Government, and receiving the Sacrament in any Protestant Church. All those, that appeared for this comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the Church. Of this the Bishop of *Salisbury* had a large share; for, when the bill was brought up to the Lords, he spoke copiously for it; whilst the Bishop of *Chester* spoke as zealously against it, who seemed resolved to distinguish himself as a zealot for that which was called *High-Church*. The bill passed with very little opposition, though it was protested against by several Lords, as prejudicial to trade and manufactures, and of ill consequence to our Liberties and Religion (1).

The other subjects of debate in this Session were, the inquiry into the *Scotch* invasion, and the trials of treason in *Scotland*. What gave rise to the great and long debates on these affairs was this: Upon the attempt made by the Pretender, many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Scotland*, who had all along adhered to that interest, were secured; and after the fleet was got back to *Dunkirk*, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up prisoners to *London*; when they came, there was no evidence at all against them, so they were dismissed, and sent back to *Scotland*. No exceptions could be taken to the securing them, while there was danger: But, since nothing besides presumptions lay against them, the bringing them up to *London*, at such a charge, and under such a disgrace, was much censured, as an unreasonable and an unjust severity; and was made use of, to give that Nation a further aversion to the Union. That whole matter was managed by the *Scotch* Lords then in the Ministry, by which they both revenged themselves on some of their enemies, and made a shew of zeal for the Government; though such as did not believe them sincere in these professions, thought it was done on design to exasperate the *Scots* the more, and so to dispose them to wish for another invasion. The Whig Ministry in *England* disowned all these proceedings, and used the *Scots* prisoners so well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord *Godolphin* fatally adhered to the *Scotch* Ministers, and supported them, by which the advantage that might have been made from these severe proceedings was lost. Hence it was, that the Lords having ordered their Members to attend on the 10th of *January*, they took into consideration the state of the Nation, with respect to the late invasion of *Scotland*. The Lord *Haversham* opened the debate with a long speech, wherein he set forth, that the Nation expected an enquiry into this matter, in which not only their welfare, but their very being itself, the security of the Nation, and the safety of the Queen, were highly concerned. For the successes of their arms had not disabled the *French* King from making farther attempts. Besides, it was plain, his chief dependence in the late invasion was from the encouragement he had from hence; and yet, not-

withstanding all enquiries, it was still a great mystery, who the persons were, that were concerned in that unnatural treason. It is true, several persons of great quality had been taken up on suspicion, but had any thing been proved against them? The *French* King had more encouragement than before to renew his attempt upon us, since the methods hitherto taken to discover the many friends he has among us had signified so little. Another encouragement was the defenceless condition of *Scotland*, the deficiency of forces, and ill state of the garrisons at the time of the invasion, notwithstanding the certain account we had of it. He concluded with saying, 'My Lords, if your Lordships have any intention of looking into this matter, I shall make your Lordships a motion, which perhaps may give us some light. It is, That her Majesty will please to order, that there may be laid before this House, at what time her Majesty received the first account of the intended invasion? What orders were thereupon issued into *Scotland*, with relation either to forces or garrisons? What was the number of regular troops and forces there at the time of this intelligence? What was the state of the garrisons there at that time? What augmentation was made, or forces sent thither, from the time of the intelligence, to the time of the invasion? What orders had been given with relation to the garrisons, and when, both before and since the invasion, from the time of the first intelligence?'

The Lord *Haversham* having ended this speech, several other Peers spoke to the same purpose. Whereupon the House appointed a Committee, to inquire into the state of the Nation in relation to the intended invasion, and ordered an address to be presented to the Queen, to desire, that the papers concerning that affair might be laid before them; which was readily complied with.

Not long after this address, the Lord *Haversham* opened, in the House of Lords, the account of the *Scotch* invasion in a much longer speech, wherein he observes, that the Lords, who seconded his motion for the papers to be laid before them, never so much as looked into them, or have mentioned the matter since; perhaps, they will say they never intended it, and that they called for the papers only to cover some design, or to try how an act of Grace will relish, to which, as he was innocent, he should not give his consent. As to the papers, he had looked into them, and, with their Lordships leave, would take notice of some particulars: Mr. *Boyle* received certain intelligence, the 23d of *February*, that the armament of *Dunkirk* was intended for *Scotland*; and the Queen, on the 25th, impowers her Privy-Council there to put her forces, forts and garrisons in the best order. There were not at that time above fifteen hundred men of regular forces in *Scotland*. Though this was an insufficient strength, and though the Parliament raised the establishment, *December* 20, 1707, from two thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, to five thousand nine hundred and thirty-two, yet there was little or no augmentation made, nor had the Council one shilling for necessary expences the 11th of *March*, nor so much

Enquiry into the invasion of Scotland. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

Lord Haversham opens the account of the Scotch invasion. Pr. H. L.

(1) *Buckingham, Guernsey, Scarfdale, North and Grey, Anglesea, Guilford, and Nottingham.* Pr. H. L. Vol. II. 261. (1) However,

1708. much as one penny ordered till the 13th, neither was the establishment settled till after the invasion. He then proceeds to shew, that when *Scotland* was in this defenceless condition, what assistance they had from *Osland, England, and Ireland*. The transports from *Osland* did not arrive at *Tinmouth-Bay*, till ten days after the enemy were seen on the *Scotch* coast, so that the dispute, had there been any, would have been over before they could come up. As to the troops from *England*, they had not orders to march till the 14th of *March*, which, considering the length of the march from hence to *Edinburgh*, was certainly too long a delay. As for the troops from *Ireland*, the very orders to provide transports were not given by the Lord *Sunderland* till the 12th of *March* here, nor by the Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, for the troops to be in a readiness till the 13th. Now, considering what time would be taken up in providing necessaries for transporting the troops, it seems very evident, that the Queen was not truly acquainted with the danger she was in, and that these forces must arrive in *Scotland* very late. He then took notice of the wretched state of the garrisons, particularly of the castles of *Stirling, Blackness, and Dumbarton*, and concluded with saying, 'I will not trouble you farther: I think this matter is now very plain before your Lordships, I could wish I had not said one word of truth, in what I have said to you; but the vouchers shew it to be so; and, if all this be true, it is a very strange, a very surprizing, and a very astonishing truth.'

I shall not move any thing to your Lordships farther, in this matter: I believe there has been enough now said, to justify those Lords for moving this enquiry, and shall add but this word, 'That if there be no greater care taken for the future than there was at this time of such imminent danger, it will be the greatest miracle in the world, if, without a miracle, the Pretender be not placed upon that Throne.'

This is the substance of what was observed by Lord *Haverham*, though there happened some interlocutions between him and another Lord; and some observations were made upon the papers as they were read. The Duke of *Buckingham* and several Peers spoke to the same pur-

pose. Upon which it was ordered, that the affair should be considered the *Tuesday* following in a full House. But all ended in a joint address, as will presently be seen.

During these debates in the House of Lords, *The Commons* had also taken the affair of the invasion into consideration. Pursuant to an address they had presented to the Queen, Mr. *Boyle* laid before the House a state of the whole matter of the designed invasion of *North-Britain*; the proceedings against the late Lord *Griffin* and others taken in open rebellion, and also an account of the names of all those that were taken up, and the proceedings against them; and in what posture of defence the castles and garrisons of *North-Britain* were at that time, and now are. Not long after the Commons resolved to present another address to the Queen, 'That there might be laid before them a list of the ships of war employed on account of the late invasion, under Vice-Admiral *Byng* and Rear-Admiral *Baker*, and of the names of the Captains, who were employed in that expedition, and what journals had been delivered in relating to the same.' But after all these addresses, when the papers, relating to this affair, came to be considered, the House at length resolved, 'First, That orders were not issued for the marching of the troops in *England* until the fourteenth day of *March*, it being necessary for the security of her Majesty's Person and Government, that the troops in this part of the Kingdom should not march into *Scotland*, till there was certain intelligence, that the enemy intended to land in that part of the United Kingdom. Secondly, That timely and effectual care was taken by those employed under her Majesty, at the time of the intended invasion of *Scotland*, to disappoint the designs of her Majesty's enemies both at home and abroad, by fitting out a sufficient number of men of war, ordering a competent number of troops from *Flanders*, giving directions for the forces in *Ireland* to be ready for the assistance of the Nation, and by making the necessary and proper dispositions of the forces in *England*.' Pursuant to these resolutions an address was drawn up, and presented to the Queen with the concurrence of the Lords (1).

The

(1) However, the Author of a piece, supposed to be written by the Lord *Haverham* himself, and published in 1709, in 4to, under the title of *An Account of the late invasion as it was opened by Lord Haverham in the House of Lords, on Friday the 25th of February, 1708-9: With some observations, that were made in the House of Commons, and true copies of authentic papers, in a letter from a Gentleman in South-Britain, to his friends in North-Britain*, observes, p. 20, &c. 'That the same papers being laid before the House of Commons, pursuant to their address, produced the like observations there, and that the *Scott* Gentlemen concurred with the *English*, in blaming the conduct of the Ministry; affirming it was such, as gave great encouragement to the enemies of the Government; while its friends look'd on their country to be perfectly given up. This, they said, was their general sense. In the House of Commons, some observations were also made upon the imprisoning many persons in *Scotland* at that time; several Lords and Gentlemen of the best quality and estates were apprehended and seized, by virtue of warrants sent from hence for suspicion of treason and treasonable practices; though it does not appear from

Numb. LX. Vol. IV.

the papers, that there was any cause to suspect; nor that any of their countrymen (who were the properest persons to be advised with on this occasion) were consulted in it. For the Earl of *Mar* in his letter to the Earl of *Leven, March 9*, writes, That he, with the Dukes of *Queensberry* and *Montrose*, the Earls of *Loudon* and *Seafeld*, was summoned to the Cabinet, and were told there, that since both Houses had, for securing suspected persons, suspended the *Habeas Corpus* act, it was fit, persons in *Scotland* should be apprehended; and a list was read to them, which they took down in writing, and warrants were ready drawn. This was certainly a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and the more extraordinary, because the greatest part of the Lords and Gentlemen, taken up by these warrants, had given undoubted testimonies ever since the Revolution (in which some of them had been very active and instrumental) of their fidelity and good affection to the Government; they had taken all oaths, that have been enjoined for their security; they had sat in Parliament; and some of them had been in offices and employments of great trust in the Reign of King *William* and of her Majesty. Others, under the

1708.

Proceedings on the
a bill con-
cerning
trial of
treason in
Scotland.
Pr H. L.
Burnet.

The consideration of the state of the Nation, with respect to the late invasion, gave occasion to a bill concerning trials of treasons in Scotland, under the title of an *act for improving the Union of the two Kingdoms*. This bill caused very great and long debates, and sprung from the proceedings against the suspected persons in Scotland, and particularly from a trial of some Gentlemen of that Kingdom, who had left their houses, when the Pretender was on the sea, and had gone about armed, and in so secret and suspicious a manner, that it gave great cause of jealousy. There was no clear evidence to convict them; but there were very strong, if not violent presumptions against them. Some forms in the trial had not been observed, which the criminal Court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with. But the Queen's Advocate, Sir James Stewart, was of another mind. The Court thought it was necessary by their laws, that the names of the witnesses should have been signified to the prisoners fifteen days before the trial. But the Queen's Advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witnesses, so that the Court could not hear their Evidence. He did not, upon that, move for a delay; and therefore the trial went on, and the Gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expostulations passed between the Queen's Advocate and the Court. They complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in Scotland concerning trials in cases of treason were not fixed nor certain. For which reason a bill was brought into the House of Commons to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the Scots Members, that it was dropped in the Committee. It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords.

The heads
of the act.

It consisted of three heads: All crimes, which were high-treason by the law of England, and these only, were to be high-treason in Scotland. The manner of proceeding settled in England was to be observed in Scotland; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the same in both Nations. The Scots Lords opposed every branch of this act. They moved, that all things, that were high-treason by the law of England, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the Scots Nation; otherwise they must study the book of Statutes, to know when they were safe, and when they were guilty. To this it was an-

swered, that directions would be given to the Judges, to publish an abstract of the laws of high-treason, which would be a sufficient information to the people of Scotland in this matter. That Nation would by this means be in a much safer condition than they were now; for the laws, they had, were conceived in such general words, that the Judges might put such constructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad Court; but they would by this act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The second head in this bill occasioned a much longer debate: It changed the whole method of proceedings in Scotland. The former way there was, the Queen's Advocate signed a citation of the persons, setting forth the special matter of high-treason, of which they were accused. This was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witnesses, fifteen days before the trial. When the Jury was impanelled, no peremptory challenges were allowed: Reasons were to be offered with every challenge; and, if the Court allowed them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to high-treason, or not. This was determined by a sentence of the Court, called the *Interloquitur*; and the proof of the fact was not till then to be made. Of that the Jury had the cognizance. Antiently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late act the verdict was to be given upon the agreement of two third parts of the Jury. In the sentence, the law did not limit the Judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the punishment, or moderate it, according to the circumstances of the case. All this method was to be set aside; a Grand Jury was to find the bill; the Judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was; and the whole matter of the indictment was to be left intire to the Jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict.

In one particular, the forms of Scotland were much preferable to those in England; the depositions of the witnesses were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the witnesses; they were sent in to the Jury; and these were made a part of the record. This was very slow and tedious; but

like circumstances were taken up by warrants, bearing date the 29th of March, when the danger was over; which made the Scots Gentlemen very free in declaring, that the taking them up could be for no other reason, than to influence the approaching elections to Parliament; and for their disaffection to the interests some Courtiers then promoted, rather than for their disaffection to her Majesty's Person and Government, in which they were the more confirmed, because they saw there was no evidence in the papers against any of them. There was indeed some evidence of high-treason pretended against five Gentlemen, taken up by warrants from the Privy-Council of Scotland; but that was such, as the Lord Advocate writes, neither he nor the other Advocates employed for her Majesty, did think would convict them; and therefore humbly offered it as their opinion, that it would be more for the honour and service of her Majesty, and of her Government, that they should not be prosecuted. The Earl of Sunderland, in his answer, acquainted him, he

had laid his memorial before her Majesty, who was well satisfied with what he had done, in procuring evidence against the prisoners; and though possibly, upon their trial, the evidence might not be sufficient to convict them by the law of Scotland, yet considering all the circumstances of that affair, and the noise it has made in the world, her Majesty thought it absolutely necessary for her service, that it be carried as far as it will bear. Accordingly, they were brought upon their trials, and acquitted. After all the observations made upon the papers, the consideration of them ended in the House of Commons, in the resolution above-mentioned. The Gentlemen, that were against this resolution, desired, that all the papers laid before the House, relating to the intended invasion of Scotland, might be printed, that the world might see and judge, how well-grounded it was. But those, who had justified the Ministry in their debates, and voted for the resolution, would not suffer the papers to be printed, so that the question was carried in the negative.¹

(1) This

1708-9. but the Jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the evidence, and the matter was more clearly delivered down to posterity; whereas the records in *England* are very defective, and give no light to an Historian, who peruses them.

The *Scots* opposed this alteration of their way of proceeding: They said, that neither the Judges, the Advocates, nor the Clerks would know how to manage a trial of treason. They insisted most on the having the names of the witnesses to be given to the persons some days before their trial. It seemed reasonable, that a man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his life, and see what credit ought to be given to him. On the other hand it was said, this would open a door to practice, either upon the witnesses to corrupt them, or in suborning other witnesses to defame them. To this it was answered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought against him; and, without such notice, would take all the methods possible to defend himself. But provision ought to be made for innocent men, whose chief guilt might be a good estate, upon which a favourite might have an eye: And therefore such persons ought to be taken care of. This was afterwards so much softened, that it was only desired, that the names of the witnesses, who had given evidence to the Grand Jury, should, upon their finding the bill, be signified to the prisoner five hours before his trial. Upon a division of the House on this question, the votes were equal; and therefore by the rule of the House, that in such a case the negative prevails, it was lost.

Upon the third head of the bill the debates grew still warmer. In *Scotland* many families were settled by long entails and perpetuities; and therefore it was said, that since, by one of the articles of the Union, all private rights were still preserved, no breach could be made on these settlements. Bishop *Burnet* carried this further; he thought, that it was neither just nor reasonable to set the children on begging for their fathers faults: That the *Romans*, during their liberty, never thought of carrying punishments so far: That it was an invention, under the tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular revenue called the *Fife* (1); and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called *Confiscations*: That it was never the

practice of Free Governments: That *Boulogne* flourished beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, because they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope, that no confiscation should follow on any crime whatsoever: That in *Holland* the confiscation was redeemable by so very small a sum, as an hundred guilders (2). That many instances might be brought of prosecutions, only to obtain the confiscation. But in this none of the Lords seconded the Bishop. It was acknowledged, that this was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed in good times; but, since the Nation was then exposed to so much danger from abroad, it did not seem advisable to abate the security of the law. But clauses were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, settlements might be made in *Scotland*, as was practiced in *England*, for no estate is forfeited for the crime of him who is only tenant for life. By this act also tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant Commissions of Oyer and Terminer, as in *England*, for trying treasons. The *Scots* insisted on this, that the Justiciary of the criminal Court being preserved by an article of the Union, this broke in upon that. It was answered, that the criminal Court was still to sit in the time regulated; but these Commissions were granted upon special occasions. In the intervals between the terms, it might be necessary, upon some emergency, not to delay trials too long. But, to give some content, it was provided by a clause, that a Judge of the criminal Court should be always one of the *Quorum* in these Commissions. Thus the bill passed in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the opposition of all the *Scots* Lords, with whom many of the Tories concurred, they being disposed to oppose the Court in every thing, and to make treason as little to be dreaded as possible.

The bill met with the same opposition in the House of Commons; yet it passed with two amendments. By one, the names of the witnesses, who had appeared before the Grand Jury, were ordered to be sent to the prisoner ten days before his trial. The other was, that no estate in land was to be forfeited upon a judgment of high-treason; which came up fully to the motion, which Bishop *Burnet* had made. Both these amendments were looked on as such popular things, that it was not probable, that the House of Commons would recede from them. Upon that the Whigs in the House of Lords

Of forfeitures in cases of treason.

Proceedings on the bill in the House of Commons.

(1) This remark of Bishop *Burnet* is clearly overthrown by the Author of an excellent piece, published this present year 1745, and intitled, *Some considerations on the law of forfeitures for high-treason, occasioned by a clause in a late act, for making it treason to correspond with the Pretender's sons, or any of their Agents, &c.* in which the law of forfeitures is justified from the principles of Natural Justice, the practice and genius of the freest States, the constitution of the *English* Government, with a perspicuity, force, and comprehension of reasoning, not to be found in any other discourse on that subject. This Writer opposes to the Bishop's observation, concerning the *Roman Fife*, the words of *Cujacius ad L. Jul. Maj. Ejus erat Populi, nunc Imperatoris*; which intimates, "That forfeitures was a known punishment during the Republic. It was then called *Bonorum Publicatio*. But the Bishop seems to have been misled by the late origin of the word, to imagine the thing itself was introduced no earlier."

(2) The Author of *some considerations on the law of forfeitures*, p. 39, takes notice of this assertion as a mistake in Bishop *Burnet*, and observes, "That the contrary is well known; and that it would be to turn legal punishments of high crimes into a jest, were a redemption of that kind allowed. This is not only the case in the separate administration of many of the Provinces, but we are told by one of the best Writers, on the Constitution of the *Low-Countries* [*Jamison*, Vol. I. p. 183.] that the Council of State condemns any Officer, who abuses a public trust in the finances, the armies, the negotiations, or justice of the Republic, to the heaviest penalties by fine, suited to the crime, the exigency, and example. And it is much the same thing to the children of a criminal, whether the fortune of the family be taken from them by judgment of intire forfeiture, or by a discretionary sentence condemning to a severe fine, which may equal or exceed the value of it."

1708-9.

Lords did not think fit to oppose them, nor to join the bill; and therefore it was moved to agree to these amendments, with this proviso, moved by the Lord *Sommers*, that they should not take place till after the death of the Pretender. It was said, that, since he assumed the title of King of Great-Britain, and had so lately attempted to invade the Nation, it was not reasonable to lessen the punishment and the dread of treason, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be still a Pretender after him, since so many persons stood in the lineal descent before the House of *Hanover*, so that this proviso seemed to be, upon the matter, the rejecting the amendment. But it was observed, that to pretend to the right of succeeding was a different thing from assuming the title, and attempting an invasion. The amendment was received with this proviso; but those, who were against the whole bill, did not agree to it. The House of Commons consented to the proviso, which the Lords had added to their amendment, with a further addition, that it should not take place till three years after the House of *Hanover* should succeed to the Crown.

The bill
passed in
both Houses.

This met with great opposition; it was considered as a distinguishing character of those, who were for or against the present Constitution and the Succession; the *Scots* still opposing it on the account of the former laws. Both parties collected their strength, and many, who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occasion; so that the bill, with all the amendments and provisos, was carried by a small majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment. The *Scots* Members in both Houses seemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country; and therefore, to maintain their interest at home, they who were divided in every thing else, did agree in opposing this bill.

An act of
Grace.

The Court apprehended from the heat, with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both Houses, that ill-disposed men would endeavour to possess people with apprehensions of bad designs and severities, that would be set on foot; and therefore resolved to have an act of Grace immediately upon it. It was the first the Queen had sent, though she had now reigned above seven years. The Ministers, for their own sakes, took care, that it should be very full. It was indeed fuller than any former act of Grace. All treasons committed before the signing the act, which was the 19th of *April*, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the sea. By this they, who had embarked with the Pretender, were still at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both Houses, and with the usual compliments of thanks.

Besides these, there were other things of less importance passed this Session.

General
Webb
thanked by
the Com-
mons.
Pr. H. C.

The injury done to Major-General *Webb*, after the battle of *Wynendale*, having made a great noise, the Leaders of the Tory party readily seized this opportunity, both to do him justice, and, at the same time, to expose the partiality of those in power. Sir *Thomas Hanmer* therefore made a motion, on the 13th of *December*, "That the thanks of the House be given to Major-General *Webb*, for the great and eminent services performed by him at the battle of *Wynendale*;" which was unanimously car-

1708-9.

ried in the affirmative. The Major-General being then in the House, the Speaker gave him, in his place, the thanks of the House; which he acknowledged in a very handsome and modest speech, saying, among other things, "That he valued the honour done him by the Commons above the greatest rewards." This gave Mr. *Bromley* occasion to say, "That he did not disapprove the custom, which, of late years, had been introduced, of returning thanks to such Generals, as had performed eminent services; especially when they received those compliments as modestly, as the worthy Member, to whom they were now given, had done. But it was with grief, he observed, that a certain Commander, on whom not only the thanks of the House, but also great rewards had been bestowed, appeared yet to be unsatisfied." This reflection was visibly levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, about that very time, was attacked in two pieces, which were printed, and industriously spread about, the one intitled, *A speech of Caius Memmius, Tribune to the people of Rome, translated from Sallust*; the other intitled, *An account of a dream at Harwich*.

On the other hand, the same day that an address was voted by the Commons for such treaties and agreements, as had been made for contributions, it was unanimously resolved, "That the Commons of Great-Britain being truly sensible, not only of the great and eminent services performed by his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* the last successful campaign, so much to the honour of Great-Britain, and advantage of all Europe, but also of the indefatigable zeal he persevered in for the service of the common cause abroad, while he might, with reason, expect to be received with all the marks of honour and satisfaction at home, did, with a just regard to his glorious actions, return him the thanks of the House, and ordered their Speaker to transmit the same to his Grace." This being done, the Duke of *Marlborough* returned an answer, dated from *Brussels*, February the 13th 1709, importing, "That he was extremely sensible of the great honour, which the House of Commons had done him, in the vote the Speaker had been pleased to transmit to him by their order: "That nothing could give him more satisfaction, than to find the services, he endeavoured to do the Queen and his Country, so acceptable to the House of Commons: And he begged the favour of the Speaker to assure them, he should never think any pains or perseverance too great, if he might, by God's blessing, be instrumental in procuring a safe and honourable peace for her Majesty and his Fellow-subjects."

Moreover, when the news of the reduction of *Ghent* was brought over, both Houses presented an address to the Queen, wherein the Duke of *Marlborough* was mentioned with honour. In this address, "they congratulated her upon the last great effort of this glorious year; a year, that would be ever famous in history, as well for the intire disappointment of all the attempts and hopes of her enemies, as for the wonderful successes, with which God had blessed the arms of her Majesty and her Allies." Adding, "That the unusual length of the campaign, the variety of events, and the difficulty

The Duke
of Marl-
borough
thanked
also by the
Commons,
Jan. 22.
Pr. H. C.

1708-9. "sculty and importance of the actions, had given many opportunities to her Majesty's General, the Duke of *Marlborough*, to shew his consummate ability, and all the great qualities necessary for so high a trust; whereby, in conjunction with the renowned Prince *Eugene of Savoy*, such considerable progress had been made, and the conquests so far advanced, that there is reason to hope, the enemy, in spite of all their presumption, would soon find themselves under an absolute necessity of submitting to a safe and honourable peace."

and also by the Lords.

Address for demolishing of Dunkirk. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

The Duke of *Marlborough* being arrived, after a dangerous passage from *Offend*, came to *London* the 1st of *March*, whilst the Lords were sitting; the Lord-Chancellor, by order of the House, returned him thanks for the eminent services performed by him the last campaign. As he was supposed to bring over proposals of peace, the Lord *Sommers* moved for an address to be presented to the Queen, that she would be pleased to take care, at the conclusion of the war, that the *French* King might be obliged to own her Title and the Protestant Succession, and that the Pretender might be removed out of the *French* Dominions; which being unanimously approved, the address was sent down to the Commons, where Mr. *Boyle* represented, "That the *British* Nation having been at a vast expence of blood and treasure, for the prosecution of this necessary war, it was but just they should reap some benefit by the peace: And the town of *Dunkirk* being a nest of pirates, that infested the Ocean, and did infinite mischief to trade, he therefore moved, That the demolishing of its fortifications and harbour be insisted upon in the address:" Which, with that amendment, was unanimously approved, and carried back to their Lordships by Mr. Secretary *Boyle*. The Lord-Chancellor, on the part of the Peers, and the Speaker of the Commons, on the part of the Commons, having attended the Queen with the said address, her Majesty told them, "That she was of the same opinion with her two Houses of Parliament, in the several particulars of that address; as she had also been in all the other which they had made on the same subject;" assuring them, "no care should be wanting on her part, to attain the ends they had desired." This address of both Houses was highly acceptable to the whole Nation, and to all our Allies.

An order having been made, on the 13th of *January*, by the Privy-Council, in pursuance of her Majesty's pleasure to them, signified, "That in the Form of Prayer, with *Thanksgiving* to Almighty God, to be used in all Churches and Chapels every year upon the eighth day of *March* (being the day, on which her Majesty began her happy Reign) in the prayer at the Communion Service, immediately before the reading of the Epistle, for the Queen, as Supreme Governor of this Church, these words following be left out: And, that these blessings may be continued to after-ages, make the Queen, we pray thee, an happy mother of children; who, being educated in thy true faith and fear, may happily succeed in the Government of these Kingdoms." This order seeming to intimate, that the Queen designed to pass the remainder of her life in widowhood; Mr. *Watson*, son to the Lord *Rockingham*, moved, on the 25th of *January*, in the House of Commons, "That

No. 60. VOL. IV.

1708-9. "an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she would not suffer her just grief so far to prevail; but would have such indulgence to the hearty desires of her subjects, as to entertain thoughts of a second marriage." This motion, being seconded and supported by several young Members, was unanimously carried, and a Committee was appointed to draw up the address; which being agreed to, and the Lords having given their concurrence to the same, was the next day presented to the Queen by the Speakers of the two Houses. The Queen was not a little surprized at this unexpected address; to which she returned an answer, importing, "That the frequent marks of duty and affection, she had received from both Houses of Parliament, must needs be very acceptable to her: That the provision she had made for the Protestant Succession, would always be a proof, how much she had at heart the future happiness of the Kingdom: But that the subject of this address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer." However the Commons, on the 29th, voted their thanks for this answer.

A bill was brought into the House of Commons, for the exportation of tobacco, and other commodities and manufactures of the growth and product of Great-Britain; the design of which was, to exchange tobacco for *French* wines. But the *Portuguese* Ambassador having, by a memorial, represented to her Majesty, and by word of mouth to several Members without doors, that such a bill was contrary to the Alliance between her Majesty and the King his Master; and it being considered, besides, that such an exchange would redound to the advantage of *France*, and to the benefit of five or six persons in *Great-Britain* only, the bill was dismissed, by putting off the consideration of it for a month. And, on the other hand, a bill was ordered to be brought in, for the more effectual prohibiting the importation of *French* wines, and all other commodities of the growth and product of *France*.

It may here be observed, that our trade was now very high, and was carried on every where with advantage, but no where more than at *Lisbon*: For the *Portuguese* were so happy, in their Dominions in *America*, that they discovered vast quantities of gold in their mines, and we were assured that they had brought home to *Portugal*, the former year, about four millions sterling, of which they, at that time, stood in great need, for they had a very bad harvest: But gold answers all things: They were supplied from *England* with corn, and we had in return a large share of their gold.

The deficiency of the laws to punish insults, in case of foreign Ministers, being apparent in the case of the *Muscovite* Ambassador, a bill was brought into the House of Commons, for preserving the privileges of Ambassadors and other foreign Ministers. Count *Gallas*, the Imperial and Spanish Envoy, having got a copy of it, communicated it to Baron *Spanheim*, the *Prussian* Ambassador, at whose house there was a meeting of foreign Ministers, who resolved to lay before the Secretaries of State their observations on the bill, in a memorial, importing, "That the preamble of the bill mentioned only the particular indignity offered to the *Muscovite* Ambassador, and his being arrested and taken out of his coach by violence,"

G g

violence,

Remarks of foreign Ministers about the Ambassador's bill. Pr. H. C.

1708-9. violence, &c. in contempt of the protection granted by her Majesty, without taking notice of the Law of Nations, on which the privileges of Ambassadors are founded, and which is superior and antecedent to all municipal laws: And therefore they insisted, that in the preamble these words should be added, *Contrary to the law of Nations, and in prejudice of the rights and privileges; which Ambassadors, and other public Ministers, authorized and received as such, have at all times been thereby possessed of, and which ought to be kept sacred and inviolable.* II. That, in the clause for preventing for the future the seizing, arresting, or imprisoning of public Ministers, it should be made criminal to offer them any insult or ill treatment. III. That their equipages, goods, and other effects, of what nature soever, ought likewise to enjoy the same protection with their persons and servants, and not be seized or stopped on any pretence. IV. That their houses ought to be accounted and declared Sanctuaries, and no Bailiffs, or other Officers of Justice, allowed to enter the same. V. And that foreign Ambassadors, and other Ministers, ought to enjoy these privileges from their first coming into Great-Britain, till they are out of her Majesty's Dominions, even after they have had their audience of leave, as long as they retain their characters. The substance of this Memorial being communicated to the Committee, to whom that bill was referred, they inserted the first amendment in the preamble, but did not think proper to mention the other particulars: And, Mr. Compton having reported the several amendments made to the bill, the House added a clause, "That no person should be proceeded against for having arrested the servant of an Ambassador, or public Minister, by virtue of this act, unless the name of such servant be first registered in the office of one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and by such Secretary transmitted to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, who shall hang up the same in some public place in their offices, &c." and ordered the bill to be ingrossed. The foreign Ministers, having also procured a copy of this last clause, held another Assembly at Baron Spanheim's house, at which the Earl of Sunderland assisting, they represented to him, "That the exacting lists of foreign Ministers' servants was a thing unpractised in other Courts, and liable to several inconveniences; and desired besides, that the Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's household might be added to the number of the persons appointed by this bill, to take cognizance of the offences committed against the privileges of foreign Ministers, and to inflict such punishments, as they shall judge fit." But the Parliament did not think fit to make any more alterations in the bill.

On the 14th of March, the Commons, in a Grand Committee, came to several resolutions in favour of the inhabitants of *Nevis* and *St. Christopher's*, who had suffered by the late invasion of the *French*; and voted the sum of one hundred and three thousand two hundred and three pounds for the use of such sufferers, as should re-settle in their plantations in those islands.

The Commons being informed, that the humour of laying wagers about the Events of war was grown to such an height, that many un-

wary persons were ruined by it, and that the 1708-9. most crafty in those bargains maintained clandestine correspondences abroad, which might be of dangerous consequence to the Government, a bill was brought in, which passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent, to prevent the laying of wagers relating to the public.

These were the transactions of this Session of 1709. Parliament, which was concluded the 21st of April, when the following speech of the Lords Commissioners was delivered to both Houses by the Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"BEING now, by the Queen's directions, *The Commissioners* to put an end to this Session, we have it *speech to both Houses.* in command from her Majesty to assure you, her Majesty is extremely sensible of the zeal, and affection you have shewn for her service, April 1. and the good of her people, and of the prudence and dispatch, with which you have completed the important business of this Session.

"The vigour and firmness of your proceedings have already had a very good effect on affairs abroad; and there is ground to hope, that, by God's blessing on her Majesty's endeavours, this will every day appear more and more evident.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"We are to return you in particular her Majesty's thanks, for your having provided so timely and effectually the supplies found necessary to the prosecution of this war, with an augmentation of those forces, which, in conjunction with our Allies, have, by God's assistance, procured us the present advantages over the common enemy.

"Your cheerfulness in giving such large supplies at this juncture, and the ready advances, which have been made for their being effectual with so little burden to the people, shew, you perfectly understand how to make a right use of our past successes, and that nothing is too difficult for so dutiful and affectionate subjects, acting in defence of so good a cause.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Her Majesty, through the whole course of her Reign, having been desirous to shew all possible instances of goodness and clemency to her subjects, hath now, for the strengthening the Union, and quieting the minds of all her subjects throughout the United Kingdom, thought fit to grant them an act of Grace and free pardon, in a more full and beneficial manner, than hath been formerly used; not doubting, but all her people will make a right use of, and suitable returns on their part, for so extraordinary an indulgence.

"Her Majesty, having also been graciously pleased to give the Royal assent to the several bills you have presented during this Session, commands us to observe to you on that occasion, that the life and benefit of all laws, how wisely soever they are framed, do chiefly consist in a due and regular execution of them,

Bill to prevent wagers.
Pr. H. C.

1709. "them, and therefore to exhort you, that, when you return to your countries, you would think it indispensably your duty, to set a good example towards an impartial and steady observation of the many good laws, which have been enacted (especially since the late Revolution) and which fall within your province to execute; it being but too evident, that the defect at present attending us is not so much the want of new laws, as the neglect and disregard of those already made."

After this the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of May.

Great
frost.
Hill. of
Eur.

The severity of the winter-season (as hath been said) was very remarkable this year; for it began to freeze, the night before *Christmas-day*, with great violence, and not long after fell great snows. Those, who compared the great frost in 1683-4 with this, observed, that the first was generally a bright one, and continued above two months without interruption; but the latter mostly dark, and with some intervals lasted a month longer; during which, many cattle, especially sheep, and likewise birds, perished. The *Thames* was frozen over, and, on the 3d of *January*, people began to erect booths, and set up tents on the ice. It was also observed, that the summer, which succeeded the frost in 1683-4, was excessively hot and dry, affording in general great plenty of things necessary for human life; but this proved very near as comfortable as the winter, by reason of the coldness and moisture of the air, pouring almost continual rains on the earth, which, as it retarded the maturity of the fruits, so, in many places, occasioned a thin harvest, and this a scarcity of corn. This great frost was general in *Europe*, but most severely felt in *France*, where, in most places, the fruit-trees were killed, and the corn frozen in the ground, which occasioned there a dreadful calamity and desolation.

Two Mus-
covite
Princes en-
tertained
by the
Queen.

Two young Princes, near relations to the Czar of *Muscovy*, arriving in *London* in *Janua-*

ry, the Queen gave orders for their being entertained at her charge, and attended by her officers; the Princes, to shew their grateful sense of these favours, desired an audience, to which, being introduced by Mr. *Boyle*, they made their compliments to her Majesty in *Latin*, acknowledging, with great respects, the singular marks of kindness, which she was pleased to heap upon them; and, at the same time, congratulated her upon the signal success of her victorious arms, and wished her a long continuation of the same. To which the Queen answered, 'That she had so much esteem and friendship for his Czarish Majesty, that she could not but be very well pleased to see any so nearly related to him in her Kingdoms, and have an opportunity of shewing her kindness and distinction to them. She likewise thanked them for their congratulations and good wishes, adding, That she would endeavour to make their stay here as agreeable to them, as she could.' Besides this compliment paid to the Czar, in order to soften his resentment of the late affront offered to his Ambassador, an information was tried at the Court of *Queen's-Bench*, before the Lord-Chief-Justice *Holt*, for the Queen, against *Thomas Morton* the Laceman, and thirteen others, for meetings, consulting, and conspiring to arrest and imprison the *Muscovite* Ambassador, of which they were found guilty, the special matter of the privilege of Ambassadors, to be argued before the Judges the next Term. There were present in Court the Earl of *Sunderland*, Mr. Secretary *Boyle*, the Lord *Halifax*, and several other persons of Quality (1).

Trial about
the affair
of the Rus-
sian Am-
bassador.

On the 3d of *February*, the Queen, in Council, was pleased to declare, 'That, the public business increasing, her Majesty had thought fit to appoint a third Secretary of State of *Great Britain*; but that she intended, nevertheless, to continue the foreign affairs, for the present, in the course of dispatch they were now in.' Upon this the Duke of *Queenberry* was made third Secretary of State, and took for one of his under

The Duke
of Queen-
berry
made Se-
cretary of
State.

(1) The *Muscovite* Ambassador, seeing the slowness of the judicial proceedings in *England*, wrote expostulatory letters to Mr. *Boyle*, who at last assured him, That the laws of the Kingdom could not admit of a final decision till the next term: That nothing had been omitted to procure all reparation, which the utmost rigour of law could afford: That a bill had, by the Queen's order, been brought into the Parliament for securing the privileges of Ambassadors and foreign Ministers, to shew how far she detested the violence offered to his Excellency's person and character: That the Queen had no sooner notice, that the two young *Muscovite* Princes, relations of the Czar, were arrived in her Kingdom, but she gave orders for their reception. In answer to this letter, the Ambassador replied, That if it was in the Queen's power to consult the Parliament about a law to secure the immunities of foreign Ministers, could not due measures have been taken at the same time for reparation of the past affront? That it was a very easy matter to do it, and was what the herself had caused to be done in the case of her Ambassador the Earl of *Manchester* at *Venice*. That as to the honours lately done to two young Noblemen, who were taken for *Muscovite* Princes, the Czar reckoned none but the Imperial Hereditary Prince within the verge of his August House: That these were two young Lords, who were a-kin to him, and were travelling incognito, but he did not desire they should be defrayed by any Power, having wherewithal

to bear their own charges. Several other letters passed between Mr. Secretary *Boyle* and Mr. *D'Ayrall*, the *British* Secretary at the *Hague*; but it having been found impracticable in *England* to inflict any legal punishment on those, who had affronted the Ambassador, it was at last agreed between the two Courts, that the Queen, by way of satisfaction, should make solemn excuses for the insufficiency of our former laws in that behalf. This was accordingly done by Mr. *Whitworth*, the Queen's Envoy Extraordinary to the Czar, in a speech at his public audience, on the 8th of *February*, 1709-10. Upon which the Czar ordered his Ministers to settle the affair with him in a Conference, and the following articles were agreed on: 1. That his Czarish Majesty accepted of the excuses, and was willing to forget the criminal proceedings of the authors of the affront, and desired they might be discharged. 2. That satisfaction should be given to the Ambassador by a letter from the Queen to repair his honour; and by a reimbursement of all the costs and damages he had been at on account of the affront. 3. That the Ambassador should demand his letter of credence, which he had refused to accept, as well as the usual present and the yacht, which the Queen caused to be offered him. 4. That his Czarish Majesty would acquaint the Queen, that he was content with this satisfaction, by a letter, which should be delivered to Mr. *Whitworth*.

1709.

The Convocation put off by prorogation.

under Secretaries *Nicholas Rowe*, famous for his dramatic performances.

The Convocation was summoned, chosen and returned as the new Parliament was. It was too evident, that the same ill temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did still prevail, though not with such a majority: When the day came, in which it was to be opened, a writ was sent from the Queen to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation for some months: And, at the end of these, there came another writ, ordering a further prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this Session of Parliament; by this, a present stop was put to the factious temper of those, who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the Church. This did not cure them; for they continued still by libels and false stories to animate their party. The most effectual encouragement to that end was, the secret insinuation that the Queen's heart was with them: That though the war, and the other circumstances of her affairs, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet, as soon as a peace brought on a better Settlement, they promised themselves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes, which were not done: So that they seemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which kept still life in their party; and indeed it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the Clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; enemies to the Toleration, and soured against the Dissenters.

A letter against the Sacramental Test, Calamy.

About this time was published a letter from a Gentleman in Scotland to his friend in England, against the Sacramental Test; as inconsistent with the Union, dangerous to the Ecclesiastical Constitution of North Britain, and to such parts of their Civil Constitution as are reserved to them: Inconsistent with the civil interest of Great-Britain in general; contrary to the design

of our Saviour's Institution of the Lord's-Supper, and to the doctrine of the Church of England: And an apology for this letter.

The Test Act is here represented as contrary to the rules of Religion, because it requires an end in receiving the Sacrament, that must prophane it, and such as bears no proportion to the original design of it; and usurps an authority, which no power on earth can lay any just claim to, to apply divine Institutions to such ends, as only serve the interest of politic Societies; and obliges such as have any civil post to take the Sacrament, without any regard to the fitness, which the law of Christ requires, for that solemnity. It looks as if it was no matter, how ill a character a person bore, if it can be covered with the name of Churchman; which shews, that it is not the honour of Religion, but the secular interest of a Party that is principally regarded.

Whilst the House of Commons, in January, 1709, were considering a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting the land-forces and marines, by encouraging the parishes to provide them, this letter against the Test was dispersed by persons unknown, at the door of the House. It was a snare laid for the Whig-Members. By approving the letter and abolishing the Test, which bore so hard upon the Dissenters, and excluded the most rigid from places of trust, they alarmed the Church, and furnished a specious pretence of asserting, the Church was in danger. If the Test was preserved, notwithstanding the reasons alleged against it in the letter, the disputes about Occasional Conformity, which had been so troublesome in the former Parliaments, would have revived and produced the same animosities in This. The Commons, being aware of these things, avoided the snare, by condemning the letter, upon a complaint made to them of it, to be burnt for a scandalous, seditious libel, and the Author and Printer to be enquired after.

By this time the negotiations for a peace were begun at the Hague (1). It has been already observed, that, soon after the battle of Ramillies, the

(1) Dr. Hare in his piece intitled, *The negotiations for a treaty of peace in 1709 considered*: In a third letter to a Tory-Member, having stated this whole affair in a clear and full light, it will be proper to transcribe his account of it. He begins his letter with some reflections on the general conduct of the French in all the treaties they had made for fifty years before, to shew the necessity there was for the Allies to refuse entering into any Conferences for a general peace, till some preliminaries were first settled, as a foundation, on which it should be built. But before we come, says the Doctor, p. 7. to consider the preliminaries themselves, that you may the better judge of the sincerity of France, I must observe to you, that they had previously, by their emissaries, been feeling the pulse of the Dutch; and, by the mighty professions they made of the sincere desires of the King to put an end to the war, they obtained some private Conferences the beginning of the year 1709, in which the restitution of Spain and the Indies to King Charles, was always supposed as the first step towards a treaty; and, for the rest, as they hoped the Dutch, for their part, would not be very difficult, since they were assured, that in other points they might have their own terms, and not only be secured by a good barrier, in which the French were pleased to be very liberal, but likewise be made very easy in relation to trade. The Dutch, who, on this

occasion, shewed they understood the French, as well as the French thought they did them, appeared to be very well pleased to hear of overtures of peace, and expressed great readiness to enter on a treaty; but that they could do nothing without the concurrence of their Allies, to whom they communicated what had passed; and, in order to a treaty, gave leave to the Ministers of France to come to Holland; first to Monsieur Rouillé, and afterwards to the Marquis de Torcy, who both timed their coming thither too remarkably, not to be taken notice of. The Duke of Marlborough made two voyages that spring to England; one in the beginning of March, N. S. which was the soonest the affairs of the war would admit of his return after the campaign of Lisle; the other about the end of April, when he went to communicate to the Queen what had passed, and to receive her instructions. Now Monsieur Rouillé came to Holland, almost as soon as the Duke was gone from thence the first time; and the Marquis de Torcy followed soon after the Duke's leaving it the second: By which it should seem, they thought they might make some advantage of his absence; and that it was for their Master's service, to have the Dutch as much as they could to themselves, as the likeliest way to procure such a peace as they had a mind to.

Monsieur Rouillé and the Marquis de Torcy came neither

1709.

Condemned

Pr. H. C.

Negotiations for a peace
Eugene
Lambert.
C. d.
D. of Marl.

1709. the Elector of *Bavaria* gave out hopes of a peace, and that the *French* King would come to a treaty of partition, by allowing *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to go to King *Charles*, provided the Dominions of *Italy* were given to King *Philip*. They hoped, that *England* and the *States-General* would agree to this, as less concerned in *Italy*; but they knew, that the Court of *Vienna* would never hearken to it; for they valued the Dominions in *Italy*, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy. But, at the same time that *Lewis* XIV. was tempting us with the hopes of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, that King, by a letter to the Pope*, offered the Dominions in *Italy* to King *Charles*. But, as the Parliament had always declared the ground of the war to be the restoring the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the

House of *Austria* (which indeed the *States-General* had never done) so the Duke of *Marlborough* could not hearken to this. He convinced the *States* of the treacherous designs of the Court of *France* in this offer, and it was not entertained. The Court of *Vienna* (as hath been said) was so alarmed at the inclinations, which some had expressed towards the entertaining this project, that this was believed to be the secret motive of the treaty for evacuating the *Milanese*, and of their persisting so obstinately in their design upon *Naples*; for by this means they became masters of both. The *French* being now reduced to great extremities, by their constant ill success, and by the miseries of their people, and more especially by the general decline of the public credit, the eminent Bankers of *Paris* and *Lyons* having been obliged to stop payment,

neither of them into *Holland*, till the Duke of *Marlborough* had left it; which was a plain proof, that they had some designs, which they feared he would not come into; and, that in his and Prince *Eugene's* absence, they hoped the *States*, by the great inclination they expressed for peace, might be drawn in to consent to some points, which might either produce a treaty to their minds, or divide the Allies among themselves. This they hoped to do these two ways; first, by gaining their consent to a partition, which they had never absolutely declared against; and next by offering to them, in consideration for that, a greater barrier than they thought consistent with the interest and honour of the House of *Austria*. The first of these they knew the Emperor would not agree to; and neither the Emperor nor *England* to the latter. And from this occasion and ground for division they promised themselves great success. But, to their surprize, the firmness of the *States* was so great, that, as they would absolutely reject nothing, so neither would they agree to any thing separately from the rest of the Allies, nor enter into any treaty, but jointly with the Queen and the Emperor, who, to shew their readiness to hearken to any reasonable terms of peace, that would answer the end for which they went into the war, immediately upon notice of the proposals the *French* had made, sent to the *Hague* the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene*; the first was attended by my Lord *Townshend*, and the other was soon followed by Count *Zinzendorf*. And both these Ministers distinguished themselves in these negotiations very much to the satisfaction of all the rest. My Lord *Townshend* particularly has, by his good sense, integrity, openness, and affability, acquired the universal esteem of the *States*, and all the rest of the Allies, beyond what could be hoped from so young a Minister, and to such a degree, as will always be remembered to his honour in that country, however it may be denied or forgot in this. If therefore you do not meet with his and Count *Zinzendorf's* names in what follows, I must desire you would suppose of them what I say of the two Generals, so far at least, as to think they did not in any thing of moment ever differ from them.

But to proceed; Upon the arrival of these Ministers at the *Hague*, Conferences were daily held with those of *France*, to settle preliminary articles. In treating of which their insincerity soon discovered itself, and great reason was given to suspect their chief aim was to amuse and divide those they seemed so much in haste to agree with; that, if they could not get such a peace for themselves as they desired, the campaign at least might be lost to the Allies. For it was very observable, that they easily agreed, and, in a very little time after these Conferences were begun, to all the demands of *England* and *Holland* for themselves, though some articles were contained in both, which the *French* never dreamt of being asked, when the first overtures of peace were made; such as the demolishing of *Dunkirk*, and the giving up many towns,

which were no part of the *Spanish* Netherlands at the time of King *Charles's* death, nor had in the course of the war been taken from them. When the first steps of a treaty were made, the *French* so little thought of these demands, that the quitting even *Lisle* and *Mosin* was refused. But now these extraordinary points on the part of *England* and *Holland* were by the Ministers of *France* readily agreed to; and yet, at the same time, great difficulty was made with respect to what was asked for the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy*, though there was nothing in those articles, but what was extremely reasonable and necessary to secure the Dominions of those Princes from the invasions they would otherwise be exposed to. There was an interval of several days, before the *French* Ministers would treat about these articles; nor did they at last consent to them, but with a reserve and a declaration, that this was beyond their instructions; and that therefore they must suspend a full assent, till the further pleasure of the King was known. Now what could be the meaning of this management, but to insinuate the maritime powers, if they could, and draw them into a base design of sacrificing the interest of their Allies to their own? And what use can any body imagine they would have made of this, but to engage the Allies in a quarrel among themselves, and to take advantage of their differences; to break the Confederacy, and to intice some of the Members of it by large offers to come into separate measures with them? But, this scheme failing by the firm adherence of the maritime powers to the rest of the Allies, there was one article still remained to be adjusted, which in effect included all the rest, and which would afford the *French* a specious pretence for breaking off the treaty, whenever they had a mind to it; and that was to settle terms, on which a perpetual suspension of arms should be agreed. No body had ever doubted, but that there was such an understanding between the *French* King and his Grandson, that the former could oblige the latter to resign the *Spanish* Monarchy whenever he pleased, since he not only gave it King *Philip* at first, but had hitherto supported him in it. Accordingly every thing about him was intirely *French*; and the restitution of *Spain* at least, and the *Indies*, had, as I observed before, been always supposed. And as this was the point that occasioned the war, the first thing settled in the preliminaries was a perfect and intire cession of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles* III, to be made within two months from the first of *June* following. And, in case the Duke of *Anjou* should make any difficulty to comply with this, it is expressly covenanted in the fourth article, That his most Christian Majesty and the Allies shall take in concert the proper measures to oblige him to it. What was to be understood by taking proper measures, both sides were content should not be then explained. Thus far looked well; and one would have thought the *French* meant in earnest, that the Duke of *Anjou* should immediately quit *Spain* to his Competitor. But all hither-

H h

to

* Vol. III.
p. 766.

1709. payment, began to entertain serious thoughts of a peace, and resolved to try the *States* again. When the Duke of *Marlborough* came over to *England*, Monsieur *Rouillé* was therefore sent to *Holland* with general offers of peace, desiring them to propose what they insisted on; and he offered them as good a barrier for themselves, as they could ask. The *States*, contrary to the expectation of *France*, resolved to adhere firmly to their Confederates, and to enter into no separate treaty but in conjunction with their Allies. However, upon the arrival of Monsieur *Rouillé* at *Antwerp*, they appointed Monsieur *Buyz*, Pensionary of *Amsterdam*, and Monsieur *Vanderdussen*, Pensionary of *Gouda*, to have a Conference with him at *Moerdyke*. Upon the report of what passed in this interview, the *States* permitted *Rouillé* to come to *Woerden*, a place between *Leyden* and

Utrecht, that he might be nearer at hand for the intended negotiation; and then the Deputies of the *States* had another Conference with him, in which he made some loose proposals towards a general peace, which, however, he refused to give in writing. The *States-General*, being still cautious of making any advances in so important an affair, without the participation of their Allies, gave immediate notice of what had passed, to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Great-Britain*. Prince *Eugene*, who, during this interval, was gone to *Vienna*, returned from thence to *Brussels*, on the 27th of *March*, N. S. with full powers from his Imperial Majesty; and, on the 8th of *April*, came to the *Hague*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* likewise arrived the next day from *England*. These two great men had a long Conference with the Grand Pensionary

Illirius,

to was words only, and would signify nothing, unless the execution of this essential point was effectually provided for; and there was but one way of doing this, which was to make this Cession one of the conditions of continuing the suspension of arms, agreed to in the thirty-fourth article, to the conclusion of a general peace; which was accordingly done in the thirty-seventh article, which declares, That this suspension shall continue till a general peace, provided the King of *France* executes all that is promised on his part in the foregoing articles, and the whole *Spanish* Monarchy be restored, *rendue & cedée*, to King *Charles*, as is settled in these articles. This article touched home, and discovered plainly, that all the *French* pretended to consent to in this fundamental Point was mere grimace; and that they meant nothing else, but to draw the Allies into a separate peace, and leave them to get *Spain* as they could. This was the most they meant; and I am apt to think, for reasons I will give you by and by, they did not mean so much; but, whether they did or not, they did not want a specious cover for their opposition to this article; they made greater professions of the sincerity of their King's intentions; that he would punctually execute all that depended upon him; and that he would endeavour to persuade his Grandson to a compliance; but that to force him to it, and that within so short a term, was not in his power: That it would therefore be impossible for the King to consent to this article; and to consent to the rest of the preliminaries, unless an absolute suspension of arms were agreed to, would be to leave himself at the mercy of the Allies, and put himself into a much worse state than before. And these pretences, you may be sure, wanted no art to set them off. But to all this it was easy to answer, That they were fully persuaded, that, if the King was really in earnest in this matter, he might certainly recall his Grandson without any difficulty; and provided he asked the fair part, and did all he could towards it, according to the fourth article, he might depend upon it, the Allies would take no advantage of any words in the thirty-seventh, to begin the war again upon him, when he had faithfully performed the other parts of it, and surrendered the places agreed to be delivered up to them in the thirty-fifth. That supposing what they objected to this article, were not a pretended but a real difficulty, which could hardly be believed, the consequence then would be, that the Allies must either assent to the sincerity of *France*, or *France* to that of the Allies. As the King, supposing it not in his power to oblige the Duke of *Anjou* to resign, would, by executing the rest of the treaty, be at the mercy of the Allies; so, on the other hand, if the Allies made a peace with the King without this article, they would be at his mercy for the recovery of the *Spanish* Monarchy; which was the great point, for which they entered into the war; but which they could never hope to gain, if he did not absolutely abandon his Grandson, which they could by no means depend on, while

they had nothing but his bare word for it. Now in this case, Which is more reasonable for *France* to trust the Allies, or the Allies *France*? This cannot be a very hard question, since *France* had been guilty of the breach of public faith on so many occasions, that it is hard to find an instance to the contrary. This very war will make two notorious instances of this remembered to all ages; the (scandalous violation of the partition treaty, almost as soon as made; and the usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, notwithstanding the most solemn and repeated renunciations, that had been made of it. It would be endless to enter into a detail of all the complaints of that kind against *France*, since the *Pyrenean* treaty. And therefore it cannot be reasonable for the Allies to trust to those, by whom they have so often been deceived. But it is not so with them; they never have been guilty of the breach of public faith in any flagrant case; at least, I know of none. But I will venture to add further, that they neither would, nor, if they would, can they act a false part in such a case as this. They would not, they do not think it for their interest to continue or renew a war unnecessarily; they are sufficiently weary; the burthen of the war has laid so heavy upon them, that they would be glad to have a little respite, and to be at leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and enjoy, as fast as they can, some fruits of it. Thus they have always done; they have hardly had patience to keep up their armies till a peace was signed. And it is this humour of the Allies has made the *French* have so little regard to execute their treaties with them. Besides, it must be owned, there is a great probity, plainness, and honesty, both in the *Dutch* and *German*, which appear in all the affairs of common life, and have been very observable in their dealings with the *French* all this war, in which the Allies, notwithstanding the many provocations they have received, have, in no instance, retaliated, when they could not do it without breach of faith. The war in *Flanders* affords many instances of this, that they have always punctually performed whatever articles they have signed, and not made reprisals, where even honest men have thought they might have done it without any violation of justice. But the greatest instance, and the only one I shall name, is the exact performance of the treaty of the evacuation of the *Milanese*, when the *French* had just reason to fear their troops would have been detained against the letter of the articles, in revenge of the injustice and insolence, with which they had disarmed and seized a considerable body of the Duke of *Savoy's* troops, at the very time he was in Alliance with them. I need say nothing of our own country, that *France* could have no reason to fear any perfidiousness from home. The character of her Majesty is too well known to give the *French* grounds for any such suspicion; and, had we a Prince of less renown on the Throne, *France* would have little to fear from him, unless he were supported by his people; which no Sovereign of *England* has ever been, when they have thought the war he made unjust

1709.

Heinfus, *Messieurs Buys* and *Vanderdussen*, and other Deputies of the *States*, where they debated the overtures made on the part of *France*; which being thought insufficient to be the ground of a treaty of peace, orders were given for carrying on the warlike preparations with all possible application and diligence, in order to open the campaign, as soon as the backwardness of the season would permit, and pursue the late advantages with the utmost vigour. The Deputies of the *States* having informed *Rouillé*, that his overtures were not satisfactory, that Minister sent an express to *Paris* for new instructions. This threw the *French* Court into great uneasiness; for as, on the one hand, they were resolved not to comply with the demand of the Confederates, in giving up the whole Monarchy of *Spain*; so on the other hand, the great difficulties they laboured under, which were much increased by the general scarcity of corn, and other provisions, occasioned by the great severity of the preceding winter, laid them under a necessity of keeping up the sinking spirits of the people with hopes, at least, of putting a speedy end to the war, by peace. *Rouillé's* express

was therefore immediately sent back, with directions, (as appeared in the sequel) to that Minister, to amuse the Allies with a seeming compliance with all their demands, but not to sign any thing, that should be drawn up in writing.

The Pensionary having, by order of the *States*, made a report to the Duke of *Marlborough*, of what passed at the Conference, which had been held by *Buys* and *Vanderdussen*, with the *French* Minister, after the return of the Courier from *France*, the Duke resolved to return to *Great-Britain*, to acquaint the Queen with the progress of this important negotiation.

The Duke therefore embarked the 13th of April, N. S. and arrived three days after at *London*. During this second absence of the Duke, the *French* Court, to cover their artifices with an air of sincerity, sent the Marquis de *Torcy*, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, to *Holland*, thinking the presence of so great a Minister might have some influence on the *States*. Upon his arrival at the *Hague*, the passport, by which he came, having been sent blank by *Rouillé*, he was there two days before his quality

1709.

unjust. But it is not enough to say the Allies would not be false, nor act against the intentions of a public treaty; I think I may affirm, they cannot be so. A single Potentate is master of his own will, and can act without controul; but a Confederacy can do nothing without a concurrence of all parts; which, in so unjust a cause as this, there would be no reason to apprehend. When all the most just and necessary causes of a war concur, it is very hard to keep a Confederacy long together; much less can it be imagined it should be kept up to oppress a Prince, who has done all he can to satisfy the demands of all parties. Either honesty or interest will certainly disarm some of them. No Ally, when he has gained all he can hope for by the war, will be willing to continue the expence of it in compliment to any of the rest, especially when the cause is manifestly unjust. No, were it ever so just, this is hardly to be hoped for. When a Confederacy is successful, jealousies naturally arise among themselves; and they are more concerned, that one part should not be too great gainers, and have too much to their share, than that any other should not have enough. Of which we see an instance, though a very foolish one, among ourselves; our present masters of politics, to render the very successes of the war odious, alarm us with new fears, which no body before ever thought of; and tell us, the *Dutch* will have by this treaty a better country than our own. And, if a certain correspondence by way of *Calais* has been continued, *France* might be assured, that no advantage would be taken of the thirty-seventh article, though *Spain* was not relinquished in the time stipulated; and that therefore they might safely sign the preliminaries, for that the war could not be renewed, since they might depend on it, that *England* would never consent to use in so barbarous a manner a Prince whom so great a party among them have always had so much respect for: And, without *England*, they know the rest of the Allies could do nothing.

But whether it was more reasonable for the Allies to trust *France*, or *France* the Allies, was not left at this time to general reflections. What was doing at this very juncture in *Spain*, gave the Allies abundant cause to suspect the sincerity of *France*, that they meant nothing less than the restitution of that Monarchy. No body that looks into the accounts of that time, and sees how thick expresses went one upon another between *France* and *Spain*, can doubt, whether the King and his Grandson did not perfectly well agree: And not only the news of that time, but the facts themselves shew, that the King gave him all pos-

sible assurances, that he would not abandon him, though it was necessary for his affairs to promise it. This, I say, is very plain, from what was at that time doing in *Spain*; for, though the Marquis de *Torcy* told the Allies, he did not know but King *Philip* might be at *Paris* before him, there was not the least sign of any intention to relinquish *Spain*; but, on the contrary, there were on the part of the Duke of *Anjou* all the appearances that could be of a Prince that thought of nothing less. For the war was pressed with the utmost vigour in all parts; *Alicant* was besieged at a vast expence, and other places in *Valencia* were reduced with all diligence; preparations were made for the siege of *Girona*, and the army was put into the best condition it could be, to invade *Catalonia*; and at the same time, the Marquis de *Boy* advanced close to the *Portuguese* in *Estramadura*, with a design to give them battle; in which, against the opinion of my Lord *Galway*, they unhappily prevented him. This did not look like a design to quit *Spain* to King *Charles*, but, on the contrary, shewed a resolution to drive him out of it, if possible. But what gave the Allies a greater jealousy than all this, was the causing the Prince of *Asturias* to be acknowledged presumptive heir of *Spain* by all the States of the Kingdom; which ceremony was performed with the greatest magnificence the 7th of April; that is, about a month after M. *Rouillé* had been in *Holland*; which proceeding, you may remember, every body was then alarmed at; such a step being plainly taken for no other end, but to lay in matter for a new war, or rather it was a declaration, that an end could not be put to this, as long as the restitution of *Spain* was made one condition of a peace. The *French* Ministers had but one reply to this, that their Master was not answerable for what the Duke of *Anjou* had done; but that, for his own part, he was sincere, and would do whatever depended upon him, and that therefore, if a peace was not concluded, it could not lie at his door. The Allies, though they could not think what was urged had any truth in it, yet to shew how far they were from designing to impose upon the King impossible conditions, thought of an expedient, which could not be refused, without discovering, that *France* meant nothing by this treaty, but to make peace for themselves, and to leave the Allies involved in a war with *Spain*. If it was not in the King's power to oblige his Grandson to retire out of *Spain*, they declared they would be content with his doing what evidently was in his power; which was to deliver up to them such places in the *Spanish* Dominions, as were garrisoned by his own troops. But this

1709. quality was known. After this he paid a visit to the Pensionary, and offered to communicate the proposals which he had to make; but that Minister told him, he could not confer with him, nor see his proposals, without leave from the States. However the States having consented, that he together with the Deputies, who had been appointed to receive the proposals of *Rouillé*, should meet the Marquis, and hear what he had to offer, they had an interview with him the next day. The result of this Conference being communicated to the *States-General*, the Pensionary had orders to inform the French Minister, that they could not give him any resolution, till they were informed of the sentiments of the Queen of Great-Britain, by the return of the Duke of Marlborough.

The Duke, who made but a short stay in England, returned to the Hague the 18th of May, N. S. The first thing he did was to confer with Prince Eugene, who arrived there six days before from Brussels, and had the satisfaction, in his Conferences with the Pensionary, to receive fresh assurances, "That the States would

"never separate from the general interest and scope of the Grand Alliance, upon any private considerations whatsoever." As the Duke of Marlborough went over the Lord Viscount Townshend, as Ambassador extraordinary, and joint Plenipotentiary with him, the Duke reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly himself. The choice was well made; for as Lord Townshend had great parts, had improved these by travelling, and was by much the most shining person of all our young Nobility, and had, on many occasions, distinguished himself very eminently; so he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all respects, free from all vice, and of an engaging conversation. Upon their arrival, the President of the week and the Pensionary went together to the Duke, to compliment him on the part of the States, and at the same time to confer with him, which they did for about an hour and an half, and then they returned to the Assembly of the States-General. The same evening the Marquis de Torcy went alone to the Duke of Marlborough's lodgings, and had a Conference of above

two

this expedient was rejected; and the Marquis de Torcy thinking, I suppose, that the Allies insisting upon the Duke of Anjou's being recalled, was a more specious handle to break off the treaty upon, than the refusal of the expedient they proposed instead of it, he agreed at last to let the thirty-seventh article stand as it is now worded; which is perfectly agreeable to the main design of the treaty, and to the tenour of the other articles; but with a reserve, as before, to know the King's pleasure, without whose further instructions he could not sign. And thus the Conferences held to settle these preliminaries ended the 28th of May, and were the same day signed by the Allies. The Marquis de Torcy immediately set out for Versailles, leaving Monsieur Rouillé behind, to whom he promised to return the King's answer by the 4th of June at farthest; which, from the necessity of the King's affairs, the point the treaty was carried to, the Marquis's rank and character, and personal merit, and the great protestations he made of his Master's sincerity, was hoped would be favourable; but most of all from his desire to the Allies at parting, that they would hasten the ratifications of these articles with all the dispatch they could.

These hopes the Marquis left with the Allies; and the near prospect of a good peace filled all people with a joy, that is not to be expressed. They waited with great impatience for the 4th of June: It was the next day before the answer came, upon the receipt of which Monsieur Rouillé acquainted the Allies, that the King could not agree to these preliminaries. The articles excepted against were the same, that the Marquis had before disputed, those relating to the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, and the thirty-seventh. The Allies were not a little surprized at this answer, and more at the haughty air with which Monsieur Rouillé in a long Conference on this subject pressed his objections; a behaviour very different from what either he or the Marquis had shewn before; which there being no visible cause for, they thought it was in great measure galconade; that it meant nothing else but to make what advantage he could of the inclinations the Allies had without disguise shewn to peace; and that he would at last recede from his pretensions, when he saw they would not; and that in all events they could not, on their part, give up articles so reasonable in themselves, and which they had so unanimously agreed to, as absolutely necessary to make a good and lasting peace. And what they suspected did in good measure prove to be the case, at least it seemed so; but after having insisted with so much stiffness upon the objections

he had in the King's name made, when he perceived it had no effect on the Allies, his departure being fixed for the ninth: The seventh in the evening, or early the next morning, he waited on the Pensioner; and, as an instance of his great sincerity and concern, that the treaty might not be broke off, communicated to him his instructions, by which it appeared, that he was empowered to recede from all the other points he had before insisted on, excepting that of the thirty-seventh article, which seems to have been a master-piece of French artifice. For, if the treaty must be broke, it is as effectually done by insisting upon one article, as upon twenty; and which ever part the Allies took, the French would find their account; for, if they could be persuaded to give up that, which in appearance was but one article, but in effect was the substance of all, or at least of the most important ones, then it was in the power of the French to make peace, without obliging the Duke of Anjou to quit Spain: And if the Allies could not be brought to this, the point they should break upon was so specious, that the French Ministers hoped for a double good effect of it; that it would incense the populace in these provinces against the Ministers, and set the King right in the affections of his people, which, through the continued misfortunes of the war, he began to lose. And, in this last point they succeeded perfectly well: There were no efforts the French were not willing to make, to support a Prince, who seemed to prefer their safety to his own glory, and to think no sacrifice too great to procure his people a good peace: But their other point they were much mistaken in; and the breaking of the treaty had no other effect upon the subjects of the States, though it be a popular Government, than to fill them with the utmost indignation against the French, and loud resentments of their constant injustice and perfidiousness.

But to return to Monsieur Rouillé, when he had shewn his instructions to the Pensioner, which discovered so much more than he would own before, he took his leave of him, without proposing any accommodation or expedient in lieu of this important article; and whether the truth were all out, and there was not some secret instructions still behind, was more than any body could tell. And though this was his language the 8th in the morning, they did not know but he might alter it before night, when he found the Allies were not to be moved, or that he might make a longer stay; he and the Marquis de Torcy both having often fixed days for their departure; but, when the time came, thought fit to change their minds. And what

1709. two hours with him and the Lord *Townshend*. The 19th in the morning, the Marquis paid another visit to the Duke, and they both went together to Prince *Eugene's* apartment, where they likewise conferred for some time. In the evening, those two Princes went to the Pensionary, who acquainted them with the resolution of the *States-General*, not to accept the offers made by the *French* Ministers, nor to take one step farther, but in concert with all the Allies. This determination was very satisfactory to the Duke and Prince *Eugene*, and begat such an unanimity and good harmony among all the Confederate Ministers, as intirely baffled all the secret designs of *France*, notwithstanding the Marquis de *Torcy* managed his purpose very artfully, and did all he could to amuse them with half promises and faint denials.

On the 20th, in the morning, the Duke and Prince *Eugene*, together with the Lord *Townshend*, returned the visit they had received from Monsieur de *Torcy*, where *Rouillé*, who till then had been with no other Ministers but *Byss* and *Vanderdussen*, was presented to these great Generals and Ministers. This same day, the *French* Ministers carried the amusement so far, as to declare, that their Master consented to the demolition of *Dunkirk*; that he would abandon the Pretender, and send him out of his Dominions; that he would acknowledge the Queen's title, and the Succession established on the House of *Hanover*; that he would renounce all pretensions to the *Spanish* Monarchy, and yield up such places as the *Dutch* demanded for their barrier. With respect to the Empire, the *French* offered to restore all things, as they were settled by

1709.

what made this the more probable was, that Monsieur *Pethum*, who had all along, without authority or character, gone between the Ministers of the Allies and *France*, did that morning propose to some of the Allies, that *France* should give to them two or three towns as an equivalent for the thirty-seventh article, to be kept by them till *Spain* should be quitted to King *Charles*. But since Monsieur *Pethum* made this motion, as of his own head, without any Commission from Monsieur *Rouillé*, who lodged with him, and the proposal was indeterminate, without either the names, or fixed numbers of the towns, that should be given, the Allies could not take any notice of it. Besides, had the offer been never so distinct, and made with full authority, to give two or three cautionary towns, was to evade and not to satisfy the intention of the article, and was in effect nothing else, but to offer a little better barrier to the *Dutch*, in exchange for *Spain* and the *Indies*. In the mean time, Monsieur *Rouillé* spent the day in making visits of leave, as designing to set out in earnest for *Versailles* next morning. When night was come, and there was no room to hope for any further step being made on his part, here the man, who is accused of prolonging the war, interposed, and shewed how little he deserves such a censure. The Duke of *Marlborough* sent to the Pensionary and the other Ministers, to desire a meeting, to try once more, if any thing could be done to save the treaty. But, this meeting being disappointed, there was an extraordinary Congress of all the Ministers the next morning, in which the Deputies of the *States* having acquainted them of what had passed, and assured them of their resolution to press the war with the utmost vigour, till *France* was forced to consent to a good peace, Count *Zinzendorf* thanked the *States* in the name of the Emperor and King *Charles*, for the firmness they had shewn on this occasion. The Duke of *Marlborough* did the same on the part of the Queen; which was followed with like expressions of satisfaction by all the other Ministers, that were present, with very particular marks of esteem to the Pensionary, whom I have often thought the *Godolphin* of the *States*, for his wife and prudent conduct through the whole negotiation. I need not say more, to let you know, that he is a plain, grave, wise man, of great judgment and abilities, quiet, unpopular, and uncorrupt.

All thoughts of peace being now in appearance over, and Monsieur *Rouillé* gone, the Duke of *Marlborough*, who was extremely mortified at this change of things, resolved to follow in the afternoon, and would not give over all hopes of having still one interview more with him; to which end he got to *Brussels*, as soon almost as Monsieur *Rouillé*, and sent word before to Prince *Eugene* (who had been there some days, to give the necessary orders for assembling the army) but Monsieur *Rouillé* was gone, before either the Duke or Prince could see him: And nothing was now left to the Generals, but to try to do by the sword what they

No. 60. Vol. IV.

could not do by treaty, and to make their way to peace by a good campaign.

This, I can assure you, from what I have observed myself in the progress of this affair, and the most exact information I could get from others, is a plain and true account of these negotiations thus far; in which one sees, on the part of *France*, violent suspicions of insincerity through the whole treaty, working its way by all the methods of address and artifice, which they are so great masters of: But in the Allies, plainness, unanimity, and an unshaken confidence; every thing is open and above-board, without any divisions in their Conferences with the *French*, or any violent heats among themselves; even in the great point of the barrier, which the *French* had hopes might make a breach between the *Dutch* and Imperial Ministers: But by the prudence of the contending parties themselves, and the firmness and temper, with which the Duke of *Marlborough* calmly interposed, this difficult point was amicably adjusted, and the disputes upon it produced no effects, that the *French* could take any advantage of. I believe you have not forgot, I am sure I have not, how people here in *England* reasoned upon these Conferences. While these preliminaries were like to take effect, some men were by no means satisfied; they thought care enough was not taken of *England*; which should make us hope, that they will some time or other obtain better terms for us; and that, in the next treaty, more regard will be had to the trading interest of *Great-Britain*, than the late Ministers have shewn. And yet no sooner were the preliminaries rejected, but the men, who thought but just before there was too little in them, would have persuaded us, that there was a great deal too much; and that it was unreasonable to insist on such demands, especially to oblige a great King, whom they have always admired, to dethrone his Grandson, though all such invidious expressions were purposely avoided in the articles; and no body, as I have observed before, doubted, but the King, if he were in earnest disposed to satisfy the Allies, could do it without difficulty.

Dr. *Hare* then proceeds to shew, in opposition to the clamours, which had been raised against the Duke of *Marlborough* in particular, or the conduct of the Allies in general, with relation to the preliminary articles, first, That, if to insist on the thirty-seventh article was a fault, the Duke of *Marlborough* was not to be blamed for it: And, secondly, That to insist on that article was in itself right and necessary, in order to a good peace.

First (says Dr. *Hare*, p. 30.) I say, That, if to insist on the thirty-seventh article was a fault, the Duke of *Marlborough* is not to be blamed for it. Secondly, Because, if he did insist, it was what he was obliged to: He had no authority to do otherwise. All the world knows, that both Houses of Parliament did, the beginning of that year 1709, address the Queen, that no peace should be made with *France*, without an in-

1709.

by the treaty of *Ryswick*, and to demolish the fortifications of *Straßburg*. But the Allies insisting on some other articles, namely, the restitution of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace* to the Empire, *Torcy* declared he had no power to make any further concessions, broke up the Conference, and sent to the Pensionary to desire passes to return home. However, upon second thoughts, and as they pretended, at the desire of Monsieur *Petrum*, Resident of *Holstein*, the French Ministers consented to suspend their departure: And, on the 21st, *Torcy* went alone to the Pensionary, to agree about another Conference, which was held at six o'clock in the evening; and, notwithstanding the French Ministers had declared the day before, that they could not enlarge their offers, they now proposed to surrender *Straßburg* in its present condition. The Al-

lies not being satisfied with the proposals made in this Conference, another was appointed for the 22d, in the morning, which proved likewise unsuccessful. Whereupon the French declared, that they were resolved to go away; and, the better to demonstrate their seriousness in this resolution, they sent again to the Pensionary for passes, and took their leave of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Ministers of the neutral Princes; but the States having, the same evening, sent them passes, and the Pensionary intimated to them, that they were not hereafter to expect any passport for their return to the *Hague*; and, considering, on the other hand, how unconcerned the Ministers of the Allies were at the threats of their departure, they were easily persuaded to stay, at the desire (as they still pretended) of some neutral Ministers;

1709.

ture restitution of the Spanish Monarchy: And her Majesty was pleased to express herself very well pleased with their address, and that she was perfectly of the same opinion. This address being thus approved, no Minister had any power or authority to conclude a treaty upon other terms, without her Majesty's command; nor could such a command be expected from her, without advice of her Council: And I believe a Council will not easily be found, that will advise against the joint opinion of both Houses of Parliament. If therefore the thirty-seventh article was insisted on, the Duke is not to be blamed; he did but his duty, and could not justly his doing otherwise; which, if he had, would as certainly have been made a high crime and misdemeanor, as his not doing it is now made a matter of complaint against him. There is no room for any objection here, unless it could be pretended, that this address was of his procuring; the contrary to which is as well known, as the address itself. But though it is plain, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had no hand in making this address, it is as plain, that, when it was made, he was bound by it; and, since that required the restitution of the whole Spanish Monarchy, he was obliged to insist upon it. So the thirty-seventh article was unanimously adhered to as it is, by all the Ministers; and their doing so, I shall now shew you, was very right in itself, and necessary in order to a good peace. First, it is right in itself, that is, just and reasonable, not hard, or insolent, or inhuman, as these advocates of France would have it thought. For what is the point in dispute, but to restore to an injured person what has been unjustly taken from him? Is it not the injured party, by the fundamental laws of justice, a right to this? Or is not the party, that does the injury, obliged to restitution, where it is possible? And is not this the case of the Spanish Monarchy? I despair of ever proving any usurpation unjust, if this is not. But if it be unjust, does it alter the case, because the King of France has not usurped it for himself, but for his Grandson? Am I the less obliged to restore what I have unjustly seized, because I have given it to a third person, provided it be in my power? Does not the Duke of *Anjou* know, as well as his Grandfather, that it is a violent usurpation? Can he of right keep what the other had no right to give? Is it not kept plainly for the use and benefit of the giver? Has not the giver power to take it from him? Is it not plain, that his Grandson has not kept it thus long, but by the support he receives from him? And if it be thus manifestly unjust, and the Usurper has it in his power to make restitution, is it ill manners to demand it? Is the Spanish Monarchy such a trifle, as not to be worth insisting on? Shall we compliment the King of France, or his Grandson, with giving up what so many Princes and States have spent so much blood and treasure to regain? Can that now be thought consistent with the safety and commerce of Great-Britain, with the interest and welfare of our Allies, or with the liberty of Europe, which we ventured to begin a war

for, under the most unpromising appearances of ever seeing a good end of it? But it was nonsense not to risk all, when all was at stake: There was no room left but to appeal to Heaven, and take arms; which gave us a chance for escaping the ruin; which was otherwise inevitable. This is the truth of the matter, this the point in dispute. What then do people mean by all their senseless clamour of the hardship and barbarity of the Allies, in obliging the King of France to recall his Grandson? They, who think the causes of this war such indifferent things, as not to be worth insisting on any longer, though we have so long struggled for them, that we have at last got fast hold; these men, I fear, will in a little time think the same of the causes of the Revolution too; nay, they already tell us so; they are grown so insensible to the fears they were once in, that they begin to think popery and arbitrary power innocent harmless things; they now plainly insinuate, that there was no danger of the Government in Church and State being overturned, and that therefore the Revolution was not necessary; and, in virtue of these foolish sentiments, when the Revolution is upon the point of being unalterably fixed, they truly are grown weary, and, after twenty years labour do not think it worth a little more pains to finish the work, and put an effectual stop to the return of those evils, which they were once, as well as their neighbours, so heartily frightened with. And it is no wonder if men, who have contracted such a stupid indolence, and are so indifferent for the civil and religious rights of their own country, cannot see what sense there is in insisting upon the restitution of the Spanish Monarchy, and are (supinely willing to think (if nonsense can be called thinking) that the demand of the Allies is either unjust, or at best very rude and unmannerly.

But further; this demand of theirs is not only right in itself, but necessary, in order to a good peace; and the best way to set this in a clear light, is to consider what would have been the consequence, supposing the Allies had not insisted on it. Now to shew what this would have been, I will suppose, for the present, that the French were in earnest; and that, if this article had been receded from, they would have signed the rest. Which way now, I would ask, should we have proposed to get Spain? Can we do it, unless the King of France intirely abandons his Grandson? No, certainly. But he has promised he will. But is his bare word a security, that may be depended upon? By no means. What then? Why, he gives you up so many great towns, which he would not do, if he did not intend to leave his Grandson to himself. Why so? How can the giving up these towns to the Allies be thought any security? Is it any more than giving the Allies a barrier, which barrier they would have insisted upon, whatever became of Spain? How now comes that to be a security, that the King of France would abandon his Grandson, which he must nevertheless have complied with, though he had not abandoned him? Is it the

same

1709. Ministers; and, the better to colour the matter, they sent, on the 23d of May, N. S. an express to the Court of France for new instructions. The same day, in the morning, another Conference was held from nine o'clock, till about two in the afternoon; wherein they begun to set down some articles in writing, and agreed to meet again about six in the evening. That afternoon Count Zinzendorf, the Emperor's Plenipotentiary, arrived at the Hague, and went immediately with Monsieur Heems, the Imperial Minister, to pay a visit to Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough; with whom, together with the Pensionary, Count Gallas, and the Lord Townshend, the French Ministers had another Conference in relation to the security of the ex-

ecution, of the points agreed on. But, though this Conference lasted from six till eleven o'clock in the evening, yet nothing was concluded in it. The 24th, in the morning, the French Ministers had another interview with the Deputies of the States, who gave an account of what had passed in it to the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and, the same evening, there was another meeting, wherein they resumed the debate relating to the security of the performance of the articles agreed on, particularly the evacuation of the Spanish Dominions. For this the Allies demanded several cautionary towns; but the French refused to give any, insisting, 'That the engagement, which the most Christian King offered to enter into, to recall his troops from Spain,

1709.

same thing to part with these towns, and keep Spain, as to part with them and Spain too? If not, then his agreeing to give up one is no proof he intends to part with the other. Ay, but when the Allies have these towns, they will force him to it. That I deny. Why so, say they? The towns are to be delivered in two months: That is, by the middle of August; and then the Allies will have time enough to enter France, if he sends any succour to his Grandson. But, first, the surrender, that is to be made in two months, is only of those towns, that are to make the barrier for the Netherlands: Those, that are to be restored to the Emperor and Empire, are not to be evacuated till the exchange of their ratifications, which is a tedious work. Besides, though it be stipulated, that the towns in the Netherlands, &c. shall be given up in two months, I believe no body wants to be told, that things are seldom so punctually executed, as to be performed nicely within the time agreed. But I will suppose for once, these articles had been effectually complied with within the time, and that the Allies consequently would have been at liberty to invade France, if they had openly sent any considerable succours to Spain; but what then? Could not they have sent money and jewels to the Duke of Anjou, without any danger of discovery? Or would they not have pretence enough for denying it? And would the Allies invade France, upon a bare suspicion of sending such an assistance to Spain? And for men, though a body of troops could not have been sent thither without being known, might not what number they pleased of the French troops, that were in Spain, have fled there, under a notion of desertion, or have been detained by the Duke of Anjou's order, upon some blind pretence or other; a trick the Grandfather has practised often enough for the Grandson to learn it from him? Well, but suppose France had neither openly, nor under-hand, given the Duke of Anjou any assistance for that summer (not that I can by any means grant it) how long would that have held? Or what use would the Allies have made of it? Could the troops we had then in Spain have over-run the Kingdom without further help, or have driven out the Duke of Anjou in one campaign? That, I presume, will not by any body be pretended. Or could a sufficient reinforcement have been sent time enough to them, either from Italy or England, to do any great matters that year? That, I suppose, will be pretended as little by those, that consider, it was June, when these preliminaries were finished. It is plain then, Spain could not have been gained that year, unless the Duke of Anjou had consented to relinquish it. Let us then, in the next place, suppose the summer spent, and the armies gone out of the field, and see what we are to expect then. A peace is made with France; the Allies have got each of them their respective shares, and have nothing more to hope for. They renew, perhaps, the Grand Alliance, with great expressions of mutual zeal; the Emperor at least, and the maritime powers; but some of the lesser Princes might possibly shew themselves disgusted, and think they have been

neglected: For, as the preliminaries are now settled, it is certain more than one of them are not satisfied. Suppose the King of Prussia or Duke of Savoy, for example, had thought due care had not been taken of them, it is plain, in that case, their Alliance is no longer to be depended on; and either of these, falling off, would very much weaken the Confederacy; especially the last, whom the French would be very glad to draw into their interests. But suppose none of the Allies have any of these resentments, or at least stifle them, and all consent to renew the Grand Alliance; what becomes of the armies upon leaving the field? Is it not certain, that they will on all sides diminish great part of their forces? Will not the maritime powers send home the foreign troops in their pay, except such as Holland keeps for the defence of their new frontier? Shall we hear of any more armies upon the Rhine, or in Savoy, when they have made peace, when the articles of the treaty have been all executed, and there is no more any enemy to molest them, no cause of complaint, or pretence for a new campaign left? I think nothing can be surer, than that this would have been the case: The Allies would have thought no more of war in the places that have been hitherto the seats of it, nor have made any preparations for taking the field another year. All sides would have made what haste they could to have lessened the burthen, which, during the war, they had been oppressed with. Holland particularly would have had full work to take care of their new frontier, to provide so many towns with sufficient garrisons and magazines, and settle what foot the several parts of their new acquisitions should be put upon, with respect to war, trade, and subsidies; and, besides the great expence this would for the present put them to, they would be at a very great charge to pay the arrears due to the foreign troops, without which they could not be dismissed. Add to this the extraordinary allowance, which, upon their dismissing, is to be made to carry them home. This would put the States under a necessity of retrenching, as much as possible, the expences of the next year. And this last article England would be proportionably affected with. Now I would be glad to know, what should hinder the King of France, from the minute the Allies dismiss their troops, to give what assistance he will to Spain, provided it be not done too grossly, but gradually, by insensible steps; and by those many ways of artifice, which the French are masters of? If they make a peace, they may disband sixty or eighty thousand men, or more. And what should hinder these men from going into Spain to seek their bread? What shall hinder the King of France from giving secret orders for this? And, when it is complained of, from positively denying, and perhaps seemingly forbidding it? And may not the Duke of Anjou, by this means, against the next spring, have a greater army, than the Allies can bring against him? And how then are we to get Spain? Will the Allies raise new armies, and make a new war upon France in Flanders, upon the Rhine, and in Savoy, because some men have insensibly stole out of France into Spain,

1709. *Spain*, and his promise to give no manner of assistance to King *Philip*, was a sufficient security, since that Prince, being thus forsaken by his Grandfather, would be obliged to quit *Spain*; and the rather, because the *Spaniards*, in such a case, would certainly declare for King *Charles*.³ This occasioned warm debates; but at last it was agreed, that *France* should deliver up some places in the *Netherlands*, that were to be part of the barrier, before they entered upon the general negotiations of peace. On the 25th and 26th, there was no interview with the *French* Ministers; but the Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, the Lord *Townshend*, and Count *Zinzendorf* had several Conferences with the Pensionary and the Deputies of the *States*, wherein they acquainted the new Imperial Plenipotentiary with what had been transacted since the beginning of this negotiation, and agreed on the further demands to be made to the *French* Ministers. A Conference being held on the 27th, in the morning, at which Count *Zinzendorf* assisted for the first time, those demands were communicated to *Torcy* and *Rouillé*, who desired

some time to consider of them. But the Duke of *Marlborough* having sent them word, that he and Prince *Eugene* had determined to set out for *Flanders* within two days, they promised to return an answer at six in the evening in another Conference, which lasted till two o'clock in the morning. After many disputes, the *French* seemed to comply with all the preliminary articles insisted on by the Confederates.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the restoring of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles*, within two months: *Torcy* said, the time was too short, and that, perhaps, it was not in the King of *France's* power to bring that about; for the *Spaniards* seemed resolved to stick to King *Philip*. It was, upon this, insisted on, that the King of *France* should be obliged to concur with the Allies, to force it by all proper methods: But this was not farther explained, for the Allies were well assured, that if it was sincerely intended by *France*, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This, therefore, being laid down as the basis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the restoring all

Spain, against the express order of the King, which you are sure will be pretended? You do not know the sweets of peace, or how unwilling people are, who have once laid down their arms, to take them up again. If you think the Allies could be brought to this, or that any armies would take the field against *France*, after a peace was once made; what then is to be hoped for? Why, I think nothing more than this, that the *Dutch* and the Emperor would contribute for a little while, perhaps for one campaign, some money and troops, to act in conjunction with *England* against *Spain*; in which no great success can be expected, considering the numerous army, I have shewn you, the Duke of *Anjou* might and would have. Now if this, upon the trial of one campaign, were found to be the case, I am afraid *Holland* would not be very willing to continue the prosecution of so expensive a war; and the whole weight of it another year would lie upon *England*, except a very little, that might be expected from the Emperor. And what could this end in, but in the ruin of *England*, and the loss of *Spain*? For the most that could be expected from this war, would be, that the Duke of *Anjou* would offer a partition, such as I have mentioned in my first letter, but with no option in the case. He would certainly keep *Spain* and the *Indies*, and give the other part to his Competitor. And if that be accepted, what becomes of *England*, which is so much interested in the recovery of *Spain*? And if it be not accepted, what shall hinder the *French* King from assisting his Grandson after one year, more openly, and taking upon him to mediate a peace; that is, to force such a one as he pleases upon us? For how can we help ourselves? Shall we be in a condition to quarrel with him, when we have been exhausted two years more with such an expensive war, while he has been enjoying all the advantages of peace, to repair the breaches the war had made in his affairs; to restore commerce, retrieve the public credit, remedy the ill state of his finances, look into the condition of his fleet, and put himself into the best posture he can for a new war, if the support of the Duke of *Anjou* makes it necessary? No, sure; we shall never think ourselves in a condition to break with him; nor shall we be able to persuade our Allies to it. No part therefore will be left us, but to submit to such a peace with his Grandson, as he shall in his pleasure think fit to prescribe. I need not enlarge upon the difficulties of making war with *Spain*, after what I have said in my first letter. It is easy to see how the Duke of *Anjou* may find us weak enough for two or three years, if he do but avoid

coming to an action. Sieges will cost time, as well as men and money; and many must be made before such a Kingdom can be reduced; and that will give the King of *France* opportunity enough to do what he will, to support his Grandson, or to prescribe a peace, or begin a new war, which it is always easy to find a pretence for; and we are sure he cannot want inclination to do whatever is in his power, which such a cause calls for. Nor is he to be known, as to leave us the least room to think, that any treaties or engagements can bind him, when inclination and power tempt him to break through them. His whole Reign is one continued proof of this. I have said somewhat of it already, and therefore shall add but one instance, which is a little parallel to the case before us; and that is, the manner in which he kept the promise he made the *Spaniards* at the *Pyrenean* treaty, not to assist the *Portuguese*, who were then at war with them. Never was treaty made with more solemnity; and yet what did those engagements signify? All the time the treaty was making, *France* was concerting measures to support the *Portuguese*; and the King, the present King, who was then but young in perfidy, had so little regard to cover or palliate what he did, that he sent, in the face of all the world, an army to the assistance of those, whose defence he had renounced, commanded by a Marshal of *France*. And can we, after such an instance, depend upon his word? Has he not much greater temptation to assist *Spain* against us, than he had then to support the *Portuguese* against *Spain*? Is not the honour of his Grandson, the interest of his family, and the acquisition of so great a Monarchy or infinitely more concern to him, than the defence of *Portugal* could be? A man must be blind, not to see there is no comparison between the two cases; and it is inexcusable, when we are sensible of this, to think, that a Prince, who has been so false in one instance, can be ever true in the other.

The sum of this argument is, that if a separate peace be made with *France* upon the foot of the preliminaries, without the 37th article, nothing can hinder *France* from assisting the Duke of *Anjou*: And, if he be assisted by *France*, we can never be able to drive him out of *Spain*: And consequently, if *Spain* be ever had, it must be by treaty. If therefore no peace can be a good one without *Spain*, then the 37th article is necessary in order to a good peace: Which is the point I was to prove.

I know but one thing can be said against what I have advanced upon this head; and that is, That the Allies, though they make peace with *France*, should

1709. all the places in the *Netherlands*, except *Cambray* and *St. Omé*; the demolishing or restoring of *Dunkirk*; the restoring of *Strasbourg*, *Brisack*, and *Hunningen* to the Empire; *Newfoundland* to *England*; and *Savoy* to that Duke, besides his continuing possessed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging the King of *Prussia*'s Royal dignity, and the Electorate in the House of *Brunswick*; the sending the Pretender out of *France*, and the owning the Succession to the Crown of *England*, as it was settled by law. As all the great interests were provided for, by these preliminaries; so all other matters were reserved to be considered, when the treaty of peace should be opened: A cessation of all hostilities was to begin, within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat treaty, and ratified: Provided the *Spanish* Monarchy was then intirely restored. The *French* Ministers seemed to be confounded at these demands: But, in conclusion, pretended to submit to them (1). *Torcy* told the Ministers, he would set out for *Paris* immediately, to lay the whole before his most Christian Majesty, and at parting desired the ratifications might be returned with all possible haste. He promised Prince *Eugene*, that the King of *France*'s final answer should be sent, by the fourth of *June*; but spoke of their affairs as a man in despair: He said, he did not know but he might find King *Philip* at *Paris*, before he got thither, and said all that was possible, to assure them of the fin-

cerity of the King of *France*, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the campaign; but at the same time King *Philip* was getting his son, the Prince of *Asturias*, to be acknowledged, by all the towns and bodies of *Spain*, as the heir of that Monarchy. *Rouillé*, who had opened the first scene of this negotiation, was to continue at the *Hague* some time longer, in order to suspend the unravelling of the plot as long as possible. The whole artifice of *France* was at length discovered, and it appeared very visibly, ^{they are} rejected by ^{the French.} that the *French* had no other design in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill understanding among the Allies, or, by their seeming great concessions for the security of the *States*, to provoke the people of *Holland* against their Magistrates, if they should carry on the war, when they had such safe and honourable offers made them; and they reckoned, that if a suspension of arms could be once obtained upon any other terms than the restoring of *Spain*, they should then get out of the war, and the Allies would be left to try, how they could conquer *Spain*. *Torcy* was, however, punctual to his promise given to Prince *Eugene*; for, on the 4th of *June*, the Prince, being at *Brussels*, received a letter from the Marquis, importing, "That his most Christian Majesty, having examined the project of peace concluded at the *Hague*, found it impossible for him to accept it; and therefore had sent orders to the President *de Rouillé* to notify the same to the Potentates

still keep up their armies, and then *France* will not dare to give the Duke of *Anjou* any great assistance. But, first, I have already shewn, that this is a very unreasonable supposition; the Allies most certainly would not continue to keep up their armies, were a peace with *France* once made. But let us now suppose they would, how would this mend the matter? If we keep on foot as great armies, as we have now, we should be no more at liberty to send men into *Spain*, than we are now. And, if we sent any considerable number to *Spain*, they would be wanted elsewhere; and the King of *France* would have nothing to fear from us, for want of a sufficient strength to act offensively, in case we should think ourselves sufficiently provoked to it by any thing he does in violation of the treaty; nay, considering the number of towns given up to the Allies, which all must have garrisons in them, and those not very small ones, to keep their new subjects in awe, we should want a greater army in *Flanders* than before, to be in a condition to act offensively. And, if such armies must be kept up, that is, why we may not as well continue the war, or to what purpose we should make peace. To me continuing the war seems much more eligible than such a peace, for this plain reason, that *France* would certainly make a great advantage of peace, while we must, under the name of peace, continue in a state of war, without the fruits of it. For example, all we have done, this campaign, would upon that supposition have been undone; and we should have been so much farther off than we are, from putting *France* under a necessity to give us *Spain*. For though the successes of this year [1710] have been so slighted, as to be thought not worth mentioning, where one would have most expected it; I can tell you, *Dowry* alone is in the opinion of *France* of that mighty consequence, that in all the negotiations, that have been carried on, since the refusal of the preliminaries, to find an expedient for the thirty-seventh article, *Dowry* has been always excepted out of the number of the towns, that they have pretended to give as an equivalent. Now this and the other conquests of this campaign have brought us much nearer to our end, Numb. LXI. Vol. IV.

than if our armies had gone out of the field, as they came in, and had done nothing. I must therefore still maintain, that upon all suppositions the thirty-seventh article is necessary to a good peace, unless some real expedient could be found out, which has hitherto been in vain looked for.

(1) The preliminary articles were as follows:

1. That a firm and lasting peace be forthwith treated of, &c.
2. That to that end preliminary articles be agreed on, &c.
3. That the most Christian King shall acknowledge King *Charles III.* King of *Spain*, &c.
4. The treaty shall be finished in two months, during which time *Sicily* shall be put into the hands of King *Charles*; and the Duke of *Anjou* shall evacuate *Spain*, which, if he refuses to consent to, the *French* King and the Allies shall enter into proper measures, that this article may have intire effect.
5. That the *French* King shall, within that time, withdraw his troops out of *Spain*, &c. and not assist the Duke of *Anjou* for the future with troops, artillery, ammunition, or money.
6. The Monarchy of *Spain* shall remain intire in the House of *Austria*, and no Prince of the House of *France* ever become Sovereign of any part thereof.
7. *France* shall never possess the *Spanish West-Indies*, or trade thither.
- 8, 9. The *French* King shall deliver up *Strasbourg*, *Fort Kehl*, and *Brisack* to the Emperor.
10. The *French* King shall possess *Alsace* in the literal sense of the treaty of *Münster*, except *Landsau*, which shall belong to the Emperor.
11. He shall demolish *New Brisack*, *Fort Lewis*, and *Hunningen*.
12. *Rheinfels* shall be possessed by the Landgrave of *Hesse*, till otherwise agreed.
13. The clause concerning Religion in the treaty of *Ryswick* shall be referred to the negotiation.
- 14, 15. The *French* shall acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and the Protestant Succession.
16. The *French* King shall restore to *Great-Britain*

K k

what

1709. "tates engaged in the war; and that it was to be hoped, that more favourable terms would present for the establishing of a peace so necessary for all Europe, and consequently so much desired by every body." The Messenger, who brought this letter to Prince Eugene, arrived the next morning at the Hague, where people were in the height of expectation of the French King's ratification of the preliminaries; but, to their great disappointment, Rouillé having the same day had a Conference at the Pensionary's, with the Imperial and British Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States, he acquainted them, That the most Christian King could not ratify some articles agreed to in the Conference held with Monsieur de Torcy, and concluded the 28th past. He excepted to the articles relating to the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy; but chiefly on that of not beginning the suspension of arms, till the Spanish Monarchy should be restored, which, he said, was not in his power to execute (1).

These difficulties started by the French King having been communicated by Rouillé, Count Zinzendorf, the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Townshend, and the Pensionary Heinsius, immediately held a Conference among themselves, in which it was resolved, "That no alteration ought to be admitted in the preliminary articles, especially in those excepted against by France, which were the most essential." And it was agreed at the same time to signify to Rouillé, to depart in four and twenty hours.

The 6th of June, N. S. in the morning, 1709. Rouillé made a visit to the Duke of Marlborough, and proposed another Conference, which was held that night; but nothing material was transacted in it, except that the Allies declared to Rouillé, "That they would not recede from any of the articles agreed to; and that, if his Master did not think fit to comply therewith, the Allies would not think themselves bound by the articles, or refrain their pretensions to the contents thereof, after the 15th of that month, the time allowed by the articles." The French Minister said, He had no orders to make any further declaration; whereupon he received a second intimation to depart the Hague immediately. The same evening, Mr. Walpole, Secretary to the British Plenipotentiaries, returned to the Hague with the Queen of Great Britain's ratification of the preliminaries. On the 8th, the Pensionary reported Rouillé's declaration to the Assembly of the States; upon which they considered, "That the articles were concerted with the Marquis de Torcy and Monsieur de Rouillé, put into writing with their assent, and by the Marquis de Torcy himself carried to the King of France, in order to be signed and ratified; that they were actually signed on the part of the Emperor, Great-Britain, and Holland, and had been ratified by her Britannic Majesty; and that nothing short of these preliminaries could obtain and secure the general peace, and prevent a dangerous, expensive, " and

what he is possessed of in Newfoundland; and whatever either party has taken in the Indies shall be restored.

17. Dunkirk shall be demolished.

18. The Pretender shall retire out of France.

19. A treaty of commerce shall be settled with Great-Britain.

20. The King of Portugal shall enjoy all that is stipulated for him by the Allies.

21. The French King shall acknowledge the King of Prussia, and not disturb him in the enjoyment of Neuchâtel.

22. The French King shall deliver up Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Warneton, Commines, Werwick, Poperingen, Liège, Condé, and Maubeuge, for the barrier of the States.

23. He shall restore all the towns and forts he has taken in the Netherlands, with the artillery and stores, provided the Catholic Religion shall still be professed there.

24. None of the cannon or stores to be removed from this time.

25. The States, as to their commerce, shall have what was stipulated at the treaty of Ryswick, and the tariff of 1664 only shall be in force.

26. The French King shall acknowledge the ninth Electorate.

27. The Duke of Savoy shall enjoy all that has been yielded to him by the Emperor, and whatever has been taken from him shall be restored.

28. The French King shall make over to that Duke Exilles, Fensbrilles, and Chémont, with the valley of Pragelas, and all on this side the mountains, for a barrier.

29. The pretensions of the Elector of Bavaria and Cologne shall be referred to the general negotiation; but the Elector Palatine to remain in possession of the Upper Palatinate, &c. the garrisons of the States to remain in Huy, Liège, and Bonne, till otherwise agreed with the Emperor and Empire.

30, 31, 32. The farther demands on either side

shall not interrupt the cessation of arms; the other Allies being allowed to make farther demands at the general congress.

33, 34. The negotiation shall be finished in two months, and in the mean time a cessation of arms be made.

35. Upon the ratification of these articles the French King shall evacuate Namur, Mont, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Condé, Tournay, Maubeuge, Newport, Tournes, and Ypres, and raze the fortifications of Dunkirk.

36. The French to execute what has been stipulated, with respect to the other Allies, within two months after the conclusion of the treaty.

37. And if he executes all that is abovementioned, and the whole Monarchy of Spain shall be delivered up to Charles III. as is stipulated within the limited time, then the cessation of arms shall continue till the ratification of the peace.

38. All this shall serve as the foundation and basis of the ensuing treaties of peace.

39. The ratification of the preliminary articles to be performed by the French King, the Queen of Great-Britain, and the States, before the 15th of June, and by the Emperor by the 1st of July, and what is stipulated in favour of each of the Allies respectively, to be set down as soon as they have settled the preliminaries.

40. The congress to begin the 20th of June at the Hague, and, to prevent disputes about the ceremonial, no Ambassador shall take upon him his character till the day of the signing of the peace. Lamberti, Vol. V.

(1) Rouillé said, That the French King in particular excepted against the tenth, eleventh, twentieth, twenty-ninth, and thirty-seventh. That as to the tenth his most Christian Majesty agreed to the same, as far as it concerned the possession of Alsatia, according to the literal sense of the treaty of Münster; but insisted, that Landau should be restored to him; and, as an equivalent, offered Old Brissac; both which places were yielded up to France by that treaty. That the most Christian King could not consent to the de-

1709: "and lingering war in Spain." Whereupon the necessary resolutions for the continuance of the war were taken with equal firmness and wisdom.

The same night, *Rouillé* being pressed to declare if he had any secret orders tending to peace, made answer, "That if the Allies would content themselves with the fifth article of the preliminaries in relation to *Spain*, without insisting on the others relating to the delivering up of the *Spanish* Monarchy, he thought the King, his Master, would be induced to depart from the other exceptions about *Alsatia*, the Duke of *Savoy*, &c." But the recovery of the *Spanish* Monarchy from the House of *Bourbon* being the chief end of the war, and the only means to restore and preserve the balance of *Europe*, the Ministers of the Allies did not think fit to depart from any one of the articles to secure the evacuation of *Spain*; and so, the same evening, a passport was sent *Rouillé*, for his safe return home. On the 9th of *June* he set out from the *Hague*, to embark at *Rotterdam* for *Antwerp*, from whence he continued his journey to *Paris*. The same morning, all the Ministers of the Allies being desired to meet in a Congress, Monsieur *Van Essen*, President of the secret affairs, and the Pensionary, communicated to them the resolution of the *States-General*, gave them a full account of all the steps that had been made in the negotiations, particularly since the *French* King had refused to agree to the preliminaries; and desired them to acquaint their Principals with these unfair proceedings of *France*, and exhort them to join their best efforts against an enemy, who could never be brought to reason but by force. Count *Zinzendorf* took this opportunity to tell the Deputies of the *States*, "That the Empire, the Emperor, and King *Charles III.* would doubtless express their satisfaction for the great firmness and constancy, which their High Mightinesses had manifested in the course of these negotiations." The Duke of

Marlborough gave the same assurances on the part of the Queen of *Great Britain*; as did also the rest of the Ministers, on the part of their respective Masters; and all signified to the Pensionary, how much the Allies were obliged to him, and satisfied with the prudence and wisdom he had expressed in the negotiations, which, contrary to the expectation of the enemy, would prove a new cement to the Grand Alliance, and an argument to convince the Allies, that the war was to be prosecuted till *France* was reduced to the necessity of submitting to any terms that the Allies should prescribe.

Thus these negotiations came soon to an end, without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and it now plainly appeared, that the easiness with which the *French* Ministers yielded to the preliminaries, was only an artifice to slacken the zeal of the Confederates in advancing the campaign, as the least effect it would have: But in that their hopes failed them, for there was no time lost in preparing to take the field (1). The *States of Holland* and *West-Friesland* having met on the 13th of *June*, N. S. ratified the preliminary articles, without regard to that King's refusal to sign them; after which, the Assembly unanimously resolved to carry on the war with the utmost vigour. But, while the generality of people in *Great Britain*, *Holland*, and *Germany*, expressed their resentment against the insincerity of *France*, that Court made a politic use of the very preliminary articles, which were made public in several languages by the Allies. For, in order to raise among his people an indignation against those exorbitant demands, and encourage them to bear, with less impatience, the burden and calamities of war, the *French* King caused circular letters to be sent to all the Governors of his provinces, the Archbishop of *Paris*, and other Prelates of *France*, wherein he insisted upon the unreasonableness of the Allies, in requiring his assistance to dethrone his Grandson (2).

The

mollifying *Humingen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Lewis*, but agreed to all the other parts of the eleventh article. That the eight and twentieth, relating to the places yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, was intirely excepted against, and referred to a farther discussion. That his Majesty also disliked the whole nine and twentieth article, whereby the Emperor's proceedings against the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* were approved, but would have the same referred to the negotiations of a general peace, with this proviso, that the *Upper Palatinate*, and the dignity annexed thereto, should not be confirmed to the Elector *Palatine*; and that the interests of the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* should be settled in the preliminaries; and, in the last place, that his most Christian Majesty excepted also against the seven and thirtieth article, whereby two months only were allowed for the delivering up of the *Spanish* Monarchy, which term he would have enlarged, but consented to recall his own troops from *Spain* within that time.

(1) *Burnet* observes on this occasion, *France* had so perfidiously broke all their treaties, during this King's Reign, that it was a piece of inexcusable folly to expect any other from them. In the peace of the *Pyrenees*, where the interest of *France* was not so deeply engaged, to preserve *Portugal* from falling under the yoke of *Castile*, as it was now to preserve *Spain* in the hands of a grandson; after the King had sworn to give no assistance to *Portugal*, yet, under the pretence of breaking some bodies, he suffered them to be enter-

tained by the *Portuguese* Ambassador, and sent *Schemberg* to command that army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a *German* by birth, to go and serve where he pleased: Under these pretences, he had broke his faith, where the consideration was not so strong, as in the present case. Thus it was visible no faith that King could give was to be relied on, and that unless *Spain* was restored, all would prove a fatal delusion: Besides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in *Brabant* and *Hainault*, commanded by the Elector of *Bavaria*, would not have been evacuated by him, unless he had orders for it from the King of *Spain*, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 529.

(2) These letters were as follow:

Cousin,

The hopes of an approaching peace were so generally spread in my Kingdom, that, out of regard to the loyalty my people have expressed during the whole course of my Reign, I think myself obliged to give them the comfort of acquainting them with the reasons, which still hinder their enjoying the repose I designed to procure them.

In order to restore the same, I would have accepted conditions very opposite to the security of my frontier provinces; but the more facility and desire I have shewn to dissipate the umbrages, which my enemies affect

134
1709.

1709.

The people in *France* were much wrought on, by this pretended indignity offered to their Monarch, to oblige him to force his Grandson to abandon *Spain*; and even here in *England*, there wanted not many, who said it was a cruel hardship put on the *French* King, to force him into such an unnatural war: But if he was guilty of the injustice, of putting him in possession of that Kingdom, it was but a reasonable piece of justice, to undo what he himself had done: And it was so visible, that King *Philip* was maintained on that Throne by the Councils and Assistance of *France*, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of *France* had really designed it, he could easily have obliged him to relinquish all pretensions to that Crown.

Chamillard in disgrace.

Endeavour of France to draw off the Duke of Savoy from the French Court and the Pope were using all im-

was soon attended with the disgrace of Monsieur de Chamillard, the *French* King's prime Minister, and even with some coldness towards Madame de Maintenon, who were both said to have given larger instructions to Rouillé and Torcy, than either the King intended, or were thought proper by the young Princes of the blood (1). On the other hand, it is observable, that while the terms of peace were debating, both the *French* Court and the Pope were using all im-

ginable endeavours to draw off the Duke of Savoy from the Grand Alliance; the discovery of which was owing to the Duke's Minister at the Hague, and came very opportunely to expose the double-dealing of the Court of *France*, who had the modesty to reject the very article of the preliminaries, by which the Allies stipulated a barrier for the Duke of Savoy, and, at the same time, were offering him much greater advantages to induce him to leave the peace of Europe to their mercy. But these artifices were defeated by the penetration and firmness of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who treated the peace, as they managed the war, and, by their cool temper and open conduct, baffled the stratagems both of the *French* Ministers and Generals. And it is certain, that the *French*, who proposed to divide the Allies, by setting on foot a negotiation of peace, were themselves caught in the preliminaries, which were so wisely contrived for the particular satisfaction of each of the Confederates, for their common security, that they became the more firmly united by this very transaction; and, being justly incensed at the unfair proceedings of *France*, resolved to improve their late advantages, by a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The

affect to entertain of my power and designs, the more they have multiplied their pretensions; inasmuch that by degrees, adding new demands to the first, and making use, either of the Duke of Savoy's name, or of the interest of the Princes of the Empire, they have at once let me see, that they had no other intention, than to increase, at the expence of my Crown, the States bordering upon *France*, and to open to themselves easy ways to penetrate into the heart of my Kingdom, as often as it would suit with their interest to begin a new war. Nor would the war I now maintain, and was willing to have ended, have ceased, had I consented to the proposals they have made to me. For they fixed within two months the term, wherein I was, on my part, to execute the treaty; and, during that interval, they pretended to oblige me to deliver up to them the places they demanded of me in the Low-Countries and *Alsace*, and to raze those, on the demolishing whereof they insisted; refusing, on their part, to enter into any other engagements, than the suspension of all acts of hostility, till the first day of August, and reserving to themselves the liberty of acting then by force of arms, in case the King of *Spain*, my Grandson, persisted in the resolution of defending the Crown God has given him, and rather to perish, than abandon faithful people, who, for nine years, have acknowledged him as their lawful King. Such a suspension (more dangerous than war itself) would rather put off than forward peace. For it would not only have been necessary to continue the same expence for the maintaining of my armies, but, as soon as the term of the suspension of arms would have expired, my enemies would have attacked me with the new advantages they would have taken from the towns, into which I should have introduced them myself, at the same time that I should have demolished those that are a bulwark to some of my frontier provinces. I pass over in silence the proposals they have insinuated to me, of joining my forces with those of the Confederates, and to compel my Grandson to descend the Throne, if he did not voluntarily consent to live, for the future, without Dominions, and to reduce himself to the condition of a private man. It is against humanity to believe, that they had even the thought of engaging me in such an Alliance with them; but although the tenderness I have for my people be as hearty as for my own children; although I bear a part in all the ills, which the war makes such faithful subjects undergo; and I have shewn to all Europe, that I sin-

cerely desired to make them enjoy peace; I am persuaded they would themselves oppose the acceptance of it on conditions equally opposite to justice, and to the honour of the *French* name.

It is therefore my intention, that all those, who, for so many years past, have given me demonstrations of their zeal, by contributing with their labours, fortunes, and blood, towards the maintaining so heavy a war, may know, that the only value my enemies pretended to set on the offers, I was willing to make to them, was a suspension of arms; which, being stinted to the space of two months, would have procured to them more considerable advantages, than they may expect from the confidence they put in their troops. As I repose mine in the protection of God, hoping that the purity of my intentions will draw the divine blessing upon my arms, I write to the Archbishops and Bishops of my Kingdom, to excite more and more the fervency of prayer in their respective dioceses: And at the same time I order you to acquaint my people, within the extent of your Government, that they should enjoy peace, if it had been in my power, as it was in my will, to procure them a Good they wish for with reason, but which must be obtained by new efforts, since the immense conditions I would have granted, are useless towards the restoring of the public tranquillity. I therefore leave it to your prudence to make my intentions known in such a manner, as you shall judge convenient. And so I pray God to have you in his holy keeping. *Lambert*, Vol. IV.

(1) It was reported, That the Duke of Burgundy pressed the making a peace, as necessary to prevent the ruin of *France*, while the Dauphin pressed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the supporting of the King of *Spain*: It was said, that Madame Maintenon appeared less at Court; Chamillard, who had lost of her favour, was dismissed; But it is not certain, what influence that had on the public Councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation shewed plainly, that there was nothing designed in it, but to divide, or to deceive the Confederates; and, if possible, to gain a separate peace for *France*, and then to let the Allies conquer *Spain* as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the *French* appeared so visible, even to the people in *Holland*, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them against their Magistrates, likewise failed. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 530.

(1) *Town*.

1709. Campaign in Flanders. Brodick. Cond. of the D. of Marlborough. Hist. of Eur. Burnet.

The Duke of Marlborough set out from the Hague soon after Rouillé, to put himself at the head of his army. Prince Eugene had absolutely refused to go into Spain. There was nothing to fear in Italy. The army, on the Rhine, was formed with great difficulty, and very late. So the Prince chose to remain in Flanders, and second the Duke of Marlborough's designs. On the other hand, Villars was sent to command the French army in Flanders, of whom the King of France said, He was never beaten; Harcourt commanded on the Rhine, and the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiné. As the Duke of Marlborough had trusted little to the shews of peace, he had taken care to have every thing in readiness to open the campaign, as soon as he saw what might be expected from the Court of France. By the 21st of June, the Confederate troops formed an army of a hundred and ten thousand men near Menin; and, two days after, the right wing under Prince Eugene, and the left under the Duke of Marlborough, marched and incamped in the plain of Lisle, on both sides the Upper-Deule. About the same time, the enemy's forces were marching from all quarters to form their army, under Marshal Villars, in the plain of Lens, where he began to cast up intrenchments to cover his troops. Upon advice from Arras that Villars had positive orders to venture a battle, the Lieutenant-Generals Doff and Cadogan were sent out with detachments, to take a near view of the enemy; and, upon their report of the almost insuperable difficulties that must attend the attacking the French troops in their advantageous and fortified camp, the Confederate Generals resolved to lay siege to Tournay (1). The conquest of this place, notwithstanding the strong fortifications, appeared the more easy, because Villars, at the approach of the Confederate army, had unadvisedly weakened the garrison. It seems, the train of artillery was by a feint brought up the Lys to Courtray; and therefore it was believed, the Duke of Marlborough's design was upon Ypres, and, there being no apprehension of any attempt upon Tournay, no particular care was taken of it; so that, on the 27th of June, it was suddenly invested, and the train was sent back to Ghent, and brought up the Scheld to Tournay. This enterprize was managed with so much secrecy, that the enemy could not have notice of the designs of the Allies, nor time to reinforce the garrison, which consisted only of twelve weak battalions, and four squadrons of dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Surville. Upon the Confederate army's coming up to the town, the Duke of Marlborough made a detachment, under the Prince of Nassau, to surprize St. Amand, a post very necessary to cover the siege, and another to take possession of Mortagne, a post, where the Scarpe falls into the Scheld; both which were soon effected,

the French troops retiring upon the approach of our men. The Governor of Tournay, not a little surprized to see the town invested, which was unprovided with necessaries for a long siege, rifled great part of the corn of the inhabitants, and sent out a party of French dragoons to bring in the cattle of the neighbourhood, who were most of them cut off, or taken prisoners, and the cattle, to the number of above seven hundred, were generously restored to the peasants. At the same time, Villars, being sensible of his mistake, in weakening the garrison of Tournay, ordered seven or eight thousand horse from Mons and Condé to advance, and endeavour to throw themselves into the town; but such measures were taken to prevent them, that they were forced to retire, without attempting any thing.

On the 3d of July, all the troops appointed for the siege had taken their posts round the town, from Cerque above the town, to the castle of Constantine below it; and, the next day, the line of circumvallation was begun on this side the Scheld. In the mean while, upon advice, that a detachment of ten thousand men from the enemy's army was marched towards Warneton, Lieutenant-General Wilks was detached thither, with two thousand five hundred grenadiers, and thirty squadrons. But, before he could arrive, a Lieutenant-Colonel, a Major, and about seven hundred men had yielded themselves prisoners of War. All the necessary dispositions being made for opening the trenches, and the bridges of communication being laid over the Scheld, the Generals made the following dispositions for the attacks of the city and citadel: That there should be three attacks; one against the citadel, and one on each side of the river against the town, of which the principal was to be commanded by General Lottum, against the citadel, on the side of the gate of Valenciennes: The second by General Fagel, against the gate of Marville; and the third by General Schuylenburgh, against the horn-work of the gate of the seven fountains. Sixty battalions were appointed for the trenches; three Imperialists, seven English, three Danes, seven Prussians, three Saxons, twenty-three Dutch, five Hanoverians, three Palatines, four Hessians, two Wirtemburghers; and six squadrons of the troops of the several nations were to attend the usual services of horse in a siege.

On the 4th of July, the enemy endeavoured to possess themselves of Commines and Fort Rouge, in the former of which places was a Major with a hundred and fifty men, and in the latter a Captain with fifty, who were twice attacked with great vigour; but they defended themselves so bravely, that, the Confederate troops coming up in time to their relief, the enemy not only retired with precipitation, but abandoned the post of Warneton. On the 7th, at night, the trenches were opened before Tournay at the three attacks, with the loss of about thirty

(1) Tournay is one of the most antient Cities of Flanders. It had belonged time out of mind to France, till in 1513 it was taken by King Henry VIII. of England. It was soon after restored by the intrigues of Cardinal Wolsey. The Spaniards took it in 1618, and kept it till 1667, when it was retaken by Lewis XIV. This Prince had spared no cost to fortify it, and had made it one of the strongest places in the Netherlands: It is very advantageously situated, of a great No. 61. Vol. IV.

compass, and divided by the Scheld, as the army, that besieges it, must also be, which is always very incommo- dious and dangerous: See the plan of the Town and Citadel, which, for the Reader's satisfaction, is here annexed. Tournay is a Bishoprick under the Archbishop of Cambray, about fifteen miles East of Lisle, twenty North-East of Douay, thirty-two almost West of Mons, and thirty South of Ghent.

1709.

thirty men killed, and as many wounded. The next day the trenches were relieved about four in the afternoon; but the violent rains, which fell in the night, very much incommoded the Besiegers, and retarded their works. On the 9th the Besiegers began to erect a battery. The same day two French Officers, who attempted to get into the town, were taken prisoners; and, in the night, the trenches were carried on (notwithstanding the wet weather, and the continual fire of the Besieged) with the loss of thirty men killed or wounded. The 10th thirty vessels, laden with artillery and ammunition, arrived near the bridges of communication. The same day the Besieged made a sally with five hundred men, but immediately retired at the approach of the Confederates. The 12th they made another sally by the Valenciennes gate; but General Lotum had disposed all things at his attack with such regularity, that the enemy were immediately repulsed with the loss of near twenty men. On the 13th the Besiegers began at the attack of Count Lotum, and fired from two batteries of twelve pieces of cannon each with so much success, that they soon dismounted the guns of the enemy on that side, and beat down a wind-mill, from which they had very much disturbed the Allies in their trenches. The 14th they began at the same attack to fire from another battery to break open sluices, and the same day the batteries, at the attack of General Fagel, began to fire; as did, on the 15th, those at the attack of General Schuylenburgh. The rest of the cannon and mortars were mounting on several batteries, and were in a condition to fire the 16th. The same day the Besiegers at Count Lotum's attack began to batter the wall, which made the communication between the Town and Citadel. On the 19th they fired from a battery of eleven pieces of cannon at General Fagel's attack, in order to enlarge the breach at the attack of Count Lotum, and into the covered way, on the same side from the Scheld to the Citadel, which would very much facilitate the success of that attack: And, on the 21st, they made themselves masters of the whole counterescarp, at General Fagel's attack, and fired into the covered way on the other side of the Scheld before the attack of Count Lotum, with so much success, that the Besieged were forced to quit that post. The attack of General Schuylenburgh was likewise by this time very forward; for they made such an incessant fire from their batteries, that, on the 22d, the breaches in the horn-work, the ravelin, and the wall of the town, were almost in a condition to be mounted, and, at the same time, the saps were carried to the wall of the ditch. However they continued to fire from all the batteries to enlarge the breaches, inasmuch, that General Schuylenburgh, on the 27th, caused the ravelin and half-moon at his attack to be stormed; and, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the enemy, and their great fire, the Allies lodged themselves thereon, and perfected their lodgment, by favour of the continual fire they made from the cannon and mortars. On the 28th, in the morning, the Besieged made a vigorous sally, in order to retake the works they had lost the night before, but met with so warm a reception, that they were forced to retire with considerable loss: And, in the evening, the Besiegers having made the necessary dispositions

for a general storm; and, the enemy fearing to be taken sword in hand, they beat a parley, and desired to capitulate for the town. Whereupon hostages were exchanged, and, after some debates, the capitulation was agreed to.

Thus, after twenty-one days of open trenches, the Allies reduced a place, which the French thought impregnable, and that in the sight of a numerous army of the enemy, who made no attempt to relieve it. And the conquest was so much the more advantageous, that the loss of the Allies was less than could have been expected, considering the strength and importance of the place.

The French, according to the capitulation, surrendered one gate the 30th of July. The next day Surville, the French Governor, was entertained at dinner by Prince Eugene; and, in the afternoon, retired into the Citadel, which his garrison of about four thousand men had already entered, and the Earl of Albermarle, who was appointed Governor of Tournay, took possession of the town. The time agreed on for evacuating the place expiring that night, the Allies began to work on the approaches to the Citadel. On the 1st of August, in the evening, the French began the first act of hostility, and fired from the Citadel with cannon and small shot upon Count Lotum's trenches and batteries; from whence they were immediately answered, and the fire continued very hot on both sides the whole night. The same day the dispositions were made for an attack, the new lines of circumvallation about the Citadel almost finished, and orders given for levelling those about the town.

In the mean time, Surville having proposed to the Confederate Generals the appointing two persons to treat about the surrender of the Citadel, Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough nominated de Lalo (a Brigadier in the British troops) on their parts; and Surville named the Marquis de Ravignan (a Brigadier in the French service) who, having conferred, drew up and subscribed articles for settling the time of surrendering the Citadel.

These articles were sent to the French Court for their approbation, and an answer was to be returned in seven days. But upon this occasion the French gave a fresh instance of their insincerity, and manifested to the world, that their proposals for delivering up the Citadel of Tournay was but an artifice to gain time, and amuse the Allies. For the French King would not ratify these articles, but upon condition, that there should be a cessation of arms in general in the Netherlands till the 5th of September, which the Allies would not consent to; and therefore the siege was carried on with all possible vigour, notwithstanding the great disadvantages, which the Confederate troops lay under, by reason of the great number of the enemies' mines. From the 8th of August, the day on which the Marquis de Ravignan returned from the French Court, to the 20th of the same month, the enemy sprung sixteen mines, which cost the Besiegers a great number of men, and very much retarded their approaches. On the 20th the Besieged sprung a mine with so great execution, that part of the wall from the town to the Citadel, two branches of the trenches, a parallel, two saps, and two of the Besiegers' mines were ruined; and a Captain, two En-

signs,

1709. signs, and nineteen soldiers killed. The 22d the miners of the Allies discovered the branch of another mine; and as they were busy in finding out the mine itself, they heard the enemy working on a great gallery. Whereupon a Lieutenant and sixteen Grenadiers was ordered to dislodge them; but the Lieutenant being killed at the first onset, his men were disheartened and retired. Immediately after another Officer, with a fresh detachment, was ordered to go upon that service; but, the enemy throwing a great number of grenades, and making a terrible smoke, the besiegers were forced to retire, to prevent being suffocated. The 23d the Miners, supported by a Lieutenant and twelve Grenadiers, were at work to pierce through a traverse cross the gallery they had discovered; but the enemy threw in a great quantity of straw, hemp, and powder, which being set on fire, occasioned such a smoke, that the Officer and eight Grenadiers were stifled. All this while the miners of the Besiegers frequently met with those of the enemy, and engaged them with pistol and bayonet. On the 26th the enemy sprung a mine, which killed above four hundred of the Confederate troops, who, notwithstanding that loss, and the great fire of the Besieged, lodged themselves that night near the palisadoes at General Schuylenburg's attack. On the 29th Monsieur Du Mey, the chief Director of the attacks, was mortally wounded. That day and the next the Besiegers made a fierce fire upon the Citadel, and threw abundance of bombs, which did great execution.

The citadel offers to capitulate. On the 30th, at six in the morning, the enemy beat a parley, desiring to capitulate; and, hostages being exchanged, Monsieur Dolet and the Maquis de Ravignan, both Major-Generals, and four other Officers came out of the Citadel; and Major-General Hondorff, with five Officers more on the Besiegers side, were sent in. Dolet, and his company were brought to the Earl of Albemarle's House, where the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene were met to receive their proposals. They offered to surrender the place, and delivered a project of a capitulation, consisting of eleven articles, the chief whereof were: "That the Chapel should not be made use of for the exercise of any other religion but the Roman Catholic, upon any pretext whatsoever: That they should have twelve pieces of cannon and six mortars, with ammunition for twenty charges, and horses and waggons, and other necessaries for that purpose, to be furnished by the Besiegers: That the garrison should march out, drums beating, and colours flying, with the other usual marks of honour: That they should have four covered waggons; and that the prisoners should be returned on either side, and no deserters stopped."

The articles rejected. Dolet and the other French hostages having made these offers, they were told by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, that they could not allow of any other conditions, but that the garrison should surrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon this they returned into the Citadel; and, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the hostilities were renewed. The Confederate Generals insisted upon having the garrison made prisoners of war, as well for the honour of the arms of the Allies, as in return for the King's having refused to agree to the

former capitulation, which was declared to the French Officers. Besides, during the cessation, the Allies had confirmed accounts, that the enemy owned they were obliged to surrender for want of provisions; which they did in less than three days, upon the following conditions: "That all the officers and soldiers should retain only their swords and baggage, and, leaving their colours and arms behind, were permitted to return to France, upon condition that they should not serve, until they were actually exchanged against the like number of officers and soldiers of the Allies; and those taken at Warneton were immediately to be sent back as part of that exchange." After this conquest, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene resolved to leave nothing unattempted, that might tend to the improvement of their late successes; and therefore concerted the necessary measures for besieging of Mons. The army, on the 3d of September, passed the Seld, and incamped the next day at Breffeuil, the Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel (who was detached the day before with four thousand foot and sixty squadrons) incamping at some distance. The 5th, the troops continued their march, notwithstanding a violent rain. The Prince of Hesse passed the Haijne in the afternoon, and the grand army incamped at Straut, within a league of that river. The 6th in the morning, the army was again in motion; and, in the march, the Duke of Marlborough received advice, that, the Prince of Hesse having made the dispositions for attacking the French lines from the Haijne to the Sambre, three regiments of dragoons had abandoned the same. The French designed to defend those lines; for the Chevalier de Luxembourg, with a great detachment arrived soon after to sustain the regiments of dragoons, and was followed by Marshal Villars in person. But, seeing that their troops had quitted their post, they marched back to Quievrain, whither the whole French army marched from their lines behind the Scarpe. On the other hand, the Prince of Hesse having taken possession of the other lines already mentioned, incamped with his right at Jenappe, and his left to Tremiers, whereby Mons was in a manner blocked up, and the army under the Duke of Marlborough incamped at Havre, and that under Prince Eugene, at St. Denis.

On the 7th of September, Boufflers arrived in the French camp, and joined Villars. The same day the Duke of Marlborough received advice, about noon, that the French were marching to attack the body under the command of the Prince of Hesse. Whereupon, orders were given to the army to decamp from Havre, and leave their baggage behind, and their tents standing. The army having made a halt on the hills of Belian (where the Prince of Hesse had his quarters) the Generals received farther intelligence, that the French had not passed the desiles of Wafne, but were incamped near Quievrain; whereupon the Confederate army continued in the camp the following night, but in order of battle. The Duke of Marlborough being informed, that the garrison of Mons consisted only of nine weak Spanish, and two Bavarian battalions, besides the dragoons of Pasleur, conjectured, that Villars's chief design was to oblige the Confederates to draw all their forces into the plain between Belian and Tremiers, that he might

1709.

*The citadel**surrenders**Motion of the two armies.*

1709. might have an opportunity to throw reinforcements into *Mons*: To prevent which, the Duke sent some troops towards *St. Guislain*. The 8th, Prince *Eugene* and the Duke spent the whole day in viewing the ground between the two armies; and, the 9th in the morning, the *French* made a motion, as if they would march towards *Bessu*, but, the Duke of *Marlborough* being advanced with some other Generals to take a narrow view of their army, they soon perceived, that the motion of their left was only a feint to cover the march of their right, which filed off at the same time. The Duke, being unwilling to lose a moment, ordered his army to march by his left; by which motion the two armies came so near, a little after two, that they cannonaded each other till the evening. They continued all the night in the same situation; the *French* being posted behind the woods of *la Merte* and *Taisniere*, near *Malplacquet*, where they intrenched themselves the 10th. And the Confederate troops lay with their right near *Sart* and *Bléron*, and the left on the edge of the wood of *Lagniere*, the head-quarters being near the center of *Blaregnies*.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, Prince *Eugene*, and the Prince Royal of *Prussia* passed the night with Monsieur *Goslinga*, that they might be ready, if the enemy should make any attempt. But though they were much superior in number, and more especially in infantry, yet they were so far from designing to attack the Allies, that on the contrary, they began to fortify their camp (though it was by nature very strong and advantageous) with all the industry and application imaginable. Besides the thick hedges, which, like a chain, ran along their whole camp, they made deep lines to cover their foot; and, on the right, cast up three intrenchments one behind the other, though the access was otherwise very difficult, because of a marshy ground, which lay before them. Their center, which was in a little plain, was likewise secured by several intrenchments, defended in convenient places with good artillery; and, besides all this, they cut down a great number of trees, which they laid across the ways, to obstruct the passage of the Confederate horse. They also cut down the hedges behind their lines, for the more easy march of their cavalry to support their infantry, as occasion might require; so that their camp might not be very improperly called a regular fortified Citadel.

Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had, in concert with Monsieur *Goslinga*, taken the resolution to attack the *French*, finding, on the 10th, that they had made use of the preceding night to improve the advantage of their situation, resolved only, without altering their design, to put off the execution of it, till they were reinforced by eighteen battalions, which had been employed in the siege of *Tournay*. To these orders were immediately dispatched, that they should march, with all possible expedition, to join the grand army; which they did that very night, under the command of Count *Lottum* and Baron *Schuylenburgh*. The same evening also a detachment from the blockade from *Mons*, under the command of Lieutenant-General *Dedem*, took *St. Guislain* sword in hand, and made the garrison, which consisted of two hundred men, prisoners of war.

The troops, that came from *Tournay*, hav-

ing, on the 11th of September, in the morning, 1709. joined the right wing, over-against the wood by *Sart*, where the enemy's left was posted, Prince *Eugene*, the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Field-deputies, rode together along the line between the two armies, and several men were in their presence killed by the enemy's cannon.

The Confederates had begun to work on their batteries at break of day. They raised one of *Blaregnies* or *M. Blaquet* twenty-eight pieces of cannon on the left, another of forty in the center, and the rest of the artillery was distributed on the right. A very thick fog, which lasted till half an hour past seven, had very much facilitated their work; but then it cleared up, and gave the two armies a perfect view of each other.

This being the posture of the *French* and Confederate forces, a little after eight o'clock, the signal for the attack being given by a discharge of fifty pieces of cannon, and the cannonading continuing very brisk on both sides, Prince *Eugene* advanced with his right into the wood of *Sart*, and eighty-six battalions of that wing, commanded by General *Schuylenburgh*, the Duke of *Argyle*, and other Generals, and twenty two other battalions, under the command of Count *Lottum*, attacked the enemy with such bravery, that, notwithstanding the barricades of felled trees, and other impediments they met in their way, after an hour's resistance, they drove the *French* out of their intrenchments in the woods of *Sart* and *Taisniere*. The design of the attack was to drive the enemy out of the wood, and then to attack them in the flank of their intrenchments on the plain; which succeeded, and all the enemy's infantry of the left wing were ruined. General *Witbers*, with nineteen battalions, attacked the enemy in another intrenchment beyond the woods of *Taisniere* and *Great Lagniere* with the like vigour and good success. Thirty-six Dutch battalions, commanded by the Prince of *Nassau Friesland* (or *Orange*) and Baron *Fagel*, who attacked the enemy's right, posted in the wood of *La Merte*, and in that opening, covered with three intrenchments, met with greater resistance, and lost abundance of men, before they could penetrate into the intrenchments. The fight was here desperate; but the Dutch soon drove the enemy from off their advantageous ground into their intrenchments, taking their colours. They likewise drove them out of their first intrenchment; but, as they were marching on to the second, they were charged with great vivacity by the enemy, and obliged to retire to their former posts. The Duke of *Marlborough* then ordered *Witbers* to march with the body under his immediate direction to sustain them; but upon notice, that *Witbers* was actually engaged with the enemy, and that all things went well on the right, the Duke thought fit rather to press the advantages there, than to hazard a new motion towards the left in the heat of the action. As soon as the enemy's left went to retire and draw off their cannon, the Duke of *Marlborough* commanded the Earl of *Orkney*, with fifteen battalions, to attack them, and force them from their intrenchments in the plain between the woods of *Sart* and *Taisniere*, with directions, if he succeeded, to post himself there, and cover the horse, as they should file off through the woods into the plain, in order to charge the enemy's cavalry, which were there drawn up.

This

1709. This was executed with such resolution and success, that, after a short dispute, the enemy quitted those intrenchments, which gave the horse an opportunity to enter them. And though the first squadrons, led by the Prince of Hesse, had great difficulty to form themselves, and were put into some disorder by the French King's household troops; yet being immediately rallied by the Duke of Marlborough, and seconded by the squadrons of Prince Eugene's army, they advanced together into the plain. Being there covered by their own foot, and having formed themselves into very good order, they charged the enemy's cavalry, who being soon broke and defeated, their whole army fell into disorder, and retired towards the plains of *Bavay*, leaving some of their cannon behind them. The Allies made a good use of the beginning of the victory, and all the troops moved on with fresh resolution. General *Vink* having, with the horse, surrounded several battalions of the enemy's right, summoned them to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but the French, being covered by a morass, made their retreat along the edge of a wood: Three regiments of *Danish* cavalry, falling at the same time on the enemy, made a terrible slaughter among them, till, having gained a second wood, they found means to escape. Eighteen squadrons, being detached to endeavour to disperse them in their retreat towards *Quievrain*, met their whole left wing on this side the little river *Quaisna*, consisting of about an hundred squadrons, commanded by *Boufflers* in person; and perceiving only at first the enemy's rear, posted at the corner of a wood, the dragoons made up to them, and drove them without resistance; but Colonel *Lippe*, and a Cornet, advancing too far, were taken, without being perceived by their own men. The wood being forced, the eighteen squadrons advanced into the plain; but, perceiving before them the enemy's whole left wing in three columns, one of which retreated in good order, the other two in some confusion, they made a short halt, and were somewhat surprized to see the enemy face about, and draw up in order of battle. However, this small body of the Confederate horse kept their ground, and posted themselves upon an eminence, with the wood of *Elonge* on their right, expecting to be attacked; but they immediately perceived, that the enemy made a stand, with no other design than to pass a rivulet, that was in their way to a defile, leading them to *Bavay*, which they gained, before the Allies, who pursued them full gallop, could come up with them. However, the Allies followed the chase as far as the village of *Quievrain*, where the French

had a brigade of foot, who obliged them to slacken their pace. Upon which they thought fit to give over the pursuit, and the enemy marched unmolested to *Bavay*. The rest of their broken army retired in great confusion, some to *Maubeuge* and *Valenciennes*, and others to *Condé*, leaving the Allies in possession of the field of battle, sixteen of their cannon, twenty colours, twenty-six standards, and other indisputable marks of a victory; not to mention a great number of prisoners. Some of these were taken in the action, others in the pursuit, and the far greater number the next morning in *Bavay*, and other neighbouring places, either weariness or wounds not permitting them to follow the grofs of their army; which, having that night passed the rivulet of *Renelle*, incamped with their right at *Quefroy*, extending their left towards *Valenciennes*.

The Confederate Generals, upon viewing, after the battle, the advantageous posts, from whence they had driven the enemy, were themselves astonished to see what difficulties they had surmounted. And, indeed, all the troops, as well officers as soldiers, shewed as great resolution, bravery, and firmness in this obstinate action, as ever was known. The enemy, whether encouraged by their intrenchments, or animated by the flame of their former defeats, fought with a bravery beyond what was expected from them, from half an hour past eight in the morning, till half an hour past two in the afternoon. They were, however, at length, forced to yield to the superior courage of the Allies, whose Generals, the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, Count Tilly, and the Prince of Nassau, were, during the whole fight, continually at the head of their troops in the hottest of the fire. And Monsieur Gollinga, one of the Field-deputies of the States, was not wanting to animate the soldiers by his example. Great numbers fell in this bloody action; and the Allies owned, that they had above eighteen thousand killed or wounded (1). Amongst the slain were several Officers of distinction, particularly General Count *Lottum*, General *Tettau*, of the *Prussians*; Count *Oxenstiern*, Lieutenant-General; the Lord *Tullibardine*, eldest son of the Duke of *Arbol*, and Colonel of a regiment of foot in the service of the States. Among the wounded were Prince Eugene of *Savoy* slightly on the head, as was also Brigadier *May* on the same place; Lieutenant-Generals *Spar*, *Wakerbaert*, and *Hamilton*, and the first mortally; Brigadier *Cronstrom*, Count *Oxenstiern's* Adjutant, dangerously; and Monsieur *Duyts*, Adjutant to the Prince of *Orange*. His Highness himself had two horses killed under him, but escaped unhurt;

(1) In the army of Prince EUGENE:

	Killed.	Wounded.
Imperialists, ———	190	328
Danes, ———	534	750
Saxons, ———	196	510
Palatines, ———	86	273
Dutch, ———	711	888
Hessians, ———	135	392
Wurtembergers, ———	132	290
Total	1984	3431

In the Duke of MARLBOROUGH'S army.

	Killed.	Wounded.
British, ———	575	1281
Prussians, ———	309	894
Hanoverians, ———	298	1119
Dutch, ———	2381	6081
Total	3563	9375
Total of both armies	5547	12806

1709.

hurt; as did also the Duke of Argyle, though he received several musket-shots through his clothes and periwig. Brigadier Lala, a French Refugee, in great favour and esteem with the Generals; Sir Thomas Pendergast, Colonel of a regiment of foot; Colonel Rivett, of the guards; Colonel Granjone, Lieutenant-Colonel Arundel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Betbel, were also reckoned among the slain; Lieutenant General Webb, in the beginning of the action, received a very dangerous wound by a musket-ball, that lodged itself near the groin; Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsey, Major Laffley, and Major Row died of their wounds; but Lieutenant-Colonel Farmer, Major Chivers, and several others of inferior rank, survived theirs.

The French were very industrious in lessening and concealing their loss from the public. But

some private accounts from their army owned, that they had about five hundred and forty Officers killed on the spot, and one thousand and sixty-eight wounded, besides three hundred and one taken prisoners; and the number of their private men killed, wounded, or taken, was modestly computed at fifteen thousand (1).

This was the most desperate and bloody attack, that had been fought in the memory of man; and both our Generals were very much blamed for throwing away so many brave men's lives, when there was no occasion. It was the only rash thing the Duke of Marlborough was ever guilty of, who, it was generally believed, was pressed to it by Prince Eugene (2).

The action being over, the Confederate army was ordered to incamp a little beyond the field of battle; and, on the 12th of September, they returned

Remark.
Account.
Memoirs.

(1) Among their slain were Messieurs de Courfillon, de Crenneville, Pons de la Riviere, de Gruborget, de Moret, and Sheldon, Lieutenant-Generals; Count de Beuil, Messieurs de Rouleau, de Rochbonne, and de Tournesart, Major-Generals; Count d'Agennes, Messieurs de Courjan and de St. Aubert, Brigadiers; the Duke de St. Agnan, and Messieurs de Schaufstein, de Sals, de Seignelay, the Chevalier de Gray, de Teleconde, de Molezum, Fitzgerald, de Barentin, St. Laurent, and the Duke of Chareff. Amongst the wounded was the Marshal de Villars himself, who, in the heat of the battle receiving a shot in the knee, was obliged to leave the command of the French army to Marshal de Boufflers; the Duke of Guiche, the Chevalier de St. Toris; Messieurs de Goguel, de la Fosse, de St. Gues, de Crunfuit, de Mansieux, de Opides, de Refuge, d'Allergetti, the Princes de Lambesse and de Montbasen, Messieurs de Brillac, de Tournemine, de Renty, de Berville, d'Astel, and de St. Eulaine.

(2) Bishop Burnet observes, That military men have always talked of this, as the sharpest action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the Generals for beginning to desperate an attempt. The French thought it a sort of victory, that they had animated their men to fight so well behind the intrenchments, and to repulse our men so often, and with so great loss. They retired to Valenciennes, and secured themselves by casting up strong lines, while they left our army to carry on the siege of Mons, without giving them the least disturbance. Monsieur Rouffet's remarks are as follow: 'In the opinion of the whole world (says he) our Generals were guilty of an irreparable fault in not attacking on the 9th, but delaying it, in expectation of six and twenty battalions, and some squadrons; while, by giving the enemy time to intrench themselves (which was what we had infallibly to expect from a General so accustomed to it as the Marshal de Villars) we weakened ourselves, in proportion as the enemy grew more formidable. Besides, we thereby gave him all the time he could wish to penetrate into our disposition, to recall several detachments, which did not join him till the 10th, and in short to render all those places impenetrable, through which only our troops could break into the plains. In the Council of war, which was held the 9th, the Deputies of the States-General were of opinion, that the siege of Mons should be immediately undertaken, without giving the enemy battle; but that, if they should come to attack us, in that case, we should retreat from them; and of this opinion were most of the Generals. Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough were of opinion to attack the enemy, before they began the siege, and they brought over the Deputies to be of the same mind; but then, as well they, as the Duke of Marlborough, insisted, that the attack ought to be made immediately, not to give the Marshal de Villars time to fortify his camp. Prince Eugene was not, however, to be dissuaded from the resolution he had taken, to wait for the detachment from

Tournay. A fatal delay, which occasioned the ruin of the whole body of the Dutch infantry, which alone lost ten thousand men, more than seven hundred of whom were Officers, at the attack of the intrenchments.'

Monsieur Du Mont likewise says, 'That it was a misfortune to the Allies, that they did not fight on the 9th, for then probably the victory would have been more complete, and have been obtained with less loss of blood. The enemy was then on the other side of the wood in the plain; there was room to come at them through the intervals. They had not time to intrench themselves; and the advantage of the ground would have been pretty near equal.'

Father Daniel asserts, that the field of battle cost the Allies thirty thousand men killed or wounded, while the loss, which the French army suffered, was not two thirds of that number.

Dr. Hare, in his second letter to a Tory Member upon the management of the war, p. 24, observes, That in this battle the enemy were so defeated, that they, who had hazarded a battle to prevent the siege of Mons, did not dare to venture any thing for the relief of it, towards which they did not make the least step, though the Allies had neither river nor intrenchment to cover them. He afterwards, p. 32, takes notice of a question asked by the Author of a piece, intitled, *Arilus and Odisphus viz.* If the bloody battle of Taniers or Malplaquet was so well concerted, as it might have been; and if there was an absolute necessity to wait two days without light of the enemy for a few troops, that never engaged when they came, and give them so much time to throw up such unequal fortresses before we attacked them? In answer to which Dr. Hare writes: 'I little thought to have seen the battle of Taniers instanced for a counter-step designed to hinder the effect of our former successes, when it was itself so great a one: But it shews the absurdity of their cause, when victory itself is made a crime; and they attempt to prove a General's design to prolong the war, because he has endeavoured to force the enemy to put an end to it by a new defeat. This is a strange way of arguing indeed, peculiar to the cause, and its worthy Defenders. It is a known saying, *Victoria rati non reditur*: But, it seems, it now must not be allowed. A General has been often called to give an account, how he came to lose a battle; but to be accountable for winning one is something new; and, if victories had not been so common, we should hardly have been so difficult; we should have understood the value of a single victory, and been thankful for it. But the number, it seems, has made us so nice, that we had rather not have them, if they are not just to our minds; if they are not of as much consequence as *Blenheim*, or as cheap as *Romilies* or *Quadrant*. I would be glad to know, if ever any one French Writer treated the battle of *London* with that contempt; that these Gentlemen do that of *Taniers*; or thought the fighting it a crime in a General, because it was dear bought, and had little other consequence than the

gaining

1709.

returned to their old camp at *Belian*. The same day, the Allies were employed in burying their dead; and, there having been a great number of *French* officers and soldiers left wounded in the field of battle, and in the adjacent villages, the Duke of *Marlborough* signified to the Marshals *Boufflers* and *Villars*, that those persons might have leave to retire upon their parole, to return when they were cured; and that he would send Lieutenant *Cadogan* with two hundred horse to *Bavay*, to make an agreement about that matter, with any General they would send with the like number of men. The enemy accepted this proposal, and they ordered the Chevalier de *Luxemburg* to meet General

Cadogan at *Bavay*, in order to concert every thing for the relief of the wounded, and burying of the dead.

The *French*, being retired to *Valenciennes*, left the Confederate Generals at liberty to besiege *Mons* (1), the capital of *Hainault*, and the place, for the preservation of which the enemy had hazarded the late battle. In this City the Elector of *Bavaria* had lately kept his fugitive Court, and from thence the Count *Bergbieck* and the Duke of *Alva* by order of King *Philip* their Master, wrote a joint letter to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to which the Count added a note, importing, "That, if the Queen of *Great-Britain*, by means of his Highness's good offices, should think

1709:

*Mons be-
sieg'd and
taken.*

" it

gaining what *Arlus* calls *unprofitable honour*. On the contrary, never victory was so much magnified, the tongues and pens of that Nation were for many years full of nothing else; and yet those, who were at that battle, will tell you, that the *French* did not only lose as many men as the Confederates, but double or treble their number; and the Allies recovered that defeat so soon, that in six weeks time they had a better army than before the battle; and all the use the *French* made of their victory was to take *Charleroy*, though the battle was fought in *June*; a conquest one may easily suppose they might have made without the purchase of so dear a victory, as they made those of *Mons* and *Namur*, places of much more importance. Now let us see, whether the victory of *Taniers* be on any account inferior to that of *Landen*. That it exceeded it in honour, *Arlus* himself allows; for he grants, *That in all the wars of immemorial time, there never was a battle fought, where mortal men gained such immortal honour*. And, whether he will allow it or not, it is as certain, that it was more valuable also in its consequence, and the advantage the common cause reaped from it; for *Mons* was evidently a greater conquest in itself, and of more use to us, when *Brabant* had no other cover, than *Charleroy* could be to them. Besides *Charleroy* might have been had without *Landen*; but *Mons* could not have been had without *Taniers*; and, though that battle was not fought till the last of *August*, *Mons* had not been the only fruits of it, if the weather would have permitted the Allies to keep the field longer; and the success of the siege was a plain discovery, that the loss of the enemy was not only as great as that of the Allies, but much greater. Why else should they venture a battle to prevent the siege; and yet did not move a step to disturb it, when it was formed? Is not this a confession, that they, who thought themselves a match for our army before the battle, did not think so after it, though so many troops were employed and weakened in the siege? Did they not spend the time the Allies were making the siege, in throwing up lines, and drawing all the troops together, that possibly they could? And was not the Duke of *Berwick* sent for post from *Dauphiné*, to join with Marshal *Boufflers* in the command of them? What, I would fain know, was all this for? Why such strong lines, so vast an army, so many Generals, so much concern, in the middle of *October*, when the ways were impassable, and the Confederate army was intirely ruined by their victory? If their loss was so unequal, as *Arlus* thinks it was, the *French* might have done what they would; they might not only have lain still in great tranquillity, without any apprehension of being disturbed by the Allies, but might have advanced to them, given them battle, and not only saved *Mons*, but ruined their army, if they were so much superior to them, as their Writers would make the world believe. But, if we will allow the *French* to be better judges of these matters than our paper-politicians, the difference, that was made by the battle between the two armies, was to their disadvantage intirely; and the impression, which the loss of that battle gave them, made them think themselves never safe; as if neither weather, nor

intrenchments, nor numbers, could effectually stop the progress of this victorious army; though weakened by three sieges, and a battle equal to three more. They shewed plainly by all their motions; they thought nothing impossible to such an army, that could beat an hundred thousand men; the best troops of *France*, through such intrenchments, or, in the language of the learned *Arlus*, through such unequal fortresses. Dr. *Hare*, afterwards, p. 36, observes, "That without this battle, the rest of that campaign must have been spent without action, and perhaps this last [of 1710] also. For we could not have carried our arms into the *Ardens*, while *Brabant* was so much exposed, as it was before the taking of *Mons*, which would consequently have thrust the work of this year one campaign at least backward. But, if the necessity, the glory, and advantage of this victory cannot keep off these examiners, you may be well assured it will bear examination. I have heard a good deal of it, and, by all I can find, there never was a battle, for which there was a more unanimous concurrence of all parties, than there was here. And the delay that happened, was not only to wait for a few troops, but for bread, which men, who had been continually marching for seven days together, were not very fit to fight without. Besides, the troops they stayed for were not a few; and there was a great number of Officers with them. And it is most ridiculous to fancy troops were not worth staying for, because they did not engage. At that rate all *Corps de Reserve* are very foolish and unnecessary things. Might there not have been occasion for troops, because there was not? Or is it no encouragement to men, that do engage, to know there are others ready to sustain them upon occasion? But it is endless to argue with the real or affected ignorance of these men. It is no great compliment to our Generals to suppose they understand their business; and we ought always to presume they concert their matters well, unless we are sure of the contrary; which we may easily believe, neither these Writers, nor their Masters, are in the case before us, since they were neither at the consultations of the Generals themselves, nor pretend to any correspondence with those that were. And therefore to insinuate, that they did not consider things so maturely as they should have done, is extreme impudence. Those unequal fortresses indeed, which the enemy had thrown up, were, I have heard, more and greater than they were thought to be. Our Generals knew they were intrenching, but neither believed so much work could have been done in so little time, nor that the fears of the enemy could make them think so much was necessary. But this served only to make the victory more glorious. And, notwithstanding all their fortresses, had the orders, which to prevent all mistakes, were given in writing, been rightly executed, the price of it had been much cheaper than it was. But there is no need of entering farther into the particulars of this battle, to shew the folly and malice of this most profligate Libeller, and the rest of his Companions."

(1) *Mons*, a very large, fine, strong, and rich City, of the *Low-Countries*, the Marquisate of the Earldom of

1709. "it for the interest of the Nation to have regard to it, he was provided with powers from the King his Master, to explain himself more particularly, to such person, and in such a place, as his Highness would please to appoint." The Duke of Marlborough did not think fit to have, at that time, any private Conference with that Minister; but, as the latter happened to be in *Mons*, when the Allies invested the town, he was, on the 21st of September, allowed to have an interview with his Grace, who granted him passports for himself, and several Ladies and Persons of distinction, who went out of the place. As soon as the train of artillery was brought from *Brussels*, the siege, under the command of the Prince of Orange, was carried on with great vigour, tho' the season was both cold and rainy. The outworks were carried with little resistance, and *Mons* capitulated about the end of October. With the taking of *Mons* ended the campaign, both armies retiring into winter-quarters.

Campaign
on the
Rhine in-
considera-
ble.

The Confederate arms were not this year attended with the same success every where as in Flanders. Little was expected on the Rhine. The Germans were so weak, so ill furnished, and so ill paid, that it was not easy for the Court of Vienna to prevail on the Elector of Brunswick to undertake the command of the army there, yet he came at last; and, upon his coming, the French, who had passed the Rhine, thought it the safest for them to repass that river, and keep within their lines. The Elector sent Count *Merci* with a considerable body of troops to pass the Rhine, and break into *Franch Comte*; but, a detached body of the French, under the command of Count *de Borgh*, lying in their way, there followed a very sharp engagement on the 26th of August, N. S. Two thousand men were reckoned to be killed on each side; but, though the loss of men was thought equal, yet the design miscarried, and the Germans were obliged to repass the Rhine, and retire to *Friburg*. The Germans having passed through the territories of *Basil*, in order to make their intended irruption into the territories of France, the French Ambassador in Switzerland expostulated with the diet of the Cantons assembled at *Baden*, about the violation of their neutrality, and even threatened those of *Basil* with the effects of his Master's resentments. But the *Helvetic* body took such effectual measures for the security of that Canton and of their frontiers, that the French did not think this a proper juncture to increase the number of their enemies, and so contented themselves with seizing upon the corn and revenues belonging to those of *Basil* and *Alsatia*.

Campaign
in Pied-
mont and
Dauphiné.

The campaign in Piedmont and Dauphiné fell also this year much short of expectation. The Duke of Savoy refusing to go into the field, by reason the Imperial Court started some difficulties about *Vigeovano* and other dependencies of the *Milanese*, which, by agreement, were made

over to him. The Court of Vienna insisted to have the controversy adjudged by Commissioners; but this was opposed by the Duke of Savoy, who pretended, there was no need of such a dilatory negotiation, to find out the literal sense of the treaty concluded with him by the Emperor; and made pressing instances with the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General, who stood Guarantees of that treaty for the punctual performance of it. The maritime powers, considering with what firmness the Duke had adhered to the Grand Alliance, espoused his interest with warmth. But the Emperor insisting on a reference to Commissioners, the Duke persisted in his resolution not to go into the field, and left the command of the army to Veldt-Marshal *Thaun*, who, on the 7th of August, went from *Turin* to *Susa*, and made the necessary dispositions to march over Mount *Cenis*. On the other hand, the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French army in Dauphiné, had, by this time, caused strong intrenchments to be cast up to cover *Briançon*, the place most threatened by the Confederates, and to defend some other important posts. So all that Count *Thaun* was able to do, was only to oblige the French to abandon their lines at *St. Maurice*, drive them from those at *Fessons*, defeat a small body at *Conflans*, and make himself master of the inconsiderable town and castle of *Annci*; after which, for want of provisions, he was forced to repass the Alps, and march into Piedmont towards the end of September. The glory which the Duke of Berwick gained in thus disappointing the designs of the Allies, was the greater, as part of his troops were at that very time employed in suppressing, in the *Vivarez*, an insurrection of the *Camisars*, and other malecontents, who on the 19th of August, N. S. maintained a sharp encounter with the French King's troops. But, on the 23d of the same month, they were entirely defeated within some leagues of *Vernoux*, and about fifty of them taken prisoners, with their chief leader *Abraham*, who was broke alive upon the wheel; and twenty-three others hanged at several places, six or seven sent to the galleys, and the rest committed to prison.

The most important thing relating to Italy this year, was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King Charles, by several pretended difficulties; his design being to stay and see the issue of the campaign; but when he was threatened towards the end of it, that, if it was not done, the Imperial army should come and take up their winter-quarters in the Ecclesiastical State, he submitted, and acknowledged him. He sent also his nephew *Albano*, first to Vienna, and then to Poland; he furnished him with a magnificent retinue, and seemed to hope, that, by the services he should do to the Papal interests there, he should be pressed to make him a Cardinal, notwithstanding the bull against Nepotism.

The

of Hainault in the county of *Mons*, or proper *Hainault*. It was taken in 1691, but surrendered to the Spaniards by the peace of *Ryswick* 1697. It stands on the River *Trouille*, near *Haisne*, twenty-seven miles South-west from *Brussels*, thirty-three North-East of *Cambray*, thirty-seven West of *Namur*, thirty-nine

South of *Ghent*, forty-eight almost South of *Antwerp*, forty-eight almost East of *Arras*, sixty-five almost West of *Liege*, one hundred and twenty North of *Paris*, and one hundred and twenty-eight almost South of *Amsterdam*.

1709.
Affairs in
Portugal
and Spain.
Battle of
Caya.
Hist. of
Eur.

The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* armies having taken the field towards the end of *April*, they soon came to an engagement; for, on the 7th of *May*, *N. S.* being both incamped on the *Caya*, and the *Spaniards* making a motion, with a design either to forage the adjacent country, or to insult the Confederates; the *Portuguese* General, contrary to the Earl of *Galway's* opinion, passed the river with all their horse, most of the foot, and some field-pieces, which they fired with good execution on the enemy. The *Marshall de Bay*, who commanded the *Spaniards*, charged the *Portuguese* horse of the right wing, who immediately wheeled about, and fled, without firing a shot, which gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of seizing the *Portuguese* cannon. In order to recover these, and to favour the retreat of the body of foot, which had repulsed the enemy three times with great firmness and resolution, the Earl of *Galway* brought up himself *Pearce's* brigade, consisting of two *British* battalions of *Barrymore* and *Starvoix*, and one of the *Spaniards* lately raised. But these troops not being sustained by the *Portuguese* horse of the left, who fled like those of the right, they were intercepted, and obliged to surrender prisoners of war, and with them Major-General *Sankey*, the Earl of *Barrymore*, Brigadier *Pearce*, and the *Comde de San Juan*, a *Portuguese* General. The rest of the *British* foot, under the command of the *Marquis de Montandre*, performed wonders, and, with the *Portuguese* infantry, made an orderly retreat, with the loss of about an hundred and fifty men; so that, except the prisoners, and other marks of honour, the *Spaniards* had no reason to boast of their victory. The Earl of *Galway*, who had a horse shot under him, very narrowly escaped being taken; but having found means to get away from the enemy with Major *Bladen* his Secretary, and a few other Officers, he rid about four or five miles, and at last reached the Confederate army, which that night came to *Aronches*; and the next day incamped at *Elevas*. The *Marquis de Bay*, having refreshed his troops, advanced towards the Confederates; but the Earl of *Galway* took such advantageous posts along the *Guadiana*, that the *Spaniards* durst not attempt, either to pass that river, or besiege *Olivrenza*, into which place the *British* General found means to introduce supplies of provisions; and, the heats coming on, both armies went into quarters of refreshment; nor did any thing worth notice happen on that side in the autumn campaign. For the *Spaniards* apprehending, that our fleet might have a design upon some part of their Southern coast, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of *Portugal* to defend their own coast, though they had no disturbance given them on that side.

Alicant
taken.

The castle of *Alicant* had now been blocked up ever since the month of *December* 1708. The garrison, consisting only of *Holbam's* and *Syburg's* regiments (which were not above half compleat, when left there two years before) held out with great resolution all the winter, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the scarcity of provisions, and the disturbance they met with from the enemy's bombs. The *Spaniards*, finding all other means ineffectual to reduce that important fortress, resolved at last to blow up the rock, on which the castle stands, by a great mine; the several chambers whereof

No. 61. Vol. IV.

being prepared, with incredible labour and industry, the Chevalier *d'Asfeldt* caused fifteen hundred barrels of powder to be lodged in them, summoned Colonel *Syburg* the Governor to surrender; and, the better to determine him to it, gave him leave to send out two of his Officers to see the condition of the mine. This was readily accepted. *Asfeldt* went himself with the Officers to the mine, and told them he could not bear to let so many brave men perish under the ruins of a place they had so gallantly defended and gave them twenty-four hours to consider of it. But the Governor being immovable in his resolution, the mine was ordered the next day to be fired, which the centinels, posted on the side of the hill to give notice of it, perceiving, they made the appointed signal. Upon which the Governor, with several Officers, walked to the parade, and ordered the guard to retire; which was no sooner done, but the mine was blown up, and with little or no noise made an opening in the rock on the very parade, of some yards in length, and about three feet wide, into which the Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel *Thornicroft*, Major *Vignales*, and other Officers fell, and the opening instantly closing upon them, they all perished, though their bodies were not entirely sunk in. Notwithstanding this accident, Lieutenant-Colonel *d'Albon* of *Syburg's* regiment, being the surviving Commander, resolved to hold out as long as he had any provisions; and, to make these last the longer, he reduced his men to half allowance. By this time King *Charles* being informed, that the garrison was reduced to great extremities, a Council of war was held at *Barcelona*, to consider of the most proper means to relieve that place, the result whereof was, that Lieutenant-General *Stanbope* should embark for *Port-Mabon*, to confer with Sir *George Byng* on that subject. The General, being returned the 12th of *March*, *N. S.* to *Barcelona*, embarked again, on the 18th, on board Sir *Edward Whitaker*, who was arrived there with three thousand five hundred men from *Naples*. These troops were ordered upon this expedition; and then, sailing for *Port-Mabon*, they took there on board four hundred men more; and, on the 11th of *April*, sailed for *Alicant*. But, a strong easterly wind forcing them to anchor in the bay of *Denia*, the enemy suspected their design, and made the necessary preparations to prevent its execution. On the 15th the fleet arrived in sight of *Alicant*; but the weather continuing so tempestuous, that the ships could not come near the shore; and besides, Don *Pedro de Ronquillo* had by that time assembled seven thousand men, cast up intrenchments, and erected batteries, to oppose the landing of the Confederate troops. However, some men of war were ordered to get as near the shore as possible, and fire upon the enemy's intrenchments, which they did with some execution, but were much annoyed by the enemy's batteries. The General and Admirals, seeing the impossibility of relieving the castle, resolved, in a Council of war, to endeavour to save so brave a garrison from being made prisoners of war; and accordingly General *Stanbope* sent a boat on shore with a flag of truce, and an Officer, with a letter for Don *Pedro de Ronquillo*, offering to surrender the castle of *Alicant* upon honourable terms. This proposal being accepted, several

N n articles

1709.

1709. articles were demanded, and most of them granted. Pursuant to the capitulation, the garrison marched out, on the 18th of April, with two pieces of cannon, and all other marks of honour, embarked on board the fleet, and were landed in *Minorca* to refresh themselves.

General Stanhope having laid a design to surprize *Cadiz*, either by means of a secret correspondence he had in the place, or merely upon the encouragement of the weakness of the garrison, concerted measures for that purpose with Sir *George Byng*, on board whose Squadron he embarked at *Port-Mabon* with two regiments of foot; and, about the middle of August, sailed for *Gibraltar*. Here he expected to be joined by the forces, which, about the same time, embarked at *Portsmouth* on board a Squadron, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Baker*, consisting of one battalion of *Scots Guards*, the regiments of foot of the Lord *Tyrasley*, Brigadier *Whetbam*, Colonel *Gore*, Colonel *Boles*, Colonel *Capel*, Colonel *Munden*, Colonel *Dormer*, and the Earl of *Rechford's* dragoons. But this Squadron being long detained on the coast of *England* by contrary winds, so that they did not make the coast of *Portugal* till the beginning of October, the Spaniards, in the mean time, being apprehensive of General Stanhope's design, made detachments from *Estremaçura* for the security of the coast of *Andalusia*; and the season being too far advanced to undertake any thing on that side, that General returned to *Port-Mabon*, thence to *Barcelona*, and not long after sailed for *Italy*, from whence he came over to *England* by the way of *Germany* and *Holland*. On the other hand, Rear-Admiral *Baker* having, on the 10th of October, sent a man of war to *Lisbon* for orders, Lord *Galway* gave him directions to sail directly for *Barcelona* with the forces he had on board. The Court of *Portugal* (who expected that these troops would have staid in that Kingdom) having expostulated with Lord *Galway* about their being sent to *Catalonia*, he took that opportunity to complain of the ill provision that was made for the subsistence and accommodation of the British regiments in *Portugal*; and said, that nevertheless, her Britannic Majesty would take care to recruit these forces, and, if the Court of *Portugal* would be as diligent in raising the men for six regiments of dragoons in the pay of *Great-Britain* (which levies were at last resolved upon) the Portuguese army would then be in a condition to act offensively. He added, that the forces on board Rear-Admiral *Baker* would be of far greater service in *Catalonia*, even with respect to *Portugal* itself, by giving a strong diversion to the enemy; which argument had certainly great weight in it; for the Portuguese were sensible, that General Stanhope's bare coming to *Gibraltar* with two regiments, had occasioned the weakening of the Spanish forces in *Estremaçura*, and disabled them from undertaking any thing on that side, in the autumn campaign.

The rejoicings made at the Court of *Madrid*, upon the easy and inconsiderable victory gained by the Marquis de *Bay* in *Estremaçura*, and on the birth of a second son to King *Philip*, were soon damped, both by the death of that young Prince, and their misfortunes on the frontiers of

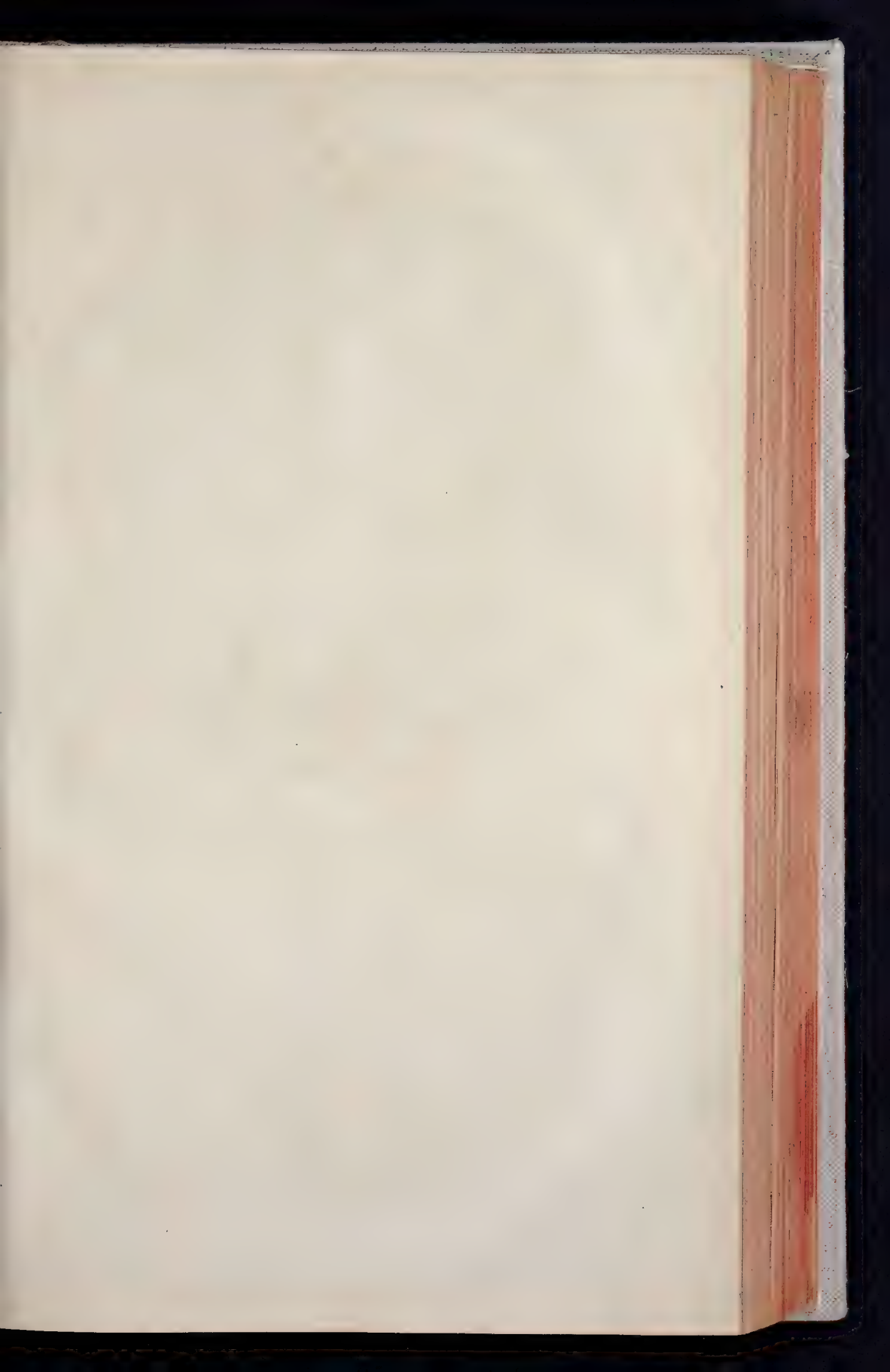
Catalonia. For General *Staremburg*, after he received the reinforcements from *Italy*, having passed the *Sagra* without opposition, made himself master of *Balaguer*, and took nine hundred men prisoners; the Marshal de *Bezons* having refused to second the *Condé d'Aguilar*, who was for attacking the Allies. Upon notice of these transactions, King *Philip* thought it necessary to leave *Madrid*, and go to the army. When he came there, *Bezons* justified himself, by producing the French King's orders for avoiding all engagements. King *Philip* seemed much mortified at this, and not thinking it advisable to attempt the attacking of *Staremburg*, in his advantageous post near *Balaguer*, returned to *Madrid*, where Cardinal *Portocarrero* died some days before, to the great Regret of that Prince, and his Partizans. Not long after, *Staremburg*, having put a strong garrison into *Balaguer*, repassed the *Sagra*, and so both armies went into winter-quarters.

This summer brought a catastrophe on the The King affairs of the King of Sweden. He resolved to invade Muscovy, and engaged himself so far in the Ukraine, that there was no possibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought to him. He engaged a great body of Cossacks to join him, who were easily drawn to revolt from the Czar. He met with great misfortunes in the end of the former year; but nothing could divert him from his designs against Muscovy. He passed the *Nieper*, and besieged *Pultoway*. The Czar marched to raise the siege, with an army much superior to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden resolved to venture on a battle, in which he received such a total defeat, that he lost his camp, his artillery, and baggage. A great part of his army got off, but being closely pursued by the Muscovites, and having neither bread nor ammunition, they were all made prisoners of war. The King himself, with a small number about him, passed the *Nieper*, and got into the Turkish Dominions, and settled at *Bender*, a town in *Moldavia*. Upon this great reverse of his affairs, King *Augustus* pretended, that the resignation of the Crown of *Poland* was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to resign the Crown, by which he was tied to the Republic of *Poland*, without their consent. He marched therefore into *Poland*, and *Stanislaus* was not able to make any resistance, but continued under the protection of the Swedes, waiting for another reverse of fortune. A project was formed to engage the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, with King *Augustus* and the Czar, to attack the Swedes in so many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy storm upon them, if *England* and the *States-General*, with the Court of *Vienna*, had not crushed all this, and entered into a guaranty, for preserving the peace of the Empire, and by consequence of the Swedish Dominions in *Germany*.

Dantzick was at this time severely visited with a plague, which swept away almost one half of their inhabitants, though few of the better sort died of the infection. This put their neighbours under great apprehensions, who feared the spreading of the contagion; but it went no further (1). The

(1) Burnet says, this sudden, and, as it seemed, total reverse of all the designs of the King of Sweden,

who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. *Robinson*, who had lived





1709.
Affairs in
Denmark.

The King of Denmark spent a great part of this summer in a very expensive course of travelling through the Courts of Germany and Italy; and it was believed, that he intended to go to Rome, where great preparations were making for giving him a splendid reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion. But whether these reports were altogether groundless, or whether, being so commonly believed, was like to produce some disorders in his own Kingdom, is not certainly known; but thus much is certain, that he stopped at Florence, and went no farther, but returned home, and, upon the King of Sweden's misfortunes, entered into measures to attack Sweden with King Augustus, who had called a diet in Poland, in which he was acknowledged their King, and all things were settled there according to his wishes. The King of Denmark, upon his return home, sent an army over the Sound to Schonen, about the middle of November, having first published a manifesto, wherein he set forth his reasons for declaring war against Sweden. Finding no resistance at his landing at Helsingburg, he fixed there his head-quarters; but, the cold season not permitting him to undertake the siege of Landercroon, he disposed his troops into winter-quarters, and, on the 4th of December, N. S. returned to Copenhagen. Some time after, the Danes having taken the field, made some progress in Schonen; but the Regency of Stockholm having, by this time, sent a good body of troops into that province, the Swedes obliged the enemy to retire under the cannon of Helsingburg; where, on the 10th of March, N. S. 1709-10, they attacked them with so much bravery and fierceness, that the Danes were almost totally defeated; and, not being able to maintain themselves at Helsingburg, abandoned that City on the night, between the 15th and 16th of that month, went on board their ships, and sailed for Elsinore,

leaving behind them their horses, and some provision and baggage, which they had not either time or conveniences to carry off.

The Swedish army, that was in Poland, having got into Pomerania, the French studied to engage them to fall into Saxony, to imbroil the affairs of Germany, and, by that means oblige the neighbouring Princes to recall the troops, that were in her Britannic Majesty's service, and that of the other Allies in Flanders. But the Queen and the States-General interposed effectually in this matter; and the Swedes were so sensible, how much they might need their protection, that they acquiesced in the propositions that were made to them; by which means the peace of the northern parts of the Empire was secured. A peace was likewise made up between the Grand Signior and the Czar. The King of Sweden continued at Bender. The war in Hungary still went on. The Court of Vienna published ample relations of the great successes they had there; but these were said to be given out, to make the malecontents seem an inconsiderable and ruined party. There were secret negotiations still on foot, but without effect.

Nothing of importance passed at sea. The French sent out no fleet; and our convoys were so well ordered, and so successful, that the Merchants made no complaints. Towards the end of the year, the Earl of Pembroke, finding the care of the fleet a load too heavy for him to bear, desired to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of Orford; but though he was willing to serve at the head of a Commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in Commission, in which he was the first, the other Commissioners being Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Mr. George Dodington, and Mr. Paul Methuen. The Queen gave the Earl of Pembroke a pension of three thousand Pounds a year, payable out of the revenue of the Post-Office, in consideration of his eminent services (1). As

The Admirals
really put
in Com-
mission.

lived above thirty years in that Court, and is now Bishop of Bristol, for a particular character of that King. I shall set it down in his own words:

He is now in the twenty-eighth year of his age, tall and slender, stoops a little, and in his walking discovers, tho' in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy constitution, takes a pleasure in enduring the greatest fatigues, and is little curious about his repose: His chief and almost only exercise has been riding, in which he has been extremely excessive. He usually eats with a good appetite, especially in the morning, which is the best of his three meals: He never drinks any thing but small beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He speaks little, is very thoughtful, and is observed to mind nothing so much as his own affairs, laying his designs, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no Councils of war; and though in civil affairs his Ministers have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment than on theirs, and frequently falls on such methods, as are farthest from their thoughts: So that both his Ministers and Generals have had hitherto the glory of obedience, without either the praise or blame of having advised prudently or otherwise. The reason of his reservedness in consulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the age of fifteen, to succeed in an absolute Monarchy, and, by the forward zeal of the States of the Kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: There were those about him, that magnified

his understanding as much as his authority, and insinuated, that he neither needed advice, nor could submit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without some diminution of his own supreme power. These impressions had not all their effect, till after the war was begun, in course of which he surmounted so many impossibilities (as those about him thought them) that he came to have less value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at last to think nothing impossible. So it may be truly said, that, under God, as well as all his glorious successes, as the late fatal reverse of them, have been owing solely to his own conduct. As to his piety, it cannot be said, but that the outward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very easy to account for the excess of his revenge against King Augustus, and some other instances; but he is not suspected of any bodily indulgences. It is most certain, he has along wished well to the Allies, and not at all to France, which he never intended to serve by any steps he has made. We hear the Turks use him well, but time must shew what use they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own Kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greatest Princes of the age.

(1) Matthew Aylmer, Esq; was appointed Admiral, and Commander in chief of her Majesty's navy; the Lord Dursley, Vice-Admiral; and Charles Wager, Esq; Rear-Admiral of the Red; Sir John Jennings, Admiral, and Sir Edward Whitaker, Vice-Admiral of the White; Sir John Norris, Admiral; and John Baker, Esq; Vice-Admiral of the Blue.

(1) Dr.

1709.
France
makes new
overtures
of peace.
Harc.
Burnet.

As soon as the campaign in the *Netherlands* was ended, the *French* Court thought fit to make new advances towards a negotiation of peace. In order to which, Signior *Foscarini*, the *Venetian* Ambassador, who, about this time, came to *Holland*, took a turn *incognito* to *Amsterdam*, to found the Burgomasters of that City. On the other hand, Monsieur *Petkum*, Resident of the Duke of *Holslein*, at the *Hague*, who had been secretly employed the last winter in the negotiations there, kept up a correspondence by letters with Monsieur *de Torcy*, to try, if an expedient could be found out for the 37th article in the preliminaries, the difficulty in that article being the only point, for which the Conferences, in appearance at least, were broke off. The point they offered to satisfy the Allies in, was, that the *French* King should not directly nor indirectly assist his Grandson King *Philip*; and, with regard to the expedient proposed to secure this point, all went upon the same foot with that which *Petkum* had proposed, as from himself, the day before *Rouillé* left the *Hague*. That three towns should be put into the hands of the Allies, to be restored to *France*, when the affairs of *Spain*, &c. should be decided. The meaning of which seemed to be no other, than that *France* was willing to lose three more towns, in case King *Philip* should keep *Spain* and the *West-Indies*. The places therefore ought to have borne some equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the answers, which the *French* made to every proposition, shewed they meant nothing but to amule and distract the Allies. The first demand made by the Allies was of the places in *Spain*, then in the hands of the *French* King; for the delivering up of these might have been a good step to the reduction of the whole. But this was flatly refused; and, that the King of *France*

might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the strong places in *Spain*, and been after out of the Kingdom, pretending that he was thereby evacuating it, though the *French* forces were kept still in the neighbourhood. Thus a flaw was made of leaving *Spain* to defend itself; and upon that King *Philip* revolved on the *Spaniards* to make great efforts, before it was ever expected of them. This was done by the *French* King to deceive both the Allies and his own Subjects, who were calling loudly for a peace; and it likewise enabled him of a great part of the charge, that *Spain* had put him to. But while his troops were called out of that Kingdom, as many deserted, by a visible connivance, as made up several battalions and the *Moor* regiments, as being subjects of *Spain*, were sent thither; so that King *Philip* was not weakened by the recalling the *French* troops; and by this means the place in *Spain* could not be any more demanded. The next demand, as most important towards the reduction of *Spain*, was that *Bayonne* and *Poitou* might be put into the hands of the Allies, with *Tenacities* on the side of the Empire. By the two former all communication betwixt *France* and *Spain* would be cut off, and the Allies would be enabled to send forces thither with less expense and trouble. But it was said, these were the keys of *France* which the King could not part with; and therefore it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the *Netherlands*, and even there they expected *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*; so that all the offers appeared illusory, and the intercourse by letters was for some time let fall (1). After some time *Torcy* wrote to *Petkum* to desire, since the point in dispute could not be adjusted by letters, that passes might be granted for some Ministers from *France* to come to *Holland*, and

(1) Dr. *Harc*, in his fourth letter to a Tory-Member, sets forth this affair more at large: 'This, says he, was the nature of the expedient in agitation; and nothing can shew better the readiness of the Allies to put an end to the war, and the insincerity of *France*, than what passed between them on this subject. The towns to be given up for this purpose must have been either in *Spain*, or on the borders of it, or on the side of *Alsace*, or in *Flanders*. Whatever could have been done of this kind, was but a poor expedient for an article of so much consequence; and, had the King of *France* been in earnest, one cannot think he would have made any difficulty to give the Allies what they were willing to accept. But, as he meant nothing less than what he was so forward to promise, there was no security of this sort the Allies could ask, which he did not think too much to grant.

As for towns in *Spain*, which was the best security, and most to the purpose, that expedient had been proposed during the conferences at the *Hague*, and was by the *French* Ministers refused: And to prevent the Allies from persisting in this demand, the King soon after put it out of his power to comply with it; otherwise his people, as blind as they are, could not have had any great opinion of his sincerity in the desires he expressed for peace, while he rejected a condition, that was so natural for the Allies to ask; and not only possible, but easy for him to grant; and which the safety and interest of *France*, as distinct from *Spain*, were no way concerned in. That the negotiations therefore might not continue to rest upon this point, he took care immediately, that there should be no room left for the Allies to insist on this demand; and to that

end withdrew his troops out of all the *Spanish* fortresses, as he did afterwards out of the Kingdom, upon pretence indeed of evacuating *Spain*, according to the preliminary articles. But that was only a pretence; for he kept them there all the summer, to be at hand to assist the Duke of *Alva*, in case his army should be attacked, or an invasion should be made into *Arragon*; though otherwise the General, that commanded them, had orders not to venture a battle, but to be on the defensive; as appeared upon the Duke of *Alva's* coming to his army upon the surprise of *Badajoz* by the Allies, and expulating with Marshal *Beaumont* for not joining upon that occasion the *Spanish* army; for which he justified himself by producing the King's orders. By this middle way, the King thought he could deceive the Allies, without abandoning the *Spaniards*; and, in the mean time, the Duke of *Anjou*, according to the direction of *French* Councils, made his utmost efforts to put *Spain* into a condition to defend itself, as if they were in earnest to expect no farther assistance from *France*; which had so good an effect on the *Spaniards*, that they exerted themselves, beyond what could be expected of them. They completed in a little time their old regiments, and raised besides a great many new ones; and the most vigorous measures were taken to find money, and erect magazines, as if they were to stand for the future, on their own bottom, though the King of *France* was far from intending they should want his assistance, when their affairs called for it. And that his Grandson might not want a General for his army, it was publicly talked at *Paris*, before Monsieur *Rouillé's* return, that, in case of a peace, the Duke of *Berwick* had desired

1709. and renew the Conferences; or that *Petkum* might be permitted to go to *France*, to try if his presence could help to find out an expedient, that had hitherto been in vain endeavoured by letters. The first the *States* refused, till they knew precisely what they were to come for, since, under the appearance of some good, the presence of *French* ministers in *Holland* gave them an opportunity to do a great deal of harm, by sowing seeds of jealousy among the Allies, poisoning the minds of the people against their Governors, and retarding the great preparations for another campaign, which can never be pushed with the vigour they should, while the people are amused with the specious appearances of an approaching peace: For so the *French* endeavoured to make it every where thought, when they meant nothing less. For these reasons the *States* refused to give passes for any Ministers to come from *France*, till they knew more of their intentions. But, to shew their readiness to hearken to any reasonable proposal, they consented, that *Petkum* should go to *France*, which he did about the latter end of *November*.

While these negotiations were carrying on by letters with *France*, King *Philip* did not only take all the proper measures he could to maintain himself in the Monarchy, which his Grandfather was, in appearance, treating to give up, but published a notable manifesto, wherein he protested against all that should be transacted at the *Hague*

in his prejudice, as void and null, and declared his resolution to adhere to his faithful *Spaniards*, as long as there was a man of them that would stand by him; and was so far from quitting *Spain* and the *Indies* to his Competitor, that he would not consent he should have those parts of the Monarchy which he was then possessed off; and, in pursuance of this manifesto, he named the Duke of *Alba* and Count *Bergheyc* for his Plenipotentiaries, with orders to notify it to the Maritime Powers; which Count *Bergheyc* did in a letter to the Duke of *Mariborough*, dated from *Mons*, Aug. 21, with a copy of their instructions; and they sent another, at the same time, to the Deputy of the *States*; which were accordingly transmitted to their Principals. But no answer was thought fit, either by *England* or *Holland*, to be returned to them. And to admit Plenipotentiaries from him now, would undo all that had been hitherto agreed on; and, instead of seeking for an expedient for the 37th article of the preliminaries, the whole of them would have been destroyed, and the treaty must have been begun intirely anew.

In Count *Bergheyc*'s letter there was also broad intimations, how grateful King *Philip* would be, if, by means of the Duke of *Mariborough*'s good offices, his just and reasonable desires might be complied with; and there was nothing he would not do to content *England* in general, or that might be to his satisfaction in particular.

desired leave to resign his *Baton* of Marshal of *France*, that he might go and command in *Spain*: Which shews us, how the Duke of *Anjou* might have Officers as well as men from *France*, if he had any want of them. If therefore the King of *France* withdrew his troops, it was not with a design to leave his Grandson to himself, but upon very different views: It was to make the Allies, and his own people believe he was sincere, and that he was willing to remove, as far as he could, all the difficulties in the way of peace; and yet, at the same time, and by the same action, increase the difficulties he would seem to remove, by rendering by this means the most reasonable demand of the Allies impracticable: Besides that he really wanted these troops himself against another year, the danger he was threatened with in *Flanders* obliging him to have a more numerous army on that side. This was all he meant by withdrawing his troops from *Spain*, and therefore he did not do it, till he had put the Duke of *Anjou*'s affairs upon a pretty good foot, and he was sure there could be no immediate want of them, the campaign there being at an end. And, that this removal of his troops might be of the least prejudice possible to his Grandson, he contrived, that as many of his own troops should desert as would make seven or eight battalions; and, to supply the place of the rest as far as he could, he sent his Grandson all the *Walloon* regiments from *Flanders*; from whence they began their march for *Spain* the beginning of the *February* following, which was as soon as money, arms, and clothes could be provided for them. And not content with giving the Duke of *Anjou* this assistance, and supplying him with great stores of ammunition, because new-raised troops could not be much depended on, the King kept many of the troops he withdrew in *Rouffillon* upon the borders of *Spain*, to be ready to return, when his Grandson's affairs should make it necessary. And is not this very like the conduct of one, who means in earnest to abandon *Spain*, and would restore it to the House of *Austria*, if he could? But poor man! He cannot do impossibilities. It is a pretty way to facilitate the reduction of a Kingdom, to make it as difficult as possible; a great sign of sincerity to put

things out of our power, which we cannot, without discovering our insincerity, keep in it; and mighty reasonable to create impossibilities, and then complain of them. Who can help believing such a man, when he tells you, he would with all his heart, to procure a peace, give up the *Spanish* monarchy, if he could, but that he really cannot; and that this is the only hindrance? Or what pledge of his good will is there, one may not expect from him, as a caution, that he will not, directly or indirectly, hinder your doing what he cannot possibly himself do for you? To expect a valuable pledge from a man, to be returned to him when that is done, which he intends never shall be done, is a great jest. And therefore, since the *French* King has so plainly discovered his intention, you must not wonder he makes such difficulties in settling an expedient, as you could not expect in a man, who means one word of what he says.

The first and only good expedient, you see, is made impracticable, on purpose, that it may not be insisted on. The next best was to put into the hands of the Allies some *French* towns on the frontier of *Spain*, such as *Bayonne* and *Perpignan*, which would have enabled the Allies to send forces to *Spain* with infinitely less expence and trouble, and in a quarter of the time they can now; and, at the same time, have obliged the *French* pretty effectually to keep their promise not to assist the Duke of *Anjou*, by cutting off in great measure the communication between *France* and *Spain*. This was an expedient, which the King could not say it was not in his power to comply with. But, when one has not a mind to do a thing, nothing is so easy as to find out a reason for not doing it. If this could not be said to be an impossible expedient, it was easy to pretend, that it did not suit either with the safety or dignity of *France* to put the keys of his Kingdom into the hands of the Allies, since he could not be sure what use they might make of them, or when he should get them again. And this was very right arguing for a man, who never intended that should be done, which is made the condition, on which the caution he deposits shall be restored. If the King does not design *Spain* should be quitted by his Grandson, it must

1709. particular. *Torcy* was likewise said to write very unnecessarily, and with great officiousness, two or three very civil letters to the Duke, till he found his civilities were lost upon him. *Petkum*, after a stay at *Paris* of about ten days, and several fruitless interviews with the Marquis *de Torcy*, returned to the *Hague* on the 7th of *December*, without having been able to make the least progress in the business he went upon, or bringing so much as the pretence of an expedient along with him; but, instead of that, he brought the sense of the *French Court*, in a paper drawn up by *Torcy*, and importing in substance, "That it would be impossible for the King of *France* to execute the 37th article of the preliminaries, even though his Majesty could resolve to sign it. That the other articles were proposed by the Allies six months since, in order to prevent, by a suspension of arms, the events of the campaign, which might change the dispositions towards peace: And that reason now ceasing, because the

winter-season naturally produced a cessation of arms, without any agreement in writing, that therefore, without farther mention of the preliminaries, the three winter months might be spent in treating and concluding a peace. That, though the form of the preliminaries were suppressed, yet the King of *France* would preserve the substance, and treat on the foundation of the conditions, to which he had consented, for the satisfaction of the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*, and their Allies, though he had declared, that those conditions should be void, if they were not accepted during the negotiation at the *Hague*. That his Majesty was ready to resume the negotiations on the same foot, and send his Plenipotentiaries to such a place as should be agreed on, to begin the Conferences with those of the Allies, on the first day of *January*. And, if this proposal were accepted, the *Sieur Petkum* might forthwith return, for settling the passes, and other formalities, for
"the

must be owned it would not be very prudent in him to give the Allies such important places under the notion of cautionary towns, which must either defeat his design of supporting his *Grandson*; or, if that design succeed, could never of right be demanded back of them; nor but that a Prince of his known abilities would, we may be sure, soon find a pretence to ask for them, and that pretence he would justify, if not readily submitted to, the same way he has so many others no less groundless, by force and arms, which with him have always been the measures of right and wrong. But if he were sincere, if he really meant that *Spain* should be restored, what inconvenience could there be in complying with this expedient? What ill use could the Allies make of it? Could they, by the help of these towns, hurt *France*, before they had reduced *Spain*? Can it be imagined, that would not find them work enough? Or is there any room to fear an invasion from *Spain* afterward? No sure; however significant *Spain* may be in *French* hands, it will not in haste be very formidable out of them. They would have themselves too much business in looking to themselves, to think of disturbing so powerful a neighbour. And there would be a thousand times more reason for them to be afraid of *France*, than for *France* to apprehend any thing from them. Nor can there be the least pretence for a suspicion, that the Allies, if these towns were once in their hands, would never part with them, supposing the end answered for which they were intrusted with them; for, besides that such a breach of faith is without example on the side of the Allies, they cannot, for the reasons I gave you in my last, act a false part in this matter, if they would, especially not on this side of *France*; where, if the Allies had ever so much justice on their side, they could not long support themselves under the mighty disadvantages with which they must make war on this frontier. But there is no need of saying more, to shew you how ridiculous it is to pretend any fear of the Allies, if these towns should be put into their hands. The supporting of *Spain* has cost *France* too dear, not to know the low condition it is in; and that nothing could be greater madness in King *Charles*, or his Allies, than not to sit down quietly in peace the minute that Kingdom is reduced to his obedience, without seeking for new pretences to continue the war needlessly.

Nothing therefore can be thought to be the true reason, why the king of *France* rejected this expedient, but that he never intended the Allies should obtain the end, for which it was asked, as you will see more plainly in what follows. On the side of *Alsace*, nothing was proposed, that I know of, but *Thionville*, a place of great consequence to *France*, were they in any danger from the Empire. But, considering the

feeble low condition of that enervated exhausted body, one cannot but think the strong places on that side are of no other use but to enable the *French* to invade the Empire, and not to secure them against invasions from it. And what should be deposited as a pledge, would be to be restored long before the Empire could be in a condition to make any use of it, that would be either unjust in itself, or troublesome to *France*. But *France* never intending to fulfil the condition on which the town should be restored, this proposal was rejected upon the same pretence as the former.

Nothing now was left, but to seek for an expedient in *Flanders*, which was what the *French* offered from the first, and all along pressed, as if they were very much in earnest. But, had they been so, it is very hard to give a good reason, why an expedient should be looked for here, rather than in any other part. The Allies, though they were sensible whatever could be given on this side, was but a poor expedient at best; yet they were so sincerely disposed to put an end to the war, that they would not absolutely reject it. Whatever towns *France* could put into the hands of the Allies on this side, if they were not such, as lie nearest to those, that are to be given up by the preliminaries, their tenure would be very precarious; and it would be very difficult to keep them, when *France* had a mind to have them again. This you may easily judge of by the impossibility the Allies were under last campaign to make the siege of *Arras*, while they left *Doway* behind them; and the difficulty *Upres* gave them in the siege of *Aire*. But if these cautionary towns were to be of those that lie nearest, they could not be of so much importance to *France*, as that they should not be willing to part with them to keep *Spain*, since this would only be making a little farther addition to the barrier of the *Netherlands*; which would secure them more from *France*. But, as bad an equivalent as this was at the best, the *French* refused to make it as good as they could, by excepting such towns as were of most consequence, such as *Doway*, *Arras*, and *Cambray*, which would lay them open to an invasion from the Allies; which, if the Allies were able to make, they knew their own designs would give but too just a handle for; besides, they were unwilling to part with, under the name of a caution, what they could not be willing to part with for good and all, since they intended to forfeit the condition, and not do themselves, or rather not suffer that to be done, which would give them a right to ask for it again.

This being the design of *France*, all these negotiations by letters came to nothing; and one side would never offer what the other could accept, unless the Allies would be content with the name of an expedient

1709. "the place and manner of meeting (1)." The *States-General*, having considered both the answer and the report of their Deputies, came to the unanimous resolution, "That the *Sieur Petkum*, who, at the desire, and, upon the repeated instances of *France*, was permitted, with the consent and knowledge of the high Allies, to go for *France*, to see if any expedient could be found out, for removing the difficulties about the 37th article of the preliminaries, was, contrary to all expectation, returned, not only without bringing any such expedient with him, but with an answer, in which *France* intirely receded from the foundations agreed to with common consent, and with a proposal to enter into a formal negotiation of peace, without settling and adjusting any thing beforehand; a proposal in all times judged dangerous, and contrary to the declaration made on the part of *France*, That all the preliminary articles should remain firm, as they were settled, only with such alterations in the terms of the execution, which the course of time had rendered necessary, except only the 37th article. That from this way of proceeding, nothing could be expected, but that the enemy was not sincerely disposed to agree to a safe peace; and that little regard was to be had to the assurances of their good intentions, seeing the effects agreed to little with their professions; but rather, that all was concerted and designed to sow, if possible, distrusts and jealousies between the Allies and that State, while the *French* were resolved to continue the war. That therefore it was absolutely necessary, that the Allies in general, and every one of them in particular, should, in an extraordinary manner, exert themselves, and make early preparations for prosecuting with vigour, in the next campaign, the advantages obtained in the last. That a letter to that purpose should be written to the Emperor and Diet of the Empire at *Ratisbon*; the confederated Circles, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, the Queen of *Great-Britain*, and

"the Duke of *Savoy*, And that their Imperial and *Britannic* Majesties should be desired, that Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, and the Prince and Duke of *Marlborough*, might come to the *Hague* very early in the spring, before the end of *February*, to concert the necessary measures for the campaign." The Queen of *Great-Britain* not only returned a favourable answer to the letter of the *States-General*, but resolved also to exhort all the Allies to a vigorous prosecution of the war; and, in particular, wrote a very pressing letter to the General Diet of the Empire.

About the time *Petkum* returned to the *Hague*, the *French* King wrote to King *Philip*, to acquaint him with what had passed, and to assure him, that, though he was obliged to recall his troops, he need not be alarmed at it, for that he would never abandon him; and that he had ordered twelve regiments, that were then in *Spain*, to join the *Spaniards*, in case King *Charles* should make an irruption into *Aragon*. And a little after Monsieur *Ibheville* was sent to *Madrid*; but both his journey and business were made so great a secret, that it was not for some time known whither he was gone; and when he came to *Madrid*, where he arrived on the 26th of *December*, his instructions were to communicate his business to nobody but the King himself. He did not make a long stay, nor was he in appearance well received; but no judgment could be made from thence what his errand was; there was no way to distinguish between what was real and what disguise. But to judge from other steps, it is most reasonable to think his business was to learn the state in which King *Philip's* affairs were, and to give him his lesson, how he should manage in so nice a juncture; with assurances, that in spite of all appearances to the contrary, which the necessity of his affairs might oblige the *French* King to make, he would never desert him, much less agree with the Allies, upon any terms, to turn his arms against him. But this journey was made a great mystery of, to make the Allies believe, that

1709.

dient instead of the thing, which they were beforehand sure could by no means answer the end it was given for; which the Allies were too wise to do.

(1) *Dr Hare*, in his fourth letter to a *Tory* Member, p. 19, observes, that "this answer was short even of their expectations, who hoped least from it; for this overthrew all the preliminaries at once, while the King pretended to agree to all but one; and by promising to keep the substance of them, while they destroy the form, they effectually defeat all that had been done, and recover to themselves an intire liberty to dispute all points afresh, and to lay hold of all the occasions, which that would give them, to create divisions and jealousies between the *States* and their Allies; which is plainly the great point they have all along aimed at; which though they have been so terribly disappointed in, they are unwilling to give over, in hopes their constancy and firmness to the common cause would in time be wearied out, and yield to the importunate solicitations with which they tempted them."

Though to prevent a new campaign might be a reason for hastening the preliminaries, it was not the only or chief design of them. Whenever a treaty should commence, the Allies had declared long before, in answer to the Elector of *Bavaria's* letters at the end of the *Ramilles* campaign, they would not enter on it, till some fundamental points were first settled, the ne-

cessity of which they were convinced of by the dear-bought experience of former treaties: And the same experience has taught the Allies, that no treaty with *France* can be effectual, if the fundamental articles are not executed as well as agreed on, before the general treaty is concluded; which security the Marquis would intirely take away, by deferring the execution till after ratification. Thus the two great ends of a preliminary treaty, which are to agree on some fundamental points, and secure the execution of them, are by this answer intirely destroyed; and the Allies are not only where they were before that treaty was begun, but are really the worse for it; it being of greater advantage to the *French* to know beforehand what are the particular demands, which the Emperor and Maritime Powers insist on for themselves, and in behalf of the Allies. As for solving all now by two words, *Form* and *Substance*, two other words, the *Letter* and *Spirit* of the *Partition-treaty*, are still too well remembered for the Allies to be again deceived by the *French* distinctions, which, if they could now pass upon them, it is easy to see, that the form of these articles would have been found to be the substance of them, and the pretended substance would have proved a shadow only. Here then *Dutch* bluntness and plain-dealing proved too hard for the *Finess* of the *French*; a word not more peculiar to them, than the thing meant by it.

1709. that the business of it was to persuade King Philip to retire out of Spain, since it would be impossible for the French King to support him any longer.

Palatines
come to
England.

About the beginning of May happened an extraordinary event, which raised much discourse and argument in England, namely, the coming over of great numbers of Palatines, Swabians, and other Germans, most of them Lutherans, being driven from their habitations, either by the oppressive exactions of the French, or the desolation of their native country, occasioned by the calamities of the war; so that, by the middle of June, they were increased to six thousand five hundred and twenty men, women, and children; among whom were schoolmasters, husbandmen, vine-dressers, herdsmen, wheel-wrights, smiths, weavers, carpenters, masons, bakers, coopers, brewers, and other handicrafts-men. It was never certainly known upon what motives, and with what views, these people were brought over; but it is certain, that, being come into Holland, with design to go for the English Plantations in America, upon an invitation of some of their countrymen, who were reported to be there in a thriving condition, they were furnished with shipping to come over to England by Mr d'Ayrelles, the British Secretary at the Hague, by direction from those in the Administration. Being destitute of all necessaries, they must inevitably have perished, had not the Queen first ordered a daily allowance to be distributed to them, and, at the same time, a sufficient number of tents to be delivered out of the Tower, for their incamping on Black-Heath near Greenwich, and in a large field near Camberwell; and afterwards, upon the petition of the Justices of Peace for the County of Middlesex, granted a Brief for the collection of charity-money within that County; which Brief was shortly after made to extend through the whole Kingdom of Great-Britain; and, at the same time, were appointed several persons, in the most eminent stations, to be Trustees and Commissioners, for receiving and disposing of the monies so collected. The kind reception and entertainment which these distressed fugitives found here, having been reported abroad, encouraged many other Germans to leave their desolate habitations, and to follow their countrymen, inasmuch that their numbers increased so fast, that the Secretary at the Hague was directed to put a stop to their coming over. As a considerable number of German Roman Catholics had come along with the Protestants, such of them as did not voluntarily change their Religion, were, at the Queen's expence, sent back to Holland, where she ordered a sum of money to be distributed to them, towards the charges of their journey home. As for the Palatines, who staid behind in Great-Britain, some were entertained in private families, some sent to Ireland, others to Carolina, and the greatest part to New York, under the direction of Commissary Du Pré, who failed with them for that country about the beginning of April 1710, together with Colonel Hunter, governor of that country.

A Parliament
in
Ireland.

The Earl of Wharton having been made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, arrived there the 2d of April 1709. A fortnight after his landing, he opened a Session of Parliament, and made a speech to both Houses, part of which was as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

1709.

I Am obliged and directed to lay before you another consideration of infinite consequence; and that is, to put you in mind of the great inequality there is, with respect to numbers, between the Protestants and Papists of this Kingdom, and of the melancholy experience you have had of this sort of men, whenever they had it in their power to distress or destroy you.

These reflections must necessarily lead you to think of two things; the first is, seriously to consider, whether any new bills are wanting to enforce or explain those good laws, which you have already, for preventing the growth of Popery. And, in the next place, it makes evident the necessity there is of inculcating and preserving a good understanding amongst all the Protestants of this Kingdom. What the most proper methods are to compleat so desirable and necessary an end, yourselves, who have the opportunities of knowing the uneasiness that any of your Fellow-subjects may lie under, are the fittest to judge.

I will only add, That the Queen, who is all goodness, never had any thing so much at her Royal heart, as the bringing to pass, and perfecting the Union of her Subjects of Great-Britain: And I may venture to say, that she looks upon her success in this great undertaking to equal, if not to exceed, any other of the glories of her Reign."

In this speech the Lord Wharton recommended a good understanding between the Churchmen and Dissenters, as the surest means to weaken the Popish interest, by strengthening the Protestant. The Irish Papists doubted not, by dividing the Protestants, to find an opportunity to destroy them. The Lord Wharton was resolved to let the Papists know, at his first coming, they were to expect no favour from him. As Popery had increased under the late Administration, he procured a bill to prevent the growth of it, by enacting, "That the estates of the Irish Papists should descend to their Protestant heirs." But his care to discourage Popery did not hinder his being represented by the Tories, in England, as a persecutor of the Church in Ireland. He had not only made Dr Lambert Dean of Downe, and Dr Lloyd Dean of Connor, but it was also reported, that he had sent a Bishop to prison. This matter was thus: The House of Peers having (on the 28th of June) adjourned to the next day, the feast of St Peter and St Paul, Dr John Pooley, Bishop of Raphoe, took upon him to protest against it. His reason was, "Because he conceived it against the laws of the Church to do business upon a Holiday, which might hinder Divine Service, Prayers and Sacraments, Sermons or Homilies, and Catechisms, lest it should be a robbery of God, as well as Tythes and Offerings." The Lords, the next day, reformed this protest, and signified to the Bishop, that, unless he withdrew it, they must send him to the Castle. But he being obstinate, and adhering to his protest, the House ordered him to be taken into the custody of the Black-Rod, and adjourning for a month, the Usher had him so long in durance, which, by the Lord Wharton's

Union recommended, and Popery discouraged, by the Earl of Wharton.

The Bishop of Raphoe taken into custody.

1709. *Wharton's* direction, was made as easy to him, as was consistent with the orders of the House.

A Fellow of Trinity College near Dublin, having lately expelled Edward Forbes for aspersing the memory of King William, and they having shewn a steady adherence to the Revolution; a motion was made in the House of Commons for an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, that he would lay before the Queen the desire of the House, that five thousand pounds might be given for erecting a public Library in the College.

Notes about the Palatines. The Commissioners appointed in England for the settlement of the *Palatines*, having sent into Ireland five hundred families of these Refugees; the Commons took their distressed condition into consideration, and agreed, that the sending a proportion of these *Palatines* into Ireland was a strengthening the Protestant interest, and the encouraging them to settle there would greatly contribute to the security of the Kingdom, and therefore that the Queen be addressed to allow five thousand pounds annually for three years towards their support and settlement, which should be made good to her in the next aids granted by Parliament.

Proceedings of the Irish Convocation. The Convocation of the Clergy of Ireland sat with the Parliament, and by this time the same ill temper, that had prevailed in the *English* Convocation, began to ferment and spread itself among the Clergy of Ireland. None of the disputes about the power of proroguing had been thought of formerly in that Church, as they had no records or minutes of former Convocations. The faction in England found out proper instruments, to set the same humour on foot, during the Earl of *Rochester's* Government, and, as was said, by his directions: And, it being once raised, it continued by reason of the indolence of the succeeding Governors. So that the Clergy were making the same bold claim in Ireland, that had caused such disputes in England. Accordingly, on the 5th of August, the power of proroguing was by the Lower-House contested in a very high and warm debate. The Lord-Lieutenant (who was resolved to put a stop to these matters) being informed of it by Dr *Brown*, Chairman of the Committee, sent orders in the midst of the debate to prorogue the Convocation to the 5th of October next, to their great surprize and mortification. Dr *Brown*, for giving this intelligence, was some time after, by the procurement of the Lord *Wharton*, promoted to the See of *Cork*; yet upon the change of the Ministry he became the most violent of all the *Irish* Prelates against the Earl of *Wharton*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who was his friend) and indeed against the whole Whig-party, to whom he rendered him-

self still more obnoxious, by discountenancing the drinking to the glorious memory of King William. Against which he wrote and preached some tracts and sermons, but so little answering the purpose, that King William's memory was afterwards more frequently drunk than before, with an additional mark of contempt to the Bishop, and the sacredness, which he weakly imagined to be tacked to *Commemoration-beauties*, became universally exploded.

When the bill to prevent the further growth of Popery, with those for the supply, were ready for the Royal assent; the Earl of *Wharton* came, on the 30th of August, to the House of Peers, and concluded the Session with a speech to both Houses, in which were these paragraphs:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Make no question but that you understand too well the true interest of the Protestant Religion in this Kingdom, not to endeavour to make all such Protestants as easy as you can, who are willing to contribute what they can to defend the whole against the common enemy.
" It is not the law now past, nor any other law, that the wit of man can frame, will secure you from Popery, whilst you continue divided among yourselves; it being demonstrable, that, unless there be a firm friendship and confidence among the Protestants of this Kingdom, it is impossible for you either to be happy, or to be safe.
" And I am directed to declare it to you, as her Majesty's fixed resolution, That as her Majesty will always maintain and support the Church, as by law established, so it is her Royal will and intentions, that Dissenters shall not be persecuted, or molested in the exercise of their Religion."

Lord Lieutenant's speech at the close of the Session.

The Parliament being prorogued to the 13th of March, the Lord-Lieutenant, attended by Mr *Addison* Secretary of State, embarked for England, where he arrived the 9th of September. The great business of the Session of Parliament this winter related to Dr *Sacheverel*. This affair not only took up most of their time, but, in conclusion, had also great effects. As it was one of the most extraordinary transactions of the time, it will deserve a particular notice. Dr *Sacheverel* was a bold, insolent man, with a very small share of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense; but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment by the most petulant railings at Dissenters, and Low-Churchmen, in several sermons and libels, penned without either chastness of stile, or liveliness of expression, and full of indecent and scurrilous language (1). When

Dr Sacheverel's sermons. Burnet.

(1) He was grandson of John Sacheverel, the Presbyterian Minister of *Wincainton* in *Somersetshire*, who was bred in *St John's College Oxford*, and silenced soon after the Restoration. This John, being taken at a Conventicle, suffered three years imprisonment, which occasioned his death. John's eldest son (father of Dr Henry Sacheverel) was bred in *King's College Cambridge*, and entertained notions very opposite to his father's principles, and died Minister of *St Peter's Church* in *Marlborough*, leaving a numerous family in very low circumstances. His son Henry was put to

school at *Marlborough* at the charge of Edward Hoarff an Apothecary, who, being his godfather, adopted him for his son. Hoarff's widow sent him afterwards to *Oxford*, where he became Fellow of *Maudlin College*. His mother, by procurement of Bishop *Burnet*, was admitted into the hospital for distressed widows at *Salisbury*. He had not been long at *Oxford*, before he discovered his turbulent spirit. When he came to be ordained by Bishop *Lloyd*, he was by the Bishop charged with false *Latin*, but he confidently defended it, till the Bishop sent for books to convince him. The

1709. When he had pursued this method for several years without effect, he was at last brought up from the country by a popular election to *St Saviour's in Southwark*, where he began to make great reflections on the Ministry, representing, that the Church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate enemies. At the Summer Assizes in *Derby*, where he preached before the Judges, and this winter, on the 5th of *November*, at *St Paul's*, he gave a full vent to his fury, in the most violent declamation, that he could contrive, upon these words of *St Paul*, *Perils among false brethren*, in which, after some short reflections upon Popery, he let himself loose into such indecencies, that both the man and the sermon were universally condemned. He asserted the doctrine of Non-resistance in the highest strain possible; and said, that to charge the Revolution with resistance, was to cast black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had disowned it, and cited for proof some words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himself from a design of conquest. He poured out much scorn and scurrility on the Dissenters, and reflected severely on the Toleration; and said, the Church was violently attacked by her enemies, and loosely defended by her pretended friends. He animated the people to stand up for the defence of the Church, for which, he said, he sounded the trumpet, and desired them to put on the whole armour of God. After the preaching of this sermon, the Lord-Mayor, Sir Samuel Garrard, invited the Doctor to dinner, took him in his coach, carried him to his house, gave him thanks for his good sermon, and told him, that he hoped to see it in print. The Doctor answered, that he was apprehensive *he had spoken some bold truths, which might displease some people*. Notwithstanding which, the Lord-Mayor undertook to propose to the Court of Aldermen, that they should return the Doctor thanks for his sermon, and desire him to print it. But, though that motion was rejected by the Court of Aldermen, yet the Doctor, looking upon the encouragement already given him by the Lord-Mayor as a tacit command, ventured to publish his sermon, with a dedication to his Lordship. The party, who opposed the Ministry, magnified this sermon so highly, that, as was generally reckoned, about forty thousand of them were printed and dispersed over the Nation. The Queen seemed highly offended at it, and the Ministry looked on it as an attack upon them, that was not to be despised. The Lord-Treasurer was so described, that it was next to the naming him. A Parliamentary impeachment was resolved on; but *Eyre*, then Solicitor-General, and others, thought the short way of burning the sermon, and keeping him in prison during the Session of parliament, was the better method; but the more solemn method was unhappily chosen.
- There had been, ever since the Queen came to the Crown, an open revival of the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, by Mr. Charles Lesley, who was the first man that began the war in *Ireland*, saying, in a speech solemnly made, that King James, by declaring himself a Papist, could no longer be our King, since he could not be the defender of our Faith, nor the head of our Church, dignities so inherent in the Crown, that he, who was incapable of these, could not hold it (1). As he animated the people with this speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which several men were killed; yet he changed sides quickly, and became the most violent Jacobite in the Nation, and was engaged in many plots, and in writing many books against the Revolution, and the present Government. Soon after the Queen's accession to the Throne, he, or his son, as some said, published a series of weekly papers, under the title of the *Rehearsal*, pursuing a thread of arguments in them, all against the lawfulness of resistance in any case whatsoever; deriving Government wholly from God, denying all right in the People, either to confer or to coerce it. The Ministers connived at this, but with what intention is not known.
- While these seditious papers had a free course for many years, and were much spread and applauded, Mr. Benjamin Hoadly, the present Bishop of *Worcester*, being called to preach before the Lord-Mayor, chose for his text the two first verses of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, and fairly explained the words there, that they were to be understood only against resisting good Governors, upon Jewish principles; but that these words had no relation to bad and cruel Governors; and he asserted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to resist such; concluding all with a vindication of the Revolution and the present Government. Upon this a great clamour was raised, as if he had preached up rebellion; several books were wrote against him; and he justified himself with a visible superiority of argument to them all, and so boldly overthrew the conceit of Sir Robert Filmer (at this time espoused by Mr. Lesley), that Government was derived by primogeniture from the first Patriarchs, that for some time he silenced his adversaries; but it was easier to keep up a clamour, than to write a solid answer. Dr. Sacheverell reflected with great virulence upon him and on Bishop Burnet, and other of the Bishops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbishop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he

Bishop, finding him very ignorant in *Divinity*, refused to ordain him at that time, but did it afterwards on the Bishop of *Oxford's* recommendation, with particular marks of favour; yet he ungenerously traduced that learned Prelate in a libel, called, *The character of a Low Church man*. Nor was he less virulent against Bishop Burnet, his mother's benefactor. Being presented to a small living in *Staffordshire*, he fell in, both there and at *Oxford*, with the most furious of the High-Church and Jacobite party, made scurrilous re-

lections on the death of King William and the *Honour* Succession, and, when the Queen appeared against the *High-Church Memorial*, he called her a *waxen Queen*, alluding to the jest passed upon her at *Oxford* by those, who put her motto *Semper eadem* upon a weather-cock. He was proceeding in this manner, when his friends got him preferment in *London*.

(1) Bishop Burnet says, Dr. King, Archbishop of *Dublin*, told him, He had seen *Lesley's* speech under his own hand.

1709. called a *perfidious Prelate*, and a *false son of the Church*.

The Parliament meets, Nov. 15. On the 15th of November the Parliament of Great-Britain being met, the Queen, who had not been in person there during the last Session, came and made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's Speech. Pr. H. C. "IT is a great satisfaction to me, that I am able to give you so good an account of the progress of the war since the last Session of Parliament.

"In the beginning of this year, our enemies made use of all their artifices to amuse us with false appearances and deceitful insinuations of their desire of peace, in hopes, that from thence means might be found to create some divisions or jealousies among the Allies. But they were intirely disappointed in their expectation; and such measures were taken upon that occasion, as made it impossible for them long to disguise their insincerity. The operations of the war were not delayed; and the campaign, which, notwithstanding the backwardness of the season, immediately followed, has been at least as glorious for the Allies as any of those which have preceded it.

"God Almighty has been pleased to bless us with a most remarkable victory, and with such other great and important successes, both before and after it, that *France* is thereby become much more exposed and open to the impression of our arms, and consequently more in need of a peace than it was at the beginning of this campaign.

"However, the war still continuing, I find myself obliged again to desire you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to grant me such supplies as you shall judge necessary for the assisting our Allies in all parts, and the vigorous prosecution of our advantages, that we may put the last hand to this great work, of reducing that exorbitant and oppressive power which has so long threatened the liberties of *Europe*.

"I assure you, that all you give shall be carefully applied to the uses of the war, if it continues, or to the lessening of the debts it has necessarily occasioned, in case of a peace; which, though the wants and distresses of our enemies may naturally lead us to expect, yet, our own late experience may fully convince us, is not to be depended upon any other way, than by being in a condition to compel them to such terms as may be safe and honourable for all the Allies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I think it proper to take notice to you, that the great dearth and scarcity, under which our neighbours abroad have suffered this year, begins to affect us in some measure at home, by the temptation of profit in carrying out too much of our corn, while it bears so high a price in foreign parts.

"This occasions many complaints from the poor; for whose sake I earnestly recommend to you, to take this growing evil into your consideration; having not neglected any thing

"on my part towards the remedying of it, 1709. that the law would allow.

"I cannot conclude, without observing to you, of what great advantage it will be at this time, to the end we all propose to ourselves, that the greatest dispatch be given to the necessary preparations for carrying on the war."

The Lords, in their address, expressed "their joy to see her Majesty's Royal Person upon the Throne, after the great misfortune, which deprived them of her presence during the last Session of Parliament; as also their thanks for her speech, whereby it appeared, how readily her tenderness for her people inclined her to hearken to proposals of peace; how wisely and steadily she proceeded in the first steps of the treaty; and how justly she repented the artifices and insincerity of the enemy by the vigorous prosecution of the war; which soon made it appear, that peace was the choice of her moderation, and must prove the only refuge of her enemies." Concluding with congratulations "on the continued success of her arms, and those of her Allies, under her General, the Duke of Marlborough, whose conduct was worthy of the chief command in so just a war, and his valour equal to the bravery of her troops." And assuring "her Majesty of their utmost support to carry on the war, till *France* was compelled to submit to the terms of a safe and lasting peace."

The Lord-Chancellor, by order of the Peers, returned the Duke of Marlborough the thanks of that House, for his continued and eminent services during the last campaign. The Commons also, after an address to the Queen, upon her continued successes, with assurances of granting speedy and effectual supplies for carrying on the war, unanimously voted him the thanks of their House, for the late victory, from which, and his other successes, the Kingdom, and the whole Confederacy, had received such honour and advantage. The thanks of both Houses served to silence the Duke of Marlborough's enemies, who reproached him with having wantonly and unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of many thousands, to raise his own reputation.

The Commons made good their assurances to the Queen, for in less than a month they granted all the necessary supplies for the next year's service, amounting to 6,184,466*l.* 7*s.* Of this sum, fifteen hundred thousand pounds were raised by way of lottery, and the rest put on good funds. Pursuant to the Queen's speech, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in against the exportation of the corn, and, at their request, an embargo was laid on all ships laden therewith.

By this time the affair of Dr *Sacheverel* was Sacheverel before the Commons. Mr *Dolben*, son to the late Archbishop of York, moved with indignation that the Lord-Treasurer should be re-elected on by the Doctor under the nick-name of *Volpone*, complained, on the 13th of December, of the two sermons before-mentioned. Several paragraphs were read out of each, and Sir *Peter King* and others having made speeches against the audaciousness of the Doctor, who had advanced positions directly opposite to Revolution-Principles,

The Lords address. Nov. 17. Pr. H. L.

The Duke of Marlborough thanked by both Houses. Pr. H. L. Pr. H. C.

Supply readily granted by the Commons.

Barnet. Pr. H. C. Pr. H. L. Hist of Europe.

1709.

Principles, to the present Government, and to the Protestant Succession, and consequently tending to cherish factions, and stir up rebellion. Those, who favoured the Doctor's cause, were surprized at this sudden attack, and, no Member offering to speak in his defence, it was resolved, that the two sermons were malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting on the Queen, the late Revolution, and the Protestant Succession, tending to alienate the affections of her Majesty's subjects, and to create jealousies and divisions among them. The Doctor was ordered to attend at the bar of the House the next day, and, being examined, owned the two sermons. He likewise told them, what encouragement he had from the Lord-Mayor to print the perils of false brethren. Sir Samuel Garrard, being a Member of the House, was asked, Whether the sermon was printed at his desire or order? If he had owned it, he would have been expelled the House: But he denied, that ever he desired, or ordered, or encouraged, the printing thereof. Though the Doctor offered to prove it, and brought witnesses for that purpose, yet the House would not enter upon that examination, but it was thought more decent to seem to give credit to their own Member, though few indeed believed him.

Mr. Lord-Mayor dis-
cusses the
Doctor.

The Doctor standing to what he had said, without expressing the least consciousness of having done amiss, he was directed to withdraw; and it was resolved, that he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, and Mr Dolben was ordered to do it at the bar of the House of Lords, in the name of all the Commons of Great-Britain. At the same time, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles against him, and the Doctor was taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Fate in fa-
vour of
Mr. Hoad-
ly.

The Commons having proceeded thus far, some Members took occasion to speak in favour of Mr Hoadly, whose principles were more agreeable to the sense of the majority of that House; and who, in several writings, had vindicated the Revolution (1). Upon which it was resolved, "That the Reverend Mr Benjamin Hoadly, Rector of St Peter's Poor, London, for having often justified the Principles, on which her Majesty and the Nation proceeded in the late happy Revolution, had justly merited the favour and recommendation of this House. 2. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased to bestow some dignity in the Church on Mr Hoadly, for his eminent services both to the Church and State." This address having been presented to the Queen, she answered, "That she would take a proper opportunity to comply with their desires." Which, however, she never did.

When Mr Dolben carried up the impeachment against Dr Sacheverel, the Lord Haverham made a short speech, importing, "That it seemed somewhat strange to see a Divine impeach-

ed for preaching a doctrine, for which he would heretofore have been rewarded, and might, if times changed, be made a Bishop. However, added his Lordship, since he is impeached, I hope a day will come for the calling to account other criminals; for, which way soever I cast my Eyes, I see matter for impeachments."

Dr Sacheverel having petitioned the Commons to admit him to bail, that he might have an opportunity of making his defence, the committee, who were to draw up the articles of impeachment, were ordered to search for precedents concerning the taking bail in case of persons committed for high crimes and misdemeanors, and Mr Dolben reporting they could find none, it was put to the vote, whether he should be admitted to bail, and carried in the negative by a majority of an hundred and fourteen against sixty-four.

The Proceedings against Dr Sacheverel occasioned great jealousies and animosities between the two parties of High-Church and Low-Church; the former gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a design was formed by the Whigs to pull down the Church; and that this prosecution was only set on foot to try their strength; and that, upon their success in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falshood and forgery, yet it was propagated with so much application and zeal, and the tools employed in it were so well supplied with money (from whom, was not then known) that it is scarce credible how generally it was believed.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in an ill humour; it was a time of dearth and scarcity, so that the poor were much distressed. The coming over of the *Palatines*, and the relieving of them, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary Contributions of private people, filled our poor likewise with indignation, who thought those charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by strangers. And all, who were ill affected, studied to heighten these their resentments. The Clergy generally espoused Dr Sacheverel as their Champion, who had stood in the breach, and reckoned his cause as their own. Many sermons were preached, both in London and other places, to provoke the people, in which they succeeded beyond expectation.

In the mean time the Committee sat several times at Sir Joseph Jekyll's house, in order to draw up the articles of impeachment; so that, the Parliament being met again after Christmas, Mr Dolben reported, that the articles were ready, which were read paragraph by paragraph. The preamble to the articles being read, a motion was made by the Doctor's friends, that the report should be recommitted, which occasioned a very warm debate, wherein Mr Robert Harding, Mr Bromley, Mr Ward, and some others, made several exceptions to the matter and form

1709.

Articles
against
Dr Sa-
cheverel.
Pr. H. C.

of

(1) Particularly in two books lately published, the one intitled, *Some considerations humbly offered to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasioned by his Lordship's sermon preached before her Majesty, March 8, 1708*: The other intitled, *An humble reply to the Lord Bishop*

of Exeter's answer, in which the considerations lately offered to his Lordship are vindicated, and an apology is added for defending the foundation of the present Government.

1709-10. of the articles, Mr *Harley*, in particular, insisted on the leaving out the word *seditious*, alleging a precedent in the Reign of King *Charles the First* in the prosecution of *Prynne*, *Bastwick*, and *Barton*. But all objections were answered by Mr Secretary *Boyle*, Mr *Smith* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Lieutenant-General *Mordaunt*, Mr *Lechmere*, Mr *Thompson*, and some others: So, the question for re-committing being put, it passed in the negative by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two against an hundred and thirty-one; and the articles of impeachment were agreed to, and ordered to be carried up to the Lords. Then the last paragraph or recapitulation were also read and agreed to, and the whole ordered to be ingrossed. The next day, *January 12*, the ingrossed articles being read, Mr *Dolben* was ordered to carry the same to the Lords; which he did accordingly, accompanied by a great number of Members. The said articles imported in substance, That Dr *Henry Sacheverell*, in his sermons and books, did fallily and maliciously suggest and maintain, "1. That the necessary means used to bring about the happy Revolution were odious and unjustifiable: That his late Majesty, in his Declaration, disclaimed the least imputation of resistance; and that to impute resistance to the said Revolution, was to cast black and odious colours upon his late Majesty and the said Revolution. 2. That the Toleration, granted by law to Dissenters, was unreasonable, and the allowance of it unwarrantable: And that he was a false Brother with relation to God, Religion, or the Church, who defended the Toleration or Liberty of Conscience. That Queen *Elizabeth* was deluded by Archbishop *Grindal* (whom he scurrilously called a false son of the Church, and a perfidious Prelate) to the Toleration of the *Genevian* Discipline: And that it was the duty of superior Pastors to thunder out their Ecclesiastical anathema's against persons intitled to the benefit of the Toleration, and insolently dared or defied any power on earth to reverse such sentence. 3. That the Church of *England* was in a condition of great peril and adversity, under her Majesty's Administration; and, in order to arraign and blacken the vote or resolution of both Houses of Parliament, approved by her Majesty (mentioned in the preamble, and importing, that the Church of *England* was in a safe and flourishing condition under the Queen's Administration) he did suggest the Church to be in danger; and, as a parallel, mentioned, that the person of King *Charles* was voted to be out of danger, at the same time that his murderers were conspiring his death; thereby wickedly and maliciously insinuating, that the Members of both Houses, who passed the said vote, were then conspiring the ruin of the Church. 4. That her Majesty's Administration, both in Ecclesiastical and Civil affairs, tended to the destruction of the Constitution; and that there were men of characters and stations, in Church and State, who were false Brethren,

"and did themselves weaken, undermine, betray, and did encourage and put it in the power of others, who were professed enemies, to overturn and destroy the Constitution and Establishment: And charged her Majesty, and those in authority under her, both in Church and State, with a general Male-administration: And, as a public incendiary, he persuaded her Majesty's subjects to keep up a distinction of factions and parties; instilled groundless jealousies, fomented destructive distinctions among them, and excited and stirred them up to arms and violence. And, that his malicious and seditious suggestions might make the stronger impressions upon the minds of her Majesty's subjects, he did wickedly wrest and pervert divers texts and passages of Holy Scripture."

After the exhibiting of these articles, the Serjeant at Arms attending the Commons delivered Dr *Sacheverell* to the Deputy-Usher of the Black-Rod; and the Lords, having read the articles, ordered, that a copy of them should be given to the Doctor, who was admitted to bail, Dr *Lancaster*, Vice-Chancellor of *Oxford*, and Dr *Bovues* being his sureties; and, being now at liberty, he consulted some eminent Lawyers and Divines, and, with their assistance, drew up an answer, wherein he either denied the false, malicious, and seditious positions and suggestions, charged upon him in the articles, or endeavoured to justify, palliate, and extenuate what he had advanced in his sermons; concluding with the expressions: "Hard is the lot of the Ministers of the Gospel, if, when they cite the word of God, in their general exhortations to piety and virtue, or in their reproofs of men's transgressions, or where they are lamenting the difficulty and conflicts, with which the Church of Christ, whilst militant here on earth, must always struggle; the several passages, by them cited, shall be said to have been by them meant of particular persons and things, and shall be construed in the most criminal sense, and made, by such construction, one ground of an impeachment of high crimes and misdemeanors."

This answer being sent from the Lords to the Commons, and referred to the Committee, Mr *Dolben*, in a few days reported, that it was in many things foreign to the charge, unbecoming a person impeached, and plainly designed to reflect upon the honour of the House. A replication being ordered to be drawn, a debate arose at the second reading, wherein the Doctor's friends insinuated, "That it was advisable to leave the Offender to the ordinary course of justice." But this was rejected by a great majority, and the replication sent up to the Lords, averring their charge, and declaring, they would be ready to prove it, at such convenient time, as should be appointed for that purpose.

The Lords appointed the 9th of *March* for the trial at the bar of their House, and the Commons ordered, that the Committee, who had drawn up the articles, should be the Managers to make good the impeachment (1). Then

(1) These were,
Sir *John Holland*, Comptroller of her Majesty's household,
No. 62. VOL. IV.

Mr Secretary *Boyle*,
Mr *Smith*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*,
Sir *James Mountague*, Attorney-General,
Q 9

1709-10.

it was debated, whether the House should attend in a body, or in a Committee of the whole House, and it was carried for a Committee by a majority of an hundred and ninety-two against an hundred and eighty. This was done by the Doctor's friends, who found, that, by gaining more time, the People were still more inflamed; and therefore it was, they moved, that the trial might be public in *Westminster-hall*, where the whole House of Commons might be present. They knew the preparing of that place would be a work of some weeks. Unthinking people were so taken with this, that it could not be withstood, though the effects it would have were well foreseen. Accordingly upon the Commons request, which was brought up by Mr Bromley, one of the Doctor's chief friends, the Lords addressed the Queen for a place to be prepared in *Westminster-Hall* for the trial. In the mean time the Doctor's friends in town and country were extremely busy, and in their private meetings drank to his happy deliverance.

At length the Lords sent a message to the Commons to acquaint them, they had appointed the 27th of February for the trial. On that day (all things being prepared) the Lords, in their formalities, went down to the Court in *Westminster-hall*, where vast numbers of spectators had been admitted. The Managers of the Commons, and the Committee of the whole House, having taken their respective places, and Dr Sacheverell, who was lodged in the Temple, and came every day with great solemnity in a coach to the hall, being brought to the bar, the trial began, and lasted three weeks, in which all other business was at a stand, for this took up all men's thoughts. The Queen herself was present every day of the trial in a private manner. The Managers for the Commons opened the matter very solemnly. Their performances were very much and justly commended. Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Solicitor-General Eyre, Lieutenant-General Stanhope, Sir Peter King, but above all Sir Thomas Parker, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner. They copiously justified both the Revolution and the present Government. There was no need of witnesses; for, the sermon being owned by the Doctor, all the evidence was brought from it by laying the words together, and by shewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Counsel, Sir Simon Harcourt, Mr Dodd, Mr Phipps, Mr Dee, and Dr Henebriem, came to plead for him, they very freely acknowledged the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases, and plainly justified the Revolution and our Deliverance by King William. But they said, it was not fit in a sermon to name such an exception. That the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without supposing an extraordinary case. And therefore the Doctor had followed precedents set by

our greatest Divines ever since the Reformation, 1709-10. and ever since the Revolution. Upon this they opened a great field; they began with the declarations made in King Henry the Eighth's time; they insisted next upon the homilies; and from thence instanced, in a large series of bishops and divines, who had preached the duty of submission and non-resistance in very full terms, without supposing any exception; some excluding all exceptions in as positive a manner as the Doctor had done. They explained the word *Revolution*, as belonging to the new settlement upon King James's withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was understood of the whole transaction, from the landing of the Dutch army, till the settlement made by the Convention. So that, they understanding the Revolution in that sense, there was indeed no resistance there. That, if the passage quoted from the declaration of King William, while he was Prince of Orange, did not come up to that, for which the Doctor quoted it, he ought not to be censured, because his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective against the Dissenters and Toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by saying, that he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permission of, or the not punishing many, who published impious and blasphemous books. And a collection was made of passages in books, full of crude impiety and bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought, that this was a solemn publishing of so much in piety to the Nation, by which more mischief would be done than by the books themselves; for most of them had been neglected, and known only to a small number of those, who encouraged them; and the Authors of many of those books had been prosecuted and punished for them. As to those parts of the sermon, which set out the danger the Church was in, though both Houses had some years ago voted it a great offence to say it was in danger; the Doctor's Counsel said it might have been in none ten years ago, when their votes passed, and yet be now in danger: The greatest of all dangers was to be apprehended from the wrath of God for such impieties. They said, the reflections on the administration were not meant of those employed immediately by the Queen, but of Men in inferior posts. If the Doctor's words seemed capable of a bad sense, they were also capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any construction on his words, that they could bear.

When the Doctor's Counsel had ended their defence, he concluded it himself with a speech, which he read with much solemnity: in which, with many solemn affirmations, he justified his intentions towards the Queen and her Government. He spoke with respect both of the Revolution and the Protestant Succession. He insisted most on condemning all resistance under any pretence whatsoever, without mentioning the

Mr Robert Eyre, Solicitor-General,
Mr Robert Walpole, Treasurer of the navy,
Sir Joseph Jekyll,
Mr Lechmere,
Mr Dolben,
Sir Thomas Parker,
Sir Peter King, Recorder of the City of London,
Sir John Holles,

The Lord William Pawlet,
The Lord Coningsby,
Mr Spencer Compton,
Mr William Thompson,
Lieutenant-General Stanhope,
Lieutenant-General Mordaunt,
Mr Spencer Cowper,
Sir David Dalrymple,

Mr.

1709-10. the exception of extreme necessity, as his Counsel had done. He said it was a Doctrine of the Church, in which he was educated; and added many pathetic expressions, to move the audience to compassion. This had a great effect on the weaker sort, while it possessed those, who knew the man and his ordinary discourses, with horror, when they heard him affirm so many falsehoods with such solemn appeals to God. It was very plain, that the speech was made for him by others, for the style was more correct and far different from his own; and it was thought to be the joint work of Dr Atterbury, Dr Smalridge, and Dr Freind, supervised and corrected by Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr Phipps (1).

A great disorder at the trial.

During the trial, the multitudes, that followed him all the way as he came, and as he went back, shewed a great concern for him, pressing about him, and striving to kiss his hand. And when the Queen went, in the afternoon of the day, on which the trial began, to the House of Lords, to give the Royal assent to some bills, a great multitude of people gathered about her sedan, crying out, *God bless your Majesty and the Church: We hope your Majesty is for Dr Sacheverel*. The next day, the mob was still more numerous and louder about Dr Sacheverel's coach, and obliged all persons they met to pull off their hats to him, and abused those who refused to comply; among whom were some Members of both Houses of Parliament. The same evening, the rioters went to Mr Daniel Burgess's Meeting-House, in a court near *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, of which they broke the windows, and committed several other outrages and disorders. Their fury increasing with their numbers, they advanced to greater enormities, and even to overt-acts of rebellion. For, after they

had attended upon Dr Sacheverel, as usual, they repaired to that Meeting-House again, broke it open, pulled down the pulpit, pews, benches, in short, all that was combustible; and, having carried these materials into *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, made a bonfire of them, with repeated cries of *Higg-Church* and *Sacheverel*. About the same time, other parties of the mob demolished and destroyed several other Meeting-Houses (2). They also battered and plundered the Houses of several Dissenters; threatened to pull down the Houses of the Lord-Chancellor, Earl of Wharton, Bishop of Sarum, Mr Dolben, and other Managers for the Commons, against Dr Sacheverel; and talked of destroying Mr Hoadly's Church and House, *Salter's-Hall*, Mr Shower's, and other Meeting-Houses in the City; and even of attacking the Bank of England, of which the Directors being apprehensive, they took the necessary precautions for its security, and sent to *Whitehall* for assistance. These disorders were directed by some of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney-coaches, and were seen sending messages to them. Upon the first notice of these tumults, the Earl of Sunderland made his report to the Queen, who commanded him to send her horse and foot-guards to disperse the mob; and the Earl representing the danger of leaving her person unguarded at that time (it being between ten and eleven o'clock at night) she answered, *God would be her guard*. The Earl being returned to his Office at the *Cock-pit*, where were also the Lord-Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, and some other Noblemen, he sent for Captain Horsey, an exempt, who then commanded the Guard, and ordered him to mount immediately, and disperse the mob. And, as the Captain was going out, the Earl whispered him, and bid him send a party

(1) Mr Maynwaring, in his letters to a friend in North-Britain, thus remarks on the Doctor's speech: "But now comes the great scope of the Doctor's performance, his own harangue at the bar of the House of Lords; and here, without entering into a particular examination of the whole piece, I cannot help professing, with some sorrow, that I think he was too hardly dealt with by those that made it for him, when they obliged him to aver, in the face of God and the Queen, that he had neither suggested, nor did in his conscience believe, that the Church is in the least peril from her Majesty's administration. If those men, he means Atterbury, Smalridge, Freind, Mof, &c. had been endowed with the least mercy, conscience, or humanity, they would never have put into his mouth such a choking provocation as this; and I cannot help taking his part against them upon this occasion, as abandoned a Priest as he is. When this holy man had, in his sermon at St Paul's, plainly shewn, How obvious it were to draw a parallel between the sad circumstances of the Church of England formerly, and of the Church of England at present, whose walls and inclosures are pulled down, and this pure spouse of Christ prostituted to more Adulterers than the scarlet whore in the Revelations. What could enter into the heads of these penmen of the speech, to make the poor wretch swear, that he had never suggested the church was in danger? With what indignation must every one hear such solemn appeals made to heaven, for the truth of a fact, which the whole assembly knew to be directly contrary? What excuse shall we find out for this most hardened sinner? Will it acquit him to say, that he did not compose his speech, and only performed his part like an actor: Indeed, it may be said to resemble a play in

one respect, because it was a farce very well wrought, and had a wonderful effect on the weak part of his audience; the rest were amazed, continues Mr Maynwaring, they trembled at his oaths, when he called the Searcher of hearts to witness, in the most solemn and religious manner, as he expected to be acquitted before God and his Holy Angels, at that dreadful Tribunal, before which, not only he, but even their Lordships must appear, that he was far from designing to defame her Majesty's administration. Good God! And is this the man for whom the people have made an insurrection? Is this the man for whom their zeal has flamed out in all manner of appearance? Is this the man, whose effigies is sold about, curiously done in *Mexa tinto*, whose health is drank before the Queen's, and next in the same glass with that of the Church? What can he have to do with any Church, who is a shame to Christianity itself? And is this the man, for whom tears were shed, when, by his insolent behaviour, he had made that compassion ridiculous, which would otherwise have been due to one in his circumstances? How offensive was his assurance; how nauseous his presumption; and how atheistical was his purpose, in wickedly perverting divers texts of Scripture, instead of preaching the truths. He said, *He had no intention to asperse the memory of his late Majesty*; and he has been often heard to say, he ought to be *De witied*, of which I have myself seen an Affidavit, under the hand of Mr Eberal."

(2) Particularly those of Mr Earle in *Long-Acre*; of Mr Bradbury in *New-Street*, *Shoe-Lane*; of Mr Taylor in *Leather-Lane*; of Mr Wright in *Black-Fryars*; and of Mr Hamilton in *Clerkenwell*.

1709-10

party to the Bank. Before the horse and foot-guards could reach *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*, the Officers had notice, that the mob, which had gathered there, was returned to *Drury-Lane*, where they were making another bone-fire, with the furniture of Mr *Earle's* Meeting-House; whereupon the guards bent their march that way. At their approach most of the mob fled before them; and only one of their ring-leaders, *George Purchase*, a Bailiff (who had before been a Life-guard-man, but was dismissed for some misdemeanor) offered to make a stand, with a few of the most resolute of his followers, crying out for *High-Church* and Dr *Sacheverel*. From *Drury-Lane* the Guards marched towards the City, and met with some opposition near *Fleet-Ditch* from the mob, that were rising the Meeting-House in *Black-Fryars*; but having wounded some of the most daring, and secured others, the rest were soon scattered; and the Guards, patrolling all night, prevented any farther mischief. On the 2d of *March*, the horse and foot-guards at *Whitehall* and *St James's* were doubled; and the trained-bands at *Woolminster* under arms in divers posts, where they continued as long as Dr *Sacheverel's* trial was depending; which both lessened the number of the Mutineers (many of the trained-bands being men of low circumstances, hired by substantial house-keepers) and kept the rest in awe. The same day, the Commons resolved to address the Queen, to take effectual measures to suppress the present tumults, set on foot and fomented by Papists, Nonjurors, and other enemies to her Title and Government; and to issue out a Proclamation, promising a reward to such as should discover and seize those incendiaries, who had been the occasions of the late tumults and disorders. To this address the Queen answered, "That she was extremely sensible of the great care and concern of the House of Commons for the public peace upon this occasion; and, as she had a just resentment at these tumultuous and violent proceedings, so she would take immediate care for suppressing them, and would lose no time in endeavouring to find out the authors and abettors, in order to bring them to punishment, according to the desire of this House." The Commons, upon this answer, unanimously resolved to present an address, importing, "That they begged leave to return their most hearty thanks for her most gracious answer to their address, and for her effectual care in suppressing those rebellious tumults, which were set on foot and fomented by Papists, Nonjurors, and other enemies to her Title and Government, in defiance of the just prosecution of the Commons against Dr *Henry Sacheverel*. And they humbly besought her to believe, that as this prosecution proceeded only from the indispensable obligation, which her faithful Commons looked upon themselves to lie under, not to sit still, and patiently see the justice of the late happy Revolution, and the glory of their late Royal Deliverer reflected upon; her Majesty's undoubted Title struck at; her Administration, by which so many blessings were derived upon them, endeavoured to be rendered odious to the people, and represented as destructive of the Church and Constitution; that the present Establishment and Protestant Successi-

on undermined; the resolutions of the Parliament treated with contempt; the Governors of the Church, and her Majesty, as supreme, asperfed and vilified; the Toleration exposed, as wicked; and sedition insolently invading the Pulpit: So the maintenance of her Majesty's Right, the safety of her Person, the quiet of her Government, the continuance of their happiness under her excellent Administration, the succession in the Protestant line, the support and honour of the Church of England, as established by law, with that Toleration, which was by act of Parliament allowed to Protestant Dissenters, should be their constant care and concern. And they would, upon all occasions, venture all that was dear to them, in defence of such inestimable blessings." It was moved, that in the first paragraph it might be suggested, that the rebellious tumults were set on foot and fomented by Republicans, as well as by Papists and Nonjurors; but the motion was rejected. The day before *March 3*, this address was presented, a proclamation was published for suppressing the tumults, pursuant to which several persons, who had been active, in the late riots, were apprehended, and committed to divers prisons, particularly *George Purchase*, the Bailiff; *Daniel Damarce*, one of the Queen's Watermen; and *Francis Willis*, a Footman; which three were some time after tried for high-treason; but, though the two first were sentenced to die, yet neither of them suffered. The remissness, in punishing so great a disorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults; and there was a secret management in the whole affair, that amazed all people.

When Dr *Sacheverel* had ended his defence, the Managers for the House of Commons replied, and shewed very evidently, that the words of his sermon could not reasonably bear any other sense, but that, for which they charged him. This was an easy performance, and they managed it with great strength and vivacity. But the humour of the town was turned against them, and all the Clergy appeared for the Doctor. Many of the Queen's Chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herself favoured him, though upon Bishop *Burnet's* first coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the Lords, she said to him, that it was a bad sermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it.

Sir *John Holt*, Lord-Chief-Justice of the Queen's Bench, died during the trial of the Doctor, upon the 6th of *March*. He was very learned in the law, and had, upon great occasions, shewed an intrepid zeal in asserting its authority; for he ventured on the indignation of both houses of Parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him. He was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and set himself with great application to the functions of that important post. Sir *Thomas Parker* was immediately made Lord-Chief-Justice in his room. This great promotion seemed an evident demonstration of the Queen's approving the prosecution; for none of the Managers had treated the Doctor so severely as he had done; yet secret whippers were very confidently set about, that though the Queen's affairs put her upon

1709-10.

Continuation of the trial.

Chief Justice Holt's death and character.

1709-10. upon acting the part of one, who was pleased with this scene, yet he disliked it all, and would take the first occasion to shew it.

On the 10th of March the Earl of Nottingham said, that he had something to propose; and the Lords being adjourned to their House, he started an unexpected question, "Whether in prosecutions by impeachments for high-crimes and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the particular words, supposed to be criminal, are necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments?" After some debate, the Lords resolved to consult the Judges, who very readily delivered their unanimous opinions, "That, according to law, the grounds of an indictment or impeachment ought to be expressly mentioned in both." Those, who were for punishing Dr Sacheverel, were not a little surprised at this unforeseen difficulty, which was of no less consequence, than to annul the whole prosecution, and to make it necessary for the Commons to begin anew, which they could not expect to have time to do. But it being suggested, that the Judges had delivered their opinion according to the rules of Westminster-hall, and not according to the usage of Parliament, the Lords at last resolved, "That in impeachments they were to proceed according to the laws of the land, and the law and usage of Parliaments;" and, upon searching the journals of the House for precedents, they found a parallel instance to that of Dr Sacheverel's impeachment, which was that of Dr Maynwaring in King Charles I's Reign, wherein the words, for which he was impeached, were not expressly mentioned in the articles. Whereupon it was voted, after some debate, "That by the law and usage of Parliaments in prosecutions by impeachments for high-crimes and misdemeanors, by writing or speaking, the particular words, supposed to be criminal, are not necessary to be expressly specified in such impeachments." Against which resolution many Lords entered their protest.

On the 16th of March, the Queen went incognito to the House of Lords, where a motion being made to declare, "That the Commons had made good the first article against Dr Sacheverel," a warm debate arose. The Earl of Wharton, who spoke first, said, "There is a different strain between the Doctor's sermon and his speech; the speech is a full confutation and condemnation of the sermon. All he has advanced about non-resistance and unlimited obedience, is ridiculous and false; as is also his distinguishing in the affair of the Revolution, in which there was notorious resistance in the association begun at Exeter, and in the seizing of York and Oxford gates, and breaking the bridge. The doctrine of passive obedience, as pressed by the Doctor, is not reconcilable to the practice of Churchmen. If the Revolution is not lawful, many in that House, and vast numbers without, were guilty of blood, murder, rapine, and injustice; and the Queen herself is no lawful Queen, since the best title she had to the Crown, was her Parliamentary title, founded on the Revolution." The Lord Haversham made a long speech in answer to this; and the Lord Ferrers endeavoured likewise to excuse the Doctor, alledging, "That the Revolution was not mentioned in his sermon: That nothing

but plain matter of fact should ground such a solemn accusation: That, if the Doctor were guilty of some foolish unguarded expressions, he ought to have been tried in Westminster-hall: But he doubted, whether even in the inferior Courts there would be sufficient matter to convict him." He was supported by the Earl of Scarborough, who said, the Revolution was a nice point, and above the law; and moved, that they should adjourn the debate, and take time to consider, before they gave their judgment.

The Lord Haversham having reflected on some Bishops voting contrary to their doctrines, Dr Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, took from thence occasion to speak on the other side. But Dr Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, endeavoured to excuse Dr Sacheverel; "he allowed, indeed, of what the Bishop of Oxford had advanced, about the necessity and legality of resistance in some extraordinary cases; but was of opinion, that this ought to be kept from the knowledge of the people, who are naturally too apt to resist; and that the opposite doctrine ought rather to be maintained and enforced. That the Revolution was not to be boasted of, and made a precedent; but we ought to throw a mantle over it, and rather call it a Vacancy or Abdication: And the Original Compact were two very dangerous words, not to be mentioned without a great deal of caution. That they, who examined the Revolution too nicely, were no friends to it; for, at that rate, the Crown would roll like a ball, and never be fixed." He concluded, "That there seemed to be a necessity to preach up Non-resistance and Passive Obedience at that time, when resistance was justified." The Duke of Argyle, who spoke on the other side, said, among other things, "That the Clergy, in all ages, have delivered up the rights and liberties of the People, and preached up the King's power, in order to govern him; and therefore they ought not to be suffered to meddle with politics." The Earl of Anglesey answered to this, "That political sermons were sometimes necessary, and allowed on the 30th of January, and other occasions. As to the Revolution, which was the chief matter now in debate (he said) the vacancy of the Throne was properly the thing; and therefore the mentioning necessary means, was mere nonsense in the Doctor; and he would not find him guilty for nonsense; the rather, because the doctrine of resistance, which the Doctor had confuted, justifies rebellion, murder, and all manner of crimes." The Duke of Leeds who spoke on the same side, made a very long speech, wherein he owned, "he had a great share in the late Revolution, but said, he never thought, that things would have gone so far, as to settle the Crown on the Prince of Orange, whom he had often heard say, that he had no such thoughts himself. That they ought to distinguish between Resistance and Revolution; for Vacancy or Abdication was the thing they went upon, and therefore Resistance was to be forgot; for, had it not succeeded, it had certainly been rebellion; since he knew of no other but hereditary right." Upon this the Bishop of Salisbury made a speech, "wherein he shewed the falshood of an opinion too commonly received, that the Church of Eng-

1709-10. "land had always condemned Resistance, even in the cases of extreme tyranny. The books of the *Maccabees*, bound up in our bibles, and approved by our articles, as containing examples of life and instruction of manners, though not as any part of the Canon of the Scripture, contained a full and clear precedent for resisting and shaking off extreme tyranny. The *Jews*, under that brave family, not only defended themselves against *Antiochus*, but formed themselves into a free and new Government: Our homilies were only against wilful rebellion, such as had been against our Kings, while they were governing by law. But, at that very time, *Queen Elizabeth* had afflicted, first the *Scots*, and then the *French*, and to the end of her days continued to protect the *States*, who not only resisted, but, as the *Maccabees* had done, shook off the *Spanish* yoke, and set up a new form of Government. In all this she was not only justified by the best writers of that time, such as *Jewel* and *Bilson*, but was approved and supported in it. Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her subsidies to carry on those wars. The same principles were kept up all *King James's* Reign. In the beginning of *King Charles's* Reign he protected the *Rockellers*, and asked supplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually, and ordered a fast and prayers to be made for them. It is true, soon after that, new notions of absolute power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up: At the first rise given to these by *Maynwaring*, they were condemned by a sentence of the Lords; and though he submitted, and retracted his opinion, yet a severe censure passed upon him. But, during the long discontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this Doctrine was more favoured: It was generally preached up, and many things were done pursuant to it, which put the Nation into the great convulsions, that followed in our civil wars. After these were over, it was natural to return to the other extreme, as Courts naturally favoured such Doctrines. *King James* trusted too much to it; yet the very asserters of that Doctrine were the first, who pleaded for Resistance, when they thought they needed it."

Several other Peers, particularly the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Lord-Chancellor, and the Lords *Sommers*, *Hallifax*, and *Mobun*, spoke also in vindication of the late Revolution; and maintained, that in extraordinary cases Resistance is necessary and lawful; and concluded, that the Commons had made good the first article. The Archbishop of *York*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Nottingham* and *Rochester*, the Lords *Guernsey*, *Norib* and *Grey*, and *Caermarthen*, and the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and *Landaff*, who spoke on the other side, declared, "That they never read such a piece of madness and nonsense, as *Dr Sacheverel's* sermon, but did not think him guilty of a misdemeanor." After a long debate, which lasted till past nine in the evening, it was at last carried by a majority of nineteen, that the Commons had made good their first article of impeachment against him.

The next day, *March 17*, the Lords took into consideration the second article of the Commons impeachment, and *Dr Wake*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, began the debate with a speech, where-

in he gave an account of the design of a *Comprehension* set on foot, towards the end of *King James II's* Reign, by Archbishop *Sancroft*, and promoted by the most eminent Divines of the Church of *England*, particularly *Dr Patrick*, late Bishop of *Ely*, and *Dr Sharpe*, the present Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *London* and *Ely*, which was, "to improve, and, if possible, to enforce our Discipline, to review and enlarge our Liturgy, by correcting some things, and adding others; and by leaving some few indifferent ceremonies, in order to reconcile Dissenters to the Church. That *Dr Sacheverel* had made a strange and false representation of this design, which was again set on foot, and openly espoused by *King William* and *Queen Mary*, but which unhappily miscarried." He then proceeded to offer such passages out of *Dr Sacheverel's* sermon, as plainly and fully made out the second article of the Commons impeachment, including, "That somewhat should be done to put a stop to such preaching, as, if not timely corrected, may kindle such heats and animosities among us, as may truly endanger both our Church and State. As for the Preacher himself, I am (said the Bishop) very willing to come into any measures of favour to him, that are consistent with your Lordships honour and justice, and will answer the ends of the impeachment, that has been brought before us against him." *Dr Trinnell*, Bishop of *Norwich*, enforced what the Bishop of *Lincoln* had said, about Toleration; "invighed against the insolence of *Dr Sacheverel*, who had arraigned Archbishop *Grindall* (one of the eminent Reformers in the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*) as a *perfidious Prelate*, for favouring and tolerating the *Genevian* Discipline; checked his presumption, in taking upon him, in his sermon, to prescribe rules to his Superiors, by telling them when they are to thunder out their anathemas against *Schismatics*; shewed, that the proper use of those spiritual weapons is to suppress vice, immorality, and profaneness, among the members of the Church; and that they were altogether useless to convince Heretics or *Schismatics*, who are rather to be won by gentle methods and Christian forbearance. And to that purpose his Lordship took notice of the good effects of the Toleration act; and mentioned several instances wherein he had himself been instrumental in reconciling Dissenters to the Church. I shall not take upon me (said he in the conclusion) to charge the Doctor, or any of his particular friends, with this practice (meaning the late tumults) as great temptation as one is under to do so from several circumstances. And it is not the least, that occurs in his prayers, which he has published on this occasion, to represent, not so much to God, as to the World, that he is under persecution, when he is prosecuted for offending against the law, by those, who, in common justice, ought to be thought the fairest accusers, and, before your Lordships, who are justly acknowledged to be the most impartial Judges. However, I will never believe, till I cannot avoid it, that any Members of the Church of *England*, who have acknowledged the Government, much less any Clergyman, who has so often professed his obedience to it in Church and State, should have been any way

1709-10. "way accessory to these threatnings, that have been given out, particularly against such Bishops, as should happen to condemn the Doctor's proceedings. As far, my Lords, as I have seen of this cause, I am likely to be one of those Bishops; and, though I do not pretend to any great share of courage, I am very free to declare to your Lordships, that I am in no comparison so apprehensive of what may befall myself for condemning this person, as I am of what will probably befall the public, if your Lordships should not condemn him. However, I wish he may be treated with all possible moderation; and that the *evilsome severities*, he recommends in his sermon, may not be used against him. But that is in your Lordships judgment, to which I

"humbly submit it; and only beg pardon for having detained your Lordships so long in giving my reasons, why I think the Commons have made good this *second part* of their charge." No Peer offering to speak in favour of the Doctor, it was voted, That the Commons had made good the second article of their impeachment. The party, that was for the Doctor, made no opposition to the third, and but little to the fourth. They contented themselves with protesting against them, as they had done against the two first. The four articles being thus voted to be proved, the Lords went down to the Hall, when the Question being put upon the whole impeachment, *Guilty or not Guilty*, the Doctor was voted *not Guilty* by fifty-two*, and *Guilty* by sixty-nine† (1). The

The

* The Archbishop of York; the Dukes of Ormond, Beaufort, Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Leeds, Buckingham, Hamilton; the Earls of Pembroke, Northampton, Denbigh, Berkshire, Thanet, Scarfdale, Anglesey, Suffex, Farnmouth, Nottingham, Rochester, Abingdon, Plymouth, Scarborough, Jersey, Poole, Mar, Wemy, Northesk; the Viscounts Day and Seal, Weymouth; the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Bath and Wells, Chester; the Barons Ferrers, Willoughby of Brooke, North and Grey, Howard of Effrick, Chandos, Leigh, Lexington, Berkeley, Croven, Osborn, Dartmouth, Stawell, Guilford, Butler, Lempster, Haverham, Guernsey, Conway.

† The Lord-Chancellor, Lord-Treasurer, Lord-President, Lord-Privy-Seal, Lord-Steward of the Household; the Dukes of Cleveland, Richmond, Crawford, St Albans, Bolton, Schomberg, Bedford, Montrose, Roxburgh, Dover; the Marquises of Kent and Dorchester; the Earls of Derby, Lincoln, Dorset, Bridgewater, Leicester, Westmoreland, Manchester, Rivers, Stamford, Winchester, Sunderland, Carlisle, Radnor, Berkley, Holderness, Portland, Warrington, Bradford, Orford, Greenwich, Grantam, Wharton, Chalmersley, Crawford, Londoun, Leven, Orkney, Seafeld, Roseberry, Glasgow, Hay; the Bishops of Sarum, Ely, Peterborough, Oxford, Lincoln, Norwich, St Asaph; the Barons De la War, Fitzwalter, Paget, Hunsdon, Mohun, Biron, Colepeper, Rockingham, Cornwallis, Ossulston, Herbert, Hallifax, Harvy, Pelham.

(1) The proceedings of the Peers more at large were as follows:

In relation to the third article, the Lord Hallifax made a short speech, and was answered by the Lord Ferrers and the Earl of Nottingham. The fourth article occasioned a longer debate, which was begun by the Earl of Wharton, in the commendation of the present administration. The Bishop of Salisbury seconded him, and spoke with vehemence against Dr Sacheverel, 'who, by inveighing against the Revolution, Toleration, and Union, seemed to arraign and attack the Queen herself, since her Majesty had so great a share in the first, and had often declared, that she would maintain the second; and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign. That nothing could be more plain than his reflecting on her Majesty's Ministers; and that he had in particular so well marked out a noble Peer there present, by an ugly and scurrilous epithet* (which he would not repeat) that it was not possible to mistake him.' Upon this some of the younger Peers fell a laughing, and cried out, *name him, name him*; but the Lord Chancellor interposed, declaring, 'That no Peer was obliged to say but what he thought fit.' The Lord Ferrers said something in favour of Dr Sacheverel, but was answered by the Earl of May; and then the Lord Haverham made a short speech about that part of the fourth article, wherein Dr Sacheverel was charged with wresting and perverting divers passages of Scripture. He said, 'No man on earth has authority to interpret the scripture; which, he

thought, must be interpreted by itself: Since the Reformation, we had contended against the Church of Rome, who pretended to that authority: And shall we (added he) allow *infallibility* in the Commons, which we deny to the Pope of Rome?' And in conclusion he repeated his desire, that the reverend Prelates there present would tell the House, 'How Dr Sacheverel could be charged with wresting the scripture?' But none of the Bishops offered to satisfy him. The Duke of Hamilton having said something in favour of the Doctor, he was answered by the Lord Mohun. The Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Ferrers, the Earls of Scarfdale and Abingdon, and the Lord Caermarthen, endeavoured likewise to extenuate the Doctor's offences, but it was voted that the Commons had made good the fourth article of the impeachment. However, thirty-eight Lords entered their dissent to the question upon the second, third, and fourth articles. At the close of the debate, the Earl of Wharton said, 'That since the House had resolved, 'That the Commons had made good their four articles of impeachment against Dr Sacheverel,' the Lords ought, by a necessary consequence, to resolve and declare likewise, That the Doctor was guilty of the *High Crimes and Misdemeanors* charged upon him. But the Earls of Abingdon and Rochester, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord North and Grey, and the Lord Ferrers, starting some difficulties, it was proposed, that the Question to be asked every Lord in Westminster-hall should be as follows: 'That the Commons having made good the several articles of the impeachment against Henry Sacheverel, Doctor in Divinity; the said Doctor Henry Sacheverel is guilty of *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*.'

Accordingly, on the 18th of March, the question being read, the Earl of Rochester moved, that the Judges should be consulted; but no Peer seconding that motion, the Lord Guernsey said, 'The question, as stated, was not fit to be put in Westminster-hall, because it would subvert the constitution of Parliament, and preclude the Peers from their right of giving their judgment, both of the fact, as well as of the law. For in this case some Peers might be satisfied as to the fact, but not as to the law, and if they were to give their judgment as the question was stated, their freedom of voting would be taken away. Therefore he moved, 'That the first part of the proposed question be left out.' The Lord North and Grey, who spoke next, said, 'There is no necessity of putting the question in Westminster-hall, but only acquainting the Commons there, that Dr Sacheverel is guilty in general: For how can any Peer, that thinks him not guilty (as for my part, I don't) say in the face of the Commons, he is not guilty, and allow at the same time, that the Commons have made good their articles of impeachment?' The Earl of Wharton said, 'He wondered at the Lord Guernsey's making that motion, after the

1710. The next debate was, what censure ought to pass upon him. And here a strange turn appeared; some seemed to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the censure was severe; to others it was said, the Queen desired it might be mild; it was therefore proposed to suspend him from preaching for one year, others were for seven years; but by a vote it was fixed to

three years. It was next moved, that he should be incapable of all preferments during these three years; upon that the House was divided, fifty-nine were for the vote, and sixty against it; so that was laid aside. The sermons were ordered to be burnt in the Presence of the Lord-Mayor and the Sheriffs of London, which was done; March 27. only the Lord-Mayor being a Member of the House

the House had come to a resolution, that the Commons had made good their articles. The question, as stated by the Lord Chancellor, did not preclude any Peer from his right of giving his judgment; for every Lord was at liberty to protest and enter his dissent, if he would not be convinced by the majority of the House; and that the Lords, being in the nature of a jury, ought to deliver their opinions *separatim*. The Lord Ferrers supported the Lord Guernsey's motion, objecting against the preamble of the question as unnecessary, and urging, that it was only the majority of the House, and not the House, that came to a Resolution, 'That the Commons had made good their impeachment.' On the other hand, the Lord Guernsey, in answer to the Earl of Wharton, said, 'That the Lords were not as a jury, for every Lord was both a judge and a juror; that some Peers might think Dr Sacheverel guilty of one part, and innocent of the other; and yet if they were to give their judgment, as this question was stated, how could they say he was not guilty, when the preamble set forth, that the Commons had made good their impeachment?' The Earl of Wharton replied, 'That this objection had been much more proper before the House had proceeded so far.' However the Earl of Rochester having moved, that the preamble be left out, the Earl of Wharton and the rest agreed to it; and the Lord Chancellor stated the question thus: 'That the question to be put to each Lord in Westminster-hall, beginning at the junior Baron first, shall be, *Is Dr Henry Sacheverel guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanors?*' The Earl of Nottingham moved, that the words of *High Crimes and Misdemeanors* be left out, and was seconded by the Lord North and Grey. But the Earl of Wharton said, 'That what was offered was unfair; for the Commons having impeached Dr Sacheverel of *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, and the Lords having agreed and resolved, that the Commons had made good the impeachment, it necessarily followed, that he was guilty of the said *Crimes and Misdemeanors*.' To moderate the matter, the Duke of Buckingham proposed, that the question be thus altered, *of the Crimes and Misdemeanors charged upon him by the Impeachment*; to which the Earls of Wharton and Sunderland readily agreed; but the Earl of Jersey excepted against the question, as being complex or complicated. The Lord Guernsey pursued the same objection, for the reason he alleged before, *viz.* 'That some Peers might think Dr Sacheverel guilty of some of the crimes charged upon him by the impeachment of the Commons, and innocent of the other; and urged an instance of an indictment concerning several charges, in which case the jury is not to answer generally, but particularly to each offence, because the judge goes by the verdict, and imposes the fine accordingly.' Therefore his Lordship moved, *That each Peer should give his Judgment severally to each article*. To this the Lord Sommers answered, 'That the matter of fact was already settled, though every Peer might protest and dissent: That the Lord Guernsey's objection, grounded on the instance he brought of indictments in the courts below, was very improper, because, as his Lordship himself had suggested, the Lords are both *Judges and Jury*. That, as *Jury*, they might, in conscience, pronounce the Doctor guilty, though they thought him guilty only of one article: But that the Lords, who did not think him guilty of all the four articles, might, afterwards, as Judges, moderate the punishment.' The Earl of

Nottingham replied, 'That, for his part, he thought Dr Sacheverel guilty of no crime;' and moved, that the particle *the* be left out, and the question put thus; *Is Dr Henry Sacheverel guilty of high Crimes and Misdemeanors charged upon him by the impeachment?* Which was agreed to.

Then it being proposed to consider what answer each Lord should give, the Lord Halifax said, 'That according to the usage of Parliament, the Lords ought to answer, *content*, or *not content*. But the Lord Ferrers alleged, That *content*, or *not content*, was not an adequate answer to the question: And both the Earl of Nottingham, and the Lord Guernsey, his brother, urged, 'That there were several precedents for *guilty*, or *not guilty upon my honour*; but did not remember any for *content*, or *not content*. The Lord Halifax maintained his assertion, and said, he wondered, the Lord Nottingham did not know there were precedents for *content* or *not content*; and instanced in the Lord Sommers's trial, in which the Lords gave their Judgment that way. On the other hand, the Lord Guernsey insisted upon answering *guilty* or *not guilty*; and was seconded by the Lord Treasurer, who said, 'That there was a difference between the Lords voting in their House promiscuously, sometimes in confusion, and their giving their judgments in Westminster-Hall; and that the precedent mentioned by the Lord Halifax was an extraordinary one, made in an extraordinary case.' The Lord Halifax moved for searching the Journals; and the Earl of Wharton for following precedents. The Clerk turned to, and read the precedent of the Lord Sommers's impeachment, in which the Peers gave their judgment by *content* or *not content*. But the Earl of Rochester desiring, that other precedents might be searched, and urging, that there was a difference between the Lords voting in their House and in Westminster-Hall; the Duke of Buckingham answered, 'That the trial was the same in Westminster-Hall, as if the Lords were in their House; that they removed to the Hall only for the spaciousness of the place: And therefore the question ought to be answered, as if they were in the House, *content* or *not content*.' To this the Earl of Ilay replied, 'That *content*, or *not content*, was a very improper and ungrammatical answer to the question, *Is Dr Sacheverel guilty of high crimes, &c.* And therefore either the question ought to be altered, or the answer be, *guilty* or *not guilty*.' Then the Lord Ferrers endeavoured to shew the inconveniences, that might attend the putting the question, as proposed, alleging, 'That some of the Peers there present, might hereafter be impeached, and repent too late having made such a precedent of giving judgment generally.' The Earl of Anglesey pursued the same argument; adding, that if the question was put, and answered generally, the majority of the people would not know what the Doctor was condemned for. To which the Lord Chancellor readily replied, 'That every body would know he was either *guilty* or *not guilty* of the crimes charged on him by the impeachment of the House of Commons.' But the Earl of Mar insisted, 'That every Peer ought to be at liberty to vote, *guilty* or *not guilty* to every article; otherwise it might happen, that the majority of the House might think Dr Sacheverel innocent upon each article; yet, by this method of a general answer, he might be condemned of all; which seemed inconsistent with the usual method of justice in that House.' The Duke of Buckingham urged on the same side, 'that, since the judgment of the House in this case ought to be a declaration

1710. House of Commons, did not think he was bound to be present (1).

The Oxford decree voted to be burnt.
Fr. H. L. With *Sacheverel's* Sermons, the famous decree of the University of Oxford passed in their Convocation, July 21, 1683, was, at the same time, voted by the Lords to be burnt, as containing several positions contrary to the Constitution of the Kingdom, and destructive to the Protestant Succession. This decree had been given in evidence by the Doctor at his trial, in which the absolute authority of Princes, and unalterableness of the hereditary right of succeeding to the Crown, were asserted in a very high strain.

Sacheverel's collections, and other books burnt.
Fr. H. C. The Commons also, upon a complaint made to them of a book intitled, *Collections of passages*

referred to by Dr Sacheverel, in his answer to the articles of his impeachment, ordered the same to be burnt. On the other hand, the Doctor's friends complained to the House, of a book intitled, *The Rights of the Christian Church*, &c. and a defence of it, in two parts, with a letter from a Country Attorney to a Country Parson, concerning the Rights of the Church; and *Le Clerc's* judgment of that book in his *Bibliothèque Choisie*. All which were condemned to the flames; as was also a *Treatise of the word Person*, by John Clendon of the Inner-Temple. Not content with this, the Tories moved for an address for a Fast, to deprecate the divine vengeance, which there was just reason to fear, on account of the horrid

1710.

claration of the law, the condition of the people would be most miserable, to have punishment for *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, and not have a probability of informing themselves, what the crimes thereby punished were, which they could not learn from this general determination: And that, this uncertainty being in the case of a Clergyman for preaching, it might create some fears in good men, when they preach some doctrines of the Church of England, particularly that of *Non-Resistance*. The Earl of Sunderland calling for the question, the Earl of Anglesey insisted on the inconveniencies of answering generally to it. Whereupon the Lord Chancellor mentioned four inconveniencies that might ensue: 'First, That Clergymen would know, that to preach against the Revolution, was a *High Crime and Misdemeanor*: Secondly, To preach against the Toleration: Thirdly, Against the Union: And, Fourthly, That to reflect on the Queen's Ministers, and suggest, that the Church is in danger under her Majesty's administration, were likewise *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*. These, said his Lordship, are the only inconveniencies, that I can foresee, will attend this judgment.' The Earl of Wharton calling then for the question, the Duke of Shrewsbury said, 'That he did not think the Doctor guilty of the first article, though he had as great a share as any man in the late Revolution, and would ever go as far as any to vindicate the memory of our late glorious Deliverer. That he thought the Church safe under her Majesty's Administration; but he would not have it made a *High Crime and Misdemeanor* to say, *That the Church is in danger*, because times might come, when it might really be in danger.' And, in conclusion, his Grace insisted on voting article by article. The Lord Caermarthen, the Earl of Anglesey, and the Earl of Nottingham did the like; but, the same being opposed by some other Peers, the Lord Chancellor at last proposed this question, 'Whether the answer to be given by each Lord should be *guilty* or *not guilty* only? Which being resolved in the affirmative, then the main question was put, Whether it should be asked, *Is Henry Sacheverel, Doctor in Divinity, guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, charged upon him by the Impeachment of the House of Commons?* This was likewise carried in the Affirmative; when four and thirty Lords entered their protest, importing, in substance, 'That the obliging every Lord to answer generally *guilty* or *not guilty*, to a question containing all the articles of his impeachment, was a kind of taking upon themselves by an unnecessary joining of matters of a different nature, and subjecting them to one and the same determination; and consequently, might prejudice the right every Peer had to give a free affirmative or negative; since whoever thought Dr Sacheverel guilty of one part, and innocent of the other, would be obliged either to approve what he condemned, or condemn what he approved. 2. They conceived, there was at least a possibility, that tho' a majority of the House was admitted to vote the articles separately, and might think him innocent Numb. LXIII. Vol. IV.

upon each article; yet, by this method of a general answer, he might be condemned of all; which seemed not to be consistent with the usual method of justice in this House. 3. That since the judgment of the House, in this case, ought to be a declaration of the law; the condition of the people would be most miserable, to have punishment inflicted for *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, and not have a possibility of informing themselves, what the *High Crimes and Misdemeanors*, thereby punished, are. For the people's only guide is the law; and they can never be guided by what they can never be informed of. And that, this uncertainty being in the case of a Clergyman for preaching, it might create some fear in good men, when they preach some doctrines of the Church of England, particularly that of *Non-Resistance*; and might be made use of by ill ones, as an excuse for the neglect of that duty, which upon some occasions is required.'

On the 20th of March, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the Lords and Commons having taken their respective seats, and their Lordships House being resumed, the Lord Chancellor declared, that they had agreed upon a question to be put to each Lord severally. And then his Lordship having put the question, beginning at the junior Baron first, sixty-nine Lords declared Dr Sacheverel guilty, and fifty two not guilty. The Lord Chancellor, having cast up the votes, declared Dr Sacheverel guilty; and the Usher of the Black-rod having brought the Doctor to the bar, and caused him to kneel down, the Lord Chancellor told him, that the Lords having, with their usual candour and equity, examined and considered the articles exhibited against him, with the allegations to make good the same, and what had been offered by his counsel and himself in his defence, had found him guilty of *high crimes and misdemeanors* charged upon him by the Commons of Great Britain. Then the Doctor, standing up, made a short speech, importing, 'That not having been suffered to be at their Lordships bar, while their Lordships were giving their votes; he hoped he might now be permitted to put in a plea, before their Lordships passed sentence upon him. That he was advised by his Counsel to offer, first, That, by the opinion of all the Judges, the particular words, supposed to be criminal, ought to have been expressly specified in the articles of impeachment against him. Secondly, That, in the title of the said articles, the same were said to be exhibited in the name of all the Commons of Great-Britain, and yet the Commissioners of Shires, who make part of the Commons of Great-Britain, were not mentioned with the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled. Both which he begged their Lordships to take into consideration.' The Lords, being returned to their House, considered of the Doctor's plea; and resolved, that the same was frivolous, and that they would the next day consider what censure to pass upon him. Pr. H. L.

(1) The sentence passed upon him was, That Henry Sacheverel, Doctor in Divinity, shall be, and is hereby enjoined not to preach during the term of three years

1710. rid blasphemies lately published in the Kingdom. Those who supported this motion, thought not only to cast a reflection on the Whigs, as encouragers of such writings, but also to justify what the Doctor had advanced in his sermon about the danger of the Church, which he had ascribed to the heretical and blasphemous positions lately printed. But their design was easily seen through, and therefore the majority added to the address, "many of which blasphemies" have again, in a most irregular, extraordinary, and insolent manner been printed, published, and dispersed, throughout the Kingdom, to the scandal of good Christians, by "Dr Henry Sacheverel." Upon this addition the Tories would have dropped the address, but it was presented to the Queen, who, probably, on that account answered, "That, a fast having lately been observed, she did not think proper to appoint another so soon, but would consider of it at a more convenient time."

As soon as it was known what a mild sentence the Lords had passed upon Dr Sacheverel, those, who supported him during his trial, expressed an inconceivable gladness, as if they had got a victory; bone-fires, illuminations, and other marks of joy, appeared not only in London, but over the whole Kingdom. However, much greater effects than these rejoicings were produced by it, as will hereafter be seen.

The affair being over, and the Supplies all granted, besides which little more was done this Session (1), the Queen, on the 5th of April, came to the House of Peers, and made the following speech to both houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IT is with great satisfaction, that I come hither at this time, to return you my hearty thanks for the marks of duty and affection,

"which you have given me through the whole course of this Session.

"And I am to thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, in a very particular manner for the great dispatch, which you have made in providing, so early in the year, such great and effectual supplies for the public service. This cannot but make me very desirous to repeat the assurances I gave you at the opening of the Session, that they should be very carefully applied to the uses, for which you have designed them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I cannot sufficiently express to you my great concern, that you have had so necessary an occasion of taking up a great part of your time towards the latter end of this Session.

"I am confident no Prince, that ever sat on the throne, has been more really and sincerely kind to the Church than myself, nor ever had a more true and tender concern for its welfare and prosperity than I have, and always shall continue to have.

"The suppressing immorality, and profane and other wicked and malicious libels, is what I have always earnestly recommended, and shall be glad of the first opportunity to give my consent to any laws, that might effectually conduce to that end. But, this being an evil complained of in all times, it is very injurious to take a pretence from thence to innuendate, that the Church is in any danger from its immorality.

"I could heartily wish, that men would study to be quiet, and do their own business, rather than busy themselves in reviving questions and disputes of a very high nature, and which must be with an ill intention, since they

years next ensuing. That Dr Henry Sacheverel's two printed sermons, referred to by the impeachment of the House of Commons, shall be burnt before the Royal Exchange in London, between the hours of twelve and one, on Monday, the 27th day of this instant March, by the hands of the common hangman, in the presence of the Lord-Mayor of the City of London, and the two Sheriffs of London and Middlesex.

The Lord-Mayor, who was not a little mortified at his being, by the Lords sentence, obliged to assist at the burning of a sermon, which he had approved, and commanded to be printed (as Dr Sacheverel asserted in the Dedication) desired and moved, that he might be excused from attending at the Execution, he being a Member of the House: And a debate arising, it was deferred till the House was informed what answer the Lord-Mayor had returned to the Sheriffs, when they should demand of him, whether he would attend, or not; and so that business was dropped.

(1) During the trial, a bill was ordered to be brought in for limiting the number of Officers, military or civil, in the House of Commons. Mr Wortley Montague was Chairman of the Grand Committee, and General Stanhope, and other leading men of the Whig party, promoted it. It passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the House of Lords; where not only the Earl of Wharton, but the Earl of Scarborough, and the Lord North and Grey spoke against it. The House of Commons, having examined the subject-matter of the petition of the Creditors of the *Mine-Adventurers*, resolved unanimously, March 31, "That Sir Humphry Mackworth, Deputy-Governor

of the *Mine-Adventurers*, was guilty of many notorious and scandalous frauds, and indirect practices, in violation of the Charter granted to the said Company, in breach of his trust, and to the manifest wrong and oppression of the Proprietors and Creditors of the said Company: And, that he might not run away, a bill was ordered to be brought in, "to prevent Sir Humphry Mackworth leaving this Kingdom, and alienating his estate, till the end of the next Session of Parliament." This Gentleman had written several *Pamphlets* as well as *Devotional* tracts, and was for many years of great note with the High-Party. For which reason, on the change of the Ministry, nothing more was heard of his proceedings.

A bill was also brought in for settling the *African* trade, but was not brought to perfection.

Some of the *French* Refugees settled in England, petitioned the House of Commons, that as the *French* Protestants were by the *French* King declared to be outlawed, and excluded from claiming any inheritance in France, and as, on the contrary, many persons living in France did frequently claim here and inherit the estates of their deceased relations, to the prejudice of the remoter relations settled in her Majesty's dominions; they begged leave for a bill "to preclude the subjects of the *French* King, residing in his dominions, from claiming any estates of their relations dying in her Majesty's dominions." Mr Hampden brought in a bill for this purpose; but upon the private suggestions of some eminent *French* Protestants, that it would be prejudicial to themselves and other Refugees, who from time to time received considerable remittances from their relations in France, the bill was dropped.

1710. "they can only tend to foment, but not to heal our divisions and animosities.

"For my own part, as it has pleased God to give success to my endeavours for the Union of my two Kingdoms, which I must ever esteem as one of the greatest blessings of my Reign; so I hope his divine goodness will still continue favourable, and make me the happy instrument of that yet more desirable union of the hearts of all my people in the bonds of mutual affection, that so there may remain no other contention among you, but who shall exceed the other in contributing to advance our present happiness, and secure the Protestant Succession.

"Finding by the advices from abroad, that our army has not yet taken the field, and that the Plenipotentiaries of France are still in Holland, I think it proper at present to make the Prorogation but for a very short time."

Accordingly the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the Parliament only to the 18th of April, when it was farther prorogued.

The Queen's expressing thus her concern, that there was a cause given for what had taken up so much time, and her wishing that all her people would be quiet and mind their own business, rather than employ themselves in reviving such disputes, seemed to look a different way from what had been whispered about. But soon after her proceedings (as will be seen) revived those whispers again.

As the Bishop of Sarum had been encouraged, this winter, by the Queen, to speak more freely to her of her affairs, than he had formerly ventured to do, he told her what reports were secretly spread of her through the Nation, as if she favoured the design of bringing the Pretender to succeed to the Crown, upon a bargain that she should hold it during her life: He was sure these reports were spread about by persons, who were in the confidence of those, that were believed to know her mind: He was well assured, the Jacobites of Scotland had, upon her coming to the Crown, sent up one Ogilby of Boyne, who was in great esteem among them, to propose the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full assurances that she accepted of it; This, he said, he had from some of the Lords of Scotland, who were then in the secret with the professed Jacobites. The Earl of Cromarty made a speech in parliament contradicting this, and, alluding, to the distinction of the Calvinists, made between the secret and the revealed will of God; he assured them, the Queen had no secret will contrary to that she declared: Yet, at the same time, his brother gave the party assurances to the contrary. The Bishop told the Queen all this, and said, if she was capable of making such a bargain for herself, by which her people were to be delivered up and sacrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her Reign, so it must set all her people to consider of the most proper ways of securing themselves, by bringing over the Protestant Successors, in which he told her plainly he would concur, if she did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies. He said, her Ministers had served her with that fidelity, and such success, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world.

The glory of Queen Elizabeth's Reign arose from the firmness of her Councils, and the continuance of her Ministers, as the three last Reigns, in which the Ministry was often changed, had suffered extremely by it. He also shewed her, that, if she suffered the Pretender's party to prepare the nation for his succeeding her, she ought not to imagine, that, when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would stay for the natural end of her life, but that they would find ways to shorten it; Nor did he think, it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the Pretender was upon the sea, they had some Affairs here, who, upon the news of his landing, would have tried to dispatch her. It was certain, that their interest led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the same purpose, the Bishop laid before the Queen, who heard him patiently, and, for the most part, silently; however, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make him think, she agreed to what he had represented to her; but he found afterwards it had no effect upon her; for she soon began the change of the Ministry, by the introduction of the Duke of Shrewsbury, and dismissal of the Earl of Sunderland, as will be related.

It is now time to take a view of the transactions abroad, particularly in relation to the negotiations for peace, which seemed to be prosecuted with warmth.

The treaty at the Hague the last year having proved fruitless, the French Court thought proper to make new overtures of peace. In the beginning of January 1710, the Marquis de Torcy sent another project to Mr Pelkum, Resident of Holstein, consisting of the five following articles;

I. Immediately after the signing of the peace, the French King would acknowledge King Charles as King of the whole Monarchy of Spain; and not only withdraw all the succours he had given his Grandson, but also forbear sending him any assistance for the future, and forbid his subjects to lift in his service; and consent likewise, that no part of the Monarchy of Spain should ever be united to France.

II. As for the Emperor and Empire, the French King would restore Strasburg and Brisac; content himself with Alsatia, according to the literal sense of the treaty of Munster; leave the Empire Landau; raze the fortifications he had built on the Rhine from Basil to Phillipsburg; and acknowledge both the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hanover.

III. As to England, he would acknowledge Queen Anne, and the Succession in the Protestant line; restore Newfoundland, and agree to a mutual restitution of all, that had been taken in the West-Indies on both sides; demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk, and ruin the harbour thereof; and consent to the Pretender's leaving France.

IV. As to the States-General, he would yield to them for a barrier all the places specified in the twenty-second article of the Preliminaries, and confirm what he had offered to them with respect to their trade.

V. As to the Duke of Savoy, that he was willing to grant the Demands made for him by the

The Queen spoke to with great freedom by Bishop Burnet.

New Overtures of peace by France. Hare. Burnet. Hist. of Europe.

* See note, Vol. III. p. 650.

1710.

the Allies; but that he likewise demanded, that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria should be restored to their estates and dignities.

This project being rejected by the Allies, the French resolved to make other overtures, and dispatched a Cabinet-Courier to the Hague with a letter from the Marquis de Torcy to Peikum. The Courier arrived the 2d of February, N. S. at the Hague, and brought a fresh project of peace to be communicated to the Allies, which differed little from the former, or rather was an amplification of it. It was in the main the same with the Preliminaries, but cast into another form, which as effectually destroyed the Preliminaries, as if it had been put into no form at all, besides several material alterations. For the restitution of the Spanish Monarchy, there was a promise only. The clause in the fourth article, whereby the French King engaged to take in concert with the Allies proper measures to oblige his Grandson to it, was left out. The restoring of the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria was insisted on as a Preliminary, and of the Elector of Bavaria in particular to the Palatinate, in contradiction to the Preliminaries, by which it was agreed it should remain to the Elector Palatine, whom the Emperor had some time before put into possession of it; than which nothing could be more reasonable, no Prince having suffered so much from France as one of them, or deserved so ill of the Emperor as the other. As for the thirty-seventh article, the expedient offered was three towns in Flanders of his own choosing; an offer of no consequence, since he would never give any towns, that the Allies could think a tolerable security for so important a point. But to complete the project, and that the design and end of the Preliminaries might be intirely subverted, it was proposed, that the execution of all the articles be deferred, till the treaty be concluded, and the ratifications exchanged. The Marshal d'Uxelles and the Abbot de Polignac, afterwards a Cardinal, were appointed the French King's Plenipotentiaries, and to meet those of the Allies at Antwerp, or any other place, if the Allies would send the necessary passports. This project being communicated by Peikum to the Pensionary, and by him to the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Queen of Great-Britain, several conferences were held between these Ministers and the Deputies of the States-General. The result of which was, that the French Courier was sent back, the 13th of February, N. S. with an answer from Peikum to the Marquis de Torcy's letter, importing, "That the Allies required, that his most Christian Majesty should declare, in plain and expressive words, that he consented to all the Preliminaries, except the seven and thirtieth article; which done, the Allies would send passports to his Ministers, to treat of an equivalent for that article." When the French Court saw so much firmness on the part of the Allies, they thought fit to recede, and give the States all the assurance the most expressive words could do, that the King agreed to all the Preliminaries; and if they would consent, that his Ministers should come and confer with them on the thirty-seventh article, he did not doubt, but what should be proposed from him, would be to their satisfaction. The States therefore sent back the express (which had brought

the French King's answer) with passports for the French Plenipotentiaries. But as the suspicions, which the French gave of their insincerity, made the States pursue the most effectual measures for an early campaign; so it put them upon taking the best care they could, that, if no good should come from the renewing of the Conferences, they might prevent the mischief, which they apprehended was designed by them. As they foresaw the ill effects of suffering the French Ministers to come into their Country, who by their Agents, were every where stirring up the people against the Government, as if the war was prolonged without necessity; they proposed upon Antwerp being disliked, to send their Deputies, Buis and Vanderdussen, to treat with the Ministers of France, either at Maerdyke or Gertruydenberg. The French liked neither of these places, but, when no other could be obtained, they chose the last, where they arrived the 19th of March, but were met the day before by Buis and Vanderdussen at Maerdyke, who had a Conference with them. The next day they had another with them, which lasted several hours, and then the Deputies set out for the Hague to make their report to the States.

By this time the Duke of Marlborough was come to the Hague. When the States sent the passports for the French Ministers, they wrote in very pressing terms to the Queen, to send over the Duke of Marlborough before the end of February. The House of Commons likewise being informed, that advances were made towards renewing a negotiation of peace, voted an address to the Queen to second the request of the States-General, about sending the Duke of Marlborough to Holland. The Lords concurring in the address, it was presented by both Houses on the 18th of February. As this was the last Parliamentary respect shewn the Duke, it will not be improper to insert it at large:

May it please your Majesty,

"WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having reason to believe, that the negotiations of peace will suddenly be renewed in Holland; and being justly apprehensive of the crafty and insinuating designs of our enemies, to create divisions among your Allies, or by amuling them with deceitful expectations of peace, to retard their preparations for war, do think ourselves bound in duty, most humbly to represent to your Majesty, of how great importance we conceive it is to the interest of the Common Cause, that the Duke of Marlborough should be abroad at this critical juncture.

"We cannot but take this opportunity to express our sense of the great and unparalleled services of the Duke of Marlborough, and, with all imaginable duty, do applaud your Majesty's great wisdom, in having honoured the same person with the great characters of General, and Plenipotentiary, who, in our humble opinion, is most capable of discharging two such important trusts. We therefore make it our humble request, That you will be pleased to order the Duke of Marlborough's immediate departure for Holland, where his presence will be equally necessary, to assist

1710.

Address to the Queen to send over the Duke of Marlborough.
Pr. H. C.

1710. "at the negotiations of peace, and to hasten the preparations for an early campaign, which will most effectually disappoint the artifices of our enemies, and procure a safe and honourable peace for your Majesty and your Allies."

Her Majesty's answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am so sensible of the necessity of the Duke of Marlborough's presence in Holland, at this critical juncture, that I have already given the necessary directions for his immediate departure; and I am very glad to find, by this address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services."

There is no doubt but the *States* letter, and the Parliament's address, were intended to let the Queen see what confidence they put in the Duke of Marlborough, and how necessary they thought his service for carrying on the Common Cause, whether by arms or treaty. But it was without any effect, for, whatever soft words the Queen made use of in her answer, she was at that time determined to change Ministers and Measures. The Duke set out the next day for *Harwich*, and landed in *Holland* the 7th of *March*, N. S.

Four days after, *Boys* and *Vanderdussen* returned to the *Hague*. The next morning they had a Conference with the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord *Townshend*, and Count *Zinzendorf*, in the presence of the Pensionary and the Deputies of the *States*, wherein they made the following report: 'The *French* Plenipotentiaries had endeavoured, in the first place, to persuade them, that it was the interest of the Allies to make a separate peace with *France*, exclusive of *Spain*; and to render the same more effectual, and remove the umbrage the Allies seemed to have taken, that the King of *France* might underhand assist his Grandson, his most Christian Majesty was willing to enter into the most solemn engagements to the contrary, and give Cautionary Towns for the performance of his promise.' The Deputies of the *States* answered, 'These offers of *France* were not sufficient; and, the Allies having chiefly undertaken this war for restoring the Monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*, they could not treat with the *French* King (who had placed his Grandson on the *Spanish* Throne) without stipulating, that he should relinquish the same; adding, the high Allies would be very much surprized to hear, that, after the pressing instances, the *French* had made for these Conferences, their Plenipotentiaries were come to offer what had been already rejected; and would doubtless take it as an evidence, that their Court was not sincere, and fought only to amuse the Allies.' Messieurs *d'Uxelles* and *de Polignac* pretended, 'They did not know, that any such thing had been yet offered; but they were told, that, though Ministers might be allowed sometimes to dissemble, yet this was not a fit time to make use of that privilege, and they ought plainly to speak their minds. Those Gentlemen made large protestations of their Master's sincere inclination for peace: That he could never be prevailed upon to enter into a war with his Grandson, or take any other violent measures against him. They

No. 63. VOL. IV.

inlarged on the affection of the *Spaniards* for that Prince; and at last declared, they saw no other expedient for procuring the *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles*, than to give a share of it to King *Philip*; concluding, if the Allies would consent to give him *Naples* and *Sicily*, King *Philip* might be induced to resign the rest to the Archduke. They urged, this was the only way for preventing a farther effusion of Christian blood, and which would save the Allies abundance of trouble, and secure to the House of *Austria* the Monarchy of *Spain*; whereas, the fortune of the war being uncertain, it might still happen, that the Allies would be obliged to make peace upon other terms. The Deputies confuted these reasons without any great difficulty; and having represented, that such a partition was contrary to the treaties, which the Allies had amongst themselves, and to the whole tenor of the preliminaries, which the *French* themselves acknowledged for the foundation of the treaty, they declared, in express terms, they were sent to hear what equivalent they had to propose for the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries, which they excepted against; but not to debate upon any other point. Whereupon they parted.'

The same day, to prevent any jealousies among the other Ministers of the Allies, the Deputies of the *States* communicated to the *Prussian* Plenipotentiaries what had been transacted at *Maerdyke*; and, the next day, the same was in a more solemn manner communicated to all the Ministers of the Allies, who were desired to use their interest with their respective Masters, that their troops might be in a readiness to begin the campaign as early as possible, as the most effectual means to force the common enemy to accept such conditions, as might secure a safe and lasting peace.

Six days after, an express from the *French* Plenipotentiaries arrived at the *Hague*, and acquainted the Pensionary, that they had received an answer from their Court to their last dispatches; and desired, either that they might be permitted to come to the *Hague*, or that the *States* Deputies might again confer with them at *Gertruydenberg*. The first being denied, and the latter granted, Messieurs *Boys* and *Vanderdussen* set out for *Gertruydenberg*, where, on the 21st and 22d of *March*, they had several Conferences with the Ministers of *France*, who again proposed a separate peace, exclusive of *Spain*; offering, as before, all manner of security, that the most Christian King should not assist his Grandson: Which being rejected, they proposed several schemes of partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy. They mentioned, in the first place, *Naples* and *Sicily* for King *Philip*: Afterwards, that the Allies would leave him in possession of the Kingdom of *Arragon*: And lastly, that he would content himself with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the *Spanish* places on the coast of *Tuscany*. The *Dutch* Deputies told the *French* Ministers they were surprized to hear of no equivalent for the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries, as their Court had promised, and on which consideration alone the present negotiation was agreed on by the Allies; adding, they had no power to treat of any partition. Having said this, they took their leave of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who sent an express to *Versailles* for farther instructions. On the other hand, *Boys* and *Vanderdussen*,

T t

1710. *derdussen*, being returned to the *Hague*, made a report of these Conferences to the Pensionary, in the presence of the Imperial and *British* Ministers, who dispatched Expresses to their respective Courts, with an account of the proposals made by *France*, which were also communicated to the *States of Holland*, and other Provinces.

On the 22d of *March* *Petrum* went from the *Hague* to *Gertruydenberg*, but without any Commission on the part of the Allies, and solely at the desire of the *French* Plenipotentiaries; who, not many days after, having given notice of the return of the express they had sent to their Court, the Deputies of the *States* set out again for *Gertruydenberg*. In these new Conferences, the *French* Plenipotentiaries insisted on a Partition of the *Spanish* dominions, according to the schemes they had proposed before; but seemed, however, to depart from what they had advanced in relation to *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, pretending that was only by way of conversation, and demanded either *Naples*, with the places on the coast of *Tuscany*, or the Kingdom of *Aragon*; which occasioned great debates. The *French* Ministers mentioned afterwards the article of security for the performance of what should be stipulated in the Preliminaries, and proposed what they expected from the Allies for themselves; but would not explain their meaning on the security to be given by *France* to the Allies for the performance of the Preliminaries. The Deputies of the *States*, being very much dissatisfied with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, frankly told them, 'The Allies were tired with this way of treating, and therefore expected a full and clear declaration on the part of *France* on the Matters already debated; or else they would break off all manner of Conference with them.' Hereupon *d'Uselles* and *Polignac* desired time to send another Courier to *Versailles*, for further instructions; pretending, 'That the final resolution of their Master depended upon that of the Court of *Madrid*, which was expected about that time at *Versailles*.' This dilatory way of treating confirmed the general opinion, that the *French* had not a real intention to come to a peace, even by way of partition; and that they had no other design in these Conferences, than either to divide or amuse the Allies. In both of which, however, they were equally disappointed; for, Prince *Eugene* being come to the *Hague* on the 12th of *April*, and having, with the Duke of *Mariborough* and the Deputies of the *States*, concerted the operations of the next campaign, for the early opening of which, great magazines of dry forage and other necessaries had been provided, those two Generals set out, on the 15th, for *Tournay*, near which place the Confederate forces, quartered on the *Maese*, and in *Brabant* and *Flanders*, were ordered to rendezvous.

It was by many expected, that the early success of the Confederate Armies in passing the lines, and investing *Doway*, would have quickened the Negotiation at *Gertruydenberg*. But *Buys* and *Vanderdussen* being again returned thither on the 24th of *April*, *N. S.* at the desire of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they had the same day a Conference, in which they desired to know, 'Whether by the last Courier they had received any further instructions on the grand affair, for which they were come into these Provinces?' The *French* Ministers answered, they

had no other proposal to make, but what they had already offered; and told the Deputies they had expected the Answer of the Allies on their proposals. This declaration occasioned some warm debates among them; and the Deputies complained of the insincerity of the *French* Court, telling them in express terms, 'That the Ministers of *France* having so often and so positively declared by letters, and otherwise, that their Plenipotentiaries were to propose an expedient for the thirty-seventh article; the Allies could not but be surprized, that, after so many Conferences, they should hear nothing from them but a proposal for the partition of the *Spanish* Monarchy.' And so the Conference broke up without any success. The next morning the Deputies of the *States* went to take their leave of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and insinuated to them in general terms, 'That, the armies being actually in the field, and no advances made in the late Conferences towards procuring a general peace, they thought it was no purpose to continue them.' The *French* Ministers alledged, they had made several proposals, which, in their opinion, might have conducted to a general peace; and that they wondered the Allies had made none on their part, since they were not fatished with those of *France*. They desired likewise the *Dutch* Deputies to give them their answer or declaration in writing, that they might transmit it to their Court: But, this being denied, the Deputies took their leaves, and the *French* Plenipotentiaries dispatched *d'Uselles's* Secretary to *Versailles*. Many were still of opinion, that the late success of the Allies, and the siege of *Doway*, would have obliged the Court of *France* to alter their style; and it was then strongly reported, that, in the Council held at *Versailles*, upon the first advice of the Allies having passed the lines, there appeared a great division among the Princes of the blood; some insisting upon the necessity of peace to preserve *France* from intire ruin; and others persisting in their former opinion, that it was better to venture the fate of another campaign, than to submit to such ignominious terms, as were insisted on by the Confederates.

Upon the report made at the *Hague* by *Buys* and *Vanderdussen* of the last fruitless Conferences, the Imperial Minister thought fit to declare, 'That the Emperor, his Master, could not consent to any partition of the *Spanish* dominions; and therefore proposed, that the *French* Plenipotentiaries should be forthwith dismissed.' But the *Dutch* were of a different opinion, alledging, that, since the *French* Ministers had sent an express to their Court, it was but reasonable to expect his return, and see whether the late progress of the Confederate arms had caused any alteration in the measures of that Court. The express being returned on the 3d of *May*, *N. S.* the *French* Plenipotentiaries wrote the next day the following letter to *Petrum*:

"We could wish our Conferences had produced a peace; but as we have no order to make any other proposition than those we have already made, we patiently expect, that the Deputies will come hither, to declare themselves in a more open manner than they have done hitherto, or to give us our dismissal; or, at least, that the Pensionary will send us an order to be gone."

This

Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough set out for Tournay.

1710.

This letter being communicated to the *States-General*, and by the Pensionary to the Imperial and *British* Ministers, it was thought fit to impart it to all the Ministers of the Allies, who, being met on the 9th of May, unanimously resolved, Monsieur *Petkum* should be desired to write to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That, seeing they had nothing further to propose, and the Allies nothing more to say than what they had said before, it was to no purpose to continue useless Conferences; but he should avoid to speak any thing of dismissal, or order to depart. *Petkum* having writ a letter to that purpose to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, they sent him the next day an answer, importing, They were extremely concerned to see, that, notwithstanding all the advances of the King their Master for procuring Peace, the *States* and the Allies so resolutely refused it; and, since it was thought fit to break off the Negotiations, they were preparing to depart. Upon this declaration, it was generally believed, the *French* Plenipotentiaries would have set out for *Paris*, for which purpose they had caused their baggage to be packed up. But, having received another Courier from *Versailles*, they gave notice of it to *Petkum*, desiring at the same time, that the *States* would once more send their Deputies to *Gertruydenberg*. These new Conferences met with some Difficulties, Count *Zinzendorf*, the Imperial Minister, having insisted on his being present: But his demand being over-ruled (by reason the other Ministers of the Allies, particularly *British*, might with equal justice have claimed the same privilege) *Buy* and *Vanderdussen* set out the 23d of May for *Gertruydenberg*. Being returned to the *Hague*, they made the next day their report to the Pensionary in the presence of the Imperial and *British* Ministers, to this effect: After many protestations of their Master's sincere inclination to Peace, the *French* Plenipotentiaries said his most Christian Majesty had been prevailed upon to recede from the former demand he had made of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the places on the coast of *Tuscany*; and therefore was willing, that *Naples* should remain to the House of *Austria*, and that King *Philip* should content himself with *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the Places on the coast of *Tuscany*. The Deputies upon this thought fit, without granting any part of the Proposals, to ask the *French* Plenipotentiaries, what security they had to propose to the Allies for the evacuation of *Spain* and the *Indies* by the Duke of *Anjou*, supposing that these proposals of a partition should be accepted. But they declined to give them any satisfactory answer. Whereupon the Deputies told them, the Allies being daily more and more convinced, that the *French* Court continued the Negotiation, not out of a sincere desire of Peace, but only to encourage their subjects to bear the more patiently the burthen of the war, they would be obliged to break off all further Conferences with them, to remove all occasions of jealousy amongst themselves. The *French* made great protestations of their Master's sincerity, and said, they would send him another express, with an account of these Conferences.

The *Dutch* Deputies having made the like report to the *States of Holland*, they took no final resolution, but deferred it to another meeting, in order to give the *French* Plenipo-

tentiaries time to receive new instructions from their Court; which they did the 6th of June, and immediately writ a letter to *Petkum*, with one inclosed for the Pensionary, acquainting him, that, having new overtures to make, they desired, that Messieurs *Buy* and *Vanderdussen* would once again return to *Gertruydenberg*. The Imperial Plenipotentiary renewed his former pretension of assisting at the Conferences; and being again refused, and his orders from *Vienna*, to persist in his demand, being positive, he sent an express to Prince *Eugene* for his opinion, who advised him to follow the example of the *British* Ministers, whose Mistress, though she contributed more to the war than any other of the Allies, was yet so well satisfied of the wisdom and integrity of the *States-General*, as to trust to them that preliminary Negotiation of Peace.

Buy and *Vanderdussen* being absent from the *Hague*, when the *French* Courier, sent to *Petkum*, arrived there, they did not set out for *Gertruydenberg* till the 14th of June. The two following days they had several Conferences with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, who declared, Their Master receded from the demand made in the last Conference, of the *Spanish* places on the coast of *Tuscany*, and would content himself with *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for King *Philip*; and use all possible means to persuade his Grandson to consent to that partition: This required some time; but, if that Prince would not acquiesce in this proposal, the most Christian King, though he could by no means declare war against his Grandson, would yet furnish a sum of money towards the charges of a war to be continued against him, till he had surrendered *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to the House of *Austria*. This declaration of the *French* Plenipotentiaries being reported to the Pensionary, in the presence of the Imperial and *British* Ministers, occasioned two or three Conferences between them, and confirmed the general opinion, that the *French* had no other design, than either to amuse the Allies, or to decoy them to a separate peace, exclusive of *Spain*; where, notwithstanding their promises to the contrary, they might underhand assist King *Philip*, and carry on the war with such advantage, as might in the end tire out, if not exhaust the principal Members of the Alliance. The Imperial Minister was still of opinion, that, since the *French* Plenipotentiaries did not propose any equivalent or expedient for the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries, which was the main intention of the present Negotiation, they ought to be immediately dismissed; and therefore moved, that *Petkum*, who, on the 21st of June, went to *Gertruydenberg*, as he pretended, for some private concerns, should be desired to signify to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, that the Allies would not consent to any further Conferences. But it was thought more advisable to send him to make the following declaration on the part of the Allies: I. The last proposal made by the *French* King, of contributing a sum of money towards the charges of the war, to oblige the Duke of *Anjou* to quit the Monarchy of *Spain*, and content himself with *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, if he would not do it voluntarily, was not acceptable to the Allies upon several accounts; and namely, because this would produce but a separate, and not a general peace, which was the end the Allies proposed to themselves. II. The Allies insisted to have *Spain* and

1710.

1710.

and the *Indies* delivered up, according to the tenor of the preliminaries. III. This foundation being laid and agreed upon, the Allies would consent to continue the Conferences on other articles. The *French* Ministers deferring their answer to this declaration, *Buy* and *Vanderdufsen* were directed to send an express to *Gertruydenberg*, who returned to the *Hague* the 10th of *July*, with an answer, importing, "That, by virtue of their powers and instructions, they were always in a condition to explain the sentiments of the King their Master; and therefore desired, that the Deputies would come once more to *Gertruydenberg*." This being communicated to Count *Zinzendorf* and the Lord *Townsend*, those Ministers met at the Pensionary's, where, after a long debate, it was resolved to send back the *Dutch* Deputies to *Gertruydenberg* with this instruction, That they should insist upon a plain and positive answer to the articles delivered to the Plenipotentiaries by *Peikum*. *Buy* and *Vanderdufsen* set out the next day, and had a Conference with the *French* Plenipotentiaries, that lasted about four hours, though to as little purpose as the former. For the *Dutch* Deputies insisting on the declaration made on the part of the Allies by the Resident of *Holstein*, the *French* said, They had no further instructions, but would send another express to their Master for a final answer, which they would communicate upon the return of the Courier, for whose journey fifteen days were allowed. The *Dutch* Deputies being by this time convinced of the insincerity of the *French*, *Vanderdufsen* could not forbear making some warm expostulations about it; to which the Abbot de *Polignac* replied in very high terms, not without reproaching the *Dutch* with ingratitude towards the Crown of *France*, which had been their main support upon their defection from *Spain*. Whereupon the Conference, which proved to be the last, broke off unkindly. The *French* Ministers, not thinking it proper to demand another interview, on the 20th of *July*

sent a letter to the Pensionary, wherein they represented the proposals made in the last Conference by the Deputies to be unjust, and impossible to be executed, and complained of the ill treatment they pretended they had received in contempt of their character; of the injurious, false, and scandalous libels, which had been suffered to be dispersed during their stay at *Gertruydenberg*, to inflame the minds of those, whom they were endeavouring to reconcile; and of all the letters, which they either received or writ, having been opened, in breach of the public faith. This letter being communicated to the *States-General*, they came to a resolution, 'That the contents of it concerned not only their State, but likewise all the Allies, and therefore they thought it their duty to communicate it to their Ministers residing at the *Hague*, that every thing might be done in concert with them, as it had been hitherto. That the *French* Plenipotentiaries rejecting, by their answer, the propositions, made to them, declaring, that it was useless to hold any more Conferences upon these propositions, and thereby breaking off the Negotiations on that subject, nothing more remained to be done on the part of the Allies, than to acquiesce therein, and to enter into no more Conferences, as long as the enemy should continue in such sentiments. And the *Sieurs Buy* and *Vanderdufsen* were, by this resolution, required to signify the same by a letter to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, without entering into a debate upon the contents of their letter, notwithstanding it might be easily confuted, as well with respect to things as words.' Accordingly *Buy* and *Vanderdufsen* returned a short answer to the *French* Ministers, importing, 'That, since their Court would not give a sufficient security for the delivering up of *Spain*, it was to no purpose to continue the Conferences.' Upon this the *French* Plenipotentiaries set out the 25th of *July*, from *Gertruydenberg*, to return home (1). It was observed, that, about this time, the *French* began

1710.

(1) Dr *Hare*, in his fourth letter to a *Tory* Member, Part II. p. 42. observes, 'that the ill success of these Negotiations was intirely owing to the *French*; the King of *France* having put it out of the power of the Allies to make a general Peace, by refusing to give them *Spain* and the *Indies*, without which a good Peace could never be made, or the end, for which they went into the war, tolerably answered. And the more, says he, this affair is examined into, the more you will be convinced of the insincerity of the *French*, and the necessity the Allies were under to act as they did.'

First, It is indisputably true, and confessed on all hands, that the restitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*, whatever became of the rest of the Monarchy, was promised from the very first. They did not pretend to desire so much as one single Conference for Peace on any other terms.

Now if the King could do what he promised, what became of the pretended impossibility? And if he could not, what could he mean by such a promise but to amuse and deceive? But, if he designed that, then it undeniably follows, all these Negotiations, on his part, have been one continued cheat from the beginning to the end. And, that this is the truth of the case, I have given you many proofs both in my last letter and in this. All the expedients, he proposed, were so many shams, and had no other meaning in them but to gain time, quiet his people, and

slow jealousies among the Allies; and defeat, if possible, by a treaty those he cannot defeat by his arms. What else could he mean by proposing a Partition as an expedient, and yet refusing to let it have the effect of one? To ask the *States* to consent to a Partition, and not suffer them to ask for what, is a little too bare-faced. Could they think the *Dutch* would consent to this expedient, for the sake of a general Peace, without being sure a general Peace would be purchased by it? I scarce believe, they expected that of them; but nevertheless hoped, they should gain their ends by it; and that the very hearkening to the proposal of a Partition would create jealousies, and divide the Allies, in which they did not judge very ill; for the Conferences upon this foot very much alarmed the Ministers of the Emperor and King *Charles*, who were utterly averse to a partition of any kind; and it was with great difficulty they were prevailed with to consent to let the Conferences with the Ministers of *France* be managed by the Deputies of the *States*, without their being themselves present at them; which would have rendered the Negotiations for a general Peace much more difficult than they were, though *France* had been in earnest for it. And this was all *France* aimed at by proposing a Partition: Some of the Allies, they knew, would be extremely against it, while the *States*, they hoped, would, for so desirable an end, be willing enough to come into it. And this difference they promised themselves

much

1710. to talk of Peace with indifference; either, as some conjectured, in hopes of a diversion in the North, or, which is much more probable, from an expectation, that the ferment, raised in *England* by the late trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, would be so industriously fomented and improved by their friends, as to produce a favourable turn. On the other hand, the *States-General* were so exasperated by the late evasive conduct of the Court of *France*, that on the 27th of *July*, *N. S.* they came to another vigorous resolution, in confutation of the letter from *d'Uxelles* and *Polignac* to the Pensionary, and in particular to shew, 'That the enemy had departed from the foundation, on which the Negotiation had begun, and studied pretences to evade the execution of the capital points, the restitution of *Spain* and the *Indies*; and, in short, that *France* had no other view, than to sow and create jealously and disunion among the Allies. As to the complaint of the Plenipotentiaries relating to their persons, the pretended contempt of their character, the publication of abusive libels, the opening of their letters, the hindering the making any visits to them and their lodging, as if they had been in a kind of prison; the *States* observed, That, pursuant to the agreement, the Plenipotentiaries came without any character, for which reason no ceremonial was observed on either side; but that all manner of consideration was had for their birth, quality, and merit.

That libels were severely forbidden in *Holland*, 1710. and the authors and printers liable to punishment. That none of the many *Couriers*; the *French* Plenipotentiaries had received and dispatched, had been stopped; nor were any of the letters, which they sent by the ordinary post, intercepted. That no person was ever hindered from going to them; nor was any order given to take notice who visited them. But as; in all frontier-towns, it is the custom, that none enter, unless they declare who they are, both at the Gate and to the Governor; it ought not to be thought strange, nor ought exceptions to be taken, if this custom were not discontinued during the stay of the *French* Ministers at *Gertruydenberg*. And, in the last place, they could not call a kind of prison the town, which they pitched upon for their residence, and which they preferred to *Antwerp*, a large and noble City.

On the 7th of *August*, the Lord *Townshend* delivered to the *States-General* a memorial, wherein he acquainted them, that the Queen intirely approved their resolution, in answer to the letter of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and all the steps they had taken during the late Negotiations; giving them, at the same time, fresh assurances of her Majesty's firm resolution to prosecute the war with all possible vigour; till the enemy was brought to accept such terms of peace, as might secure the tranquillity of the Christian world.

By

much from. But, for fear this difficulty should be overcome, and the Allies should take them at their words, and accept some of the expedients offered, they had another resort behind, by which they could at any time confound all that had been done, and had great hopes, at the same time, that the Alliance might be broke by it. And that was this; they pretended they could not execute any part of the preliminaries, unless the Allies would oblige themselves not to make any further demands, than what were already contained in those articles, or that they should be now declared; which is contrary to the 3d article, in which there is a power expressly reserved for the Empire, the four associated Circles, the Kings of *Portugal* and *Prussia*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to make what further demands they should find reasonable. This the *French* insisted on for no other reason, but because they knew it was impossible for the Allies in justice to comply with it, unless the respective powers above-named, had had Ministers at the *Hague*, with full instructions from each of them, which they knew they neither had, nor could have, without losing a great deal of time. Besides, this demand of the *French* is contrary, not only to the express terms of the preliminaries, but to the very nature of them; for, if nothing is to be left to be adjusted at a general treaty, how does a preliminary treaty differ from it? But it was very much for the purpose of the *French*, — who meant nothing but to amuse the Allies, and make mischief, to insist on it; which accordingly they did, being sure which ever part the Allies took, they should find their account in it. For, the Allies would not agree to this demand, then there was always a handle ready to break off the treaty upon: As long as further demands may be made upon them, they cannot be sure any concessions will procure a lasting Peace, and they shall be in danger of having the War renewed upon them, after all they shall have done to put an end to it. And this is very plausible and specious; but has at the bottom nothing at all in it. But, if the Allies had complied with this demand, and declared no further demands should be insisted on, what a fine game would the *French* have had? They had no-

thing else to do to break the Alliance, but to represent to some of these members of it, how their interests were neglected, and what poor terms the Maritime Powers and the Emperor had made for them. You see, Gentlemen, the utmost your Allies ask for you; you see the whole you are to expect from them. These are the terms they have made for you; and they have promised to oblige you to acquiesce in them. Are these Allies worth adhering to? Come over to the interest of the King, and support his first pretensions; and you will find both him and his Grandson more grateful. You shall have this and that, and the other good thing; this town, that principality, so much money, such a valuable match; in short, terms infinitely more advantageous to your masters, and the interest of their families, than any thing the Allies will do for you. This artifice the *French* found the good effects of the last war; and their fingers itch to be at it again; for this was the way they drew off a certain Prince then, which was the ruin of that Confederacy. After their emissaries had been for some time in *Holland*, proposing under-hand terms of Peace, and endeavouring to find, what articles the principal Allies would be content with for the rest; when they had learned this, the use they made of it, was to seduce one of them, by offering much better terms than had been asked for him. The bait took, and it was agreed to leave the side he thought himself ill used by. Nothing remained but to contrive how this might be done most decently. The way agreed on was to invade his country with a great army, and lay siege to his capital. What could the unhappy Prince do in these circumstances? He is in the utmost danger; his Allies neither do, nor can support him. There is no safety for him but in a Peace. Thus a member was brought off from the last confederacy; and the same play they want to be again at. This is so certain, that we are sure they were trying this very trick with the same Prince. While the Marquis de *Torcy* made at the *Hague* such mighty difficulties in complying with the terms demanded for the Duke of *Savoy*, whom he pretended his Master had great reason to be dissatisfied with, this false perfidious Court was at that very time tempting him with better offers at

U u

Turin;

1710.
Campaign
in Flanders.
Brodrick,
Hist. of
Europe.
Burnet.

By this time the Confederate armies under Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, had made a considerable progress in Flanders. On the 14th of April, the Earl of Albemarle, Governor of Tournay, in concert with Lieutenant-General Cadogan, caused the Castle of Mortagne to be attacked, which was executed with so much success, that the garrison, consisting of a Captain, four Subalterns, five Sergeants, and 65 private men, surrendered prisoners of war. But the next morning the enemy retook that post with about sixty men. The Earl, resolving to be master of it again, made a second attack with six hundred men of the garrison of Tournay; and though the French garrison, which consisted of two hundred grenadiers, were assisted by twelve or fifteen Gallions from Condé; yet the Confederate troops, being supported by a detachment from the body of Count Feltz, and favoured by the cannon, which they had planted on the heights of Munde, the enemy were obliged again to surrender prisoners of war. The Allies, considering the great convenience and advantageous situation of that post, left there two hundred men, and four pieces of cannon.

The French had all the winter been strengthening their lines for covering Daway, and other frontier-towns, and boasted they were impregnable; but not being able to supply their

troops with provision, and especially forage for their horse, the two Confederate Generals, with Count Tilly and Monsieur de Clerbergen, one of the States Deputies, made all the necessary dispositions for advancing towards the enemy's lines; and the army began their march in two April 20. columns; the right commanded by the Duke of Marlborough to Pont-a-Vendin, and the left by Prince Eugene to Pont-Oby, on the Deule. This march was so well contrived, and so sudden, that notwithstanding the great preparations, which the French had made for fortifying and defending their lines; the Chevalier de Luxembourg, being for that purpose incamped with about four thousand men near St Amand, and the Marshal de Montesquiou, having assembled about forty battalions, and sixty squadrons, near Lens and Beibune; yet the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Lieutenant-General Cadogan, with a detachment of fifteen battalions and fifty squadrons from the Duke of Marlborough's column, entered those lines at Pont-a-Vendin, without any opposition. The few troops they had there, for the defence of that post, retired without firing a gun; and the battalions and squadrons, posted near Lens and Beibune, made likewise their retreat, partly towards Arras, and partly towards Daway. The Allies having laid bridges over the Scarpe, the Prince of Hesse

Turin; but that Prince understood his interests too well, to hearken again to them.

This is the use the Ministers of France hoped to make of this demand of their's, if the Allies had been weak enough to have agreed to it. But they were not to be so imposed on, nor would they act in so arbitrary a manner, as to force any of their Allies to submit to terms made against their consent, or without their knowledge; and therefore could not, by all the artifice of France, be prevailed with to preclude them from making such further demands, as they should think reasonable. But, to shew they were sincere, they were willing to desist from all further demands for themselves, according to the 31st article. This they could do; more injustice they could not. And, had the French been in earnest on their part, they would, without difficulty, have trusted the Allies in this point; for they could not, with any colour of reason, believe, that, when the Maritime Powers and the Emperor were satisfied, they would renew the war at the end of two months, or what other time should have been agreed on, for the sake of any further demands on the part of the other Allies, which it would not be very reasonable for France to grant them. And therefore it cannot be thought they meant any thing else by urging this point, but to make mischief, and, draw the Allies, if they could, into a snare; and, if that did not succeed, that they might always have it in their power to go off.

To reduce the whole management of the French in this affair under one short view: They press the Allies to an impossibility contrary to the preliminaries, and complain at the same time of being pressed to an impossibility themselves, though the Allies ask nothing but what they themselves offered from the beginning; and the steps they have taken are very extraordinary. First, Negotiations are broke off upon the single point of the 37th article. Then an expedient is offered of cautionary towns; then the Conferences are again desired to be renewed, upon repeated assurances of agreeing to all the other preliminaries, except the 37th. Then, as what would solve all difficulties, a partition is proposed, which is at last reduced to Sicily and Sardinia. And what is all this for? Will they sign the preliminaries if this partition is agreed to? By no means; they take the very asking of this

question for a plain design in the Allies to break off the Conferences; and they, who would have given you before all the preliminaries, except the 37th article and three cautionary towns, now take it very ill you will not accept the preliminaries, not only without that article, but without any cautionary towns, or other expedients, though Sardinia and Sicily be taken out of them, without having for this any more security given than before, that Spain and the Indies shall be restored, though the proposing a partition could not possibly have any other meaning in it. For it was proposed as an expedient; but for what? To leave the Allies where it found them? No sure; but to remove the pretended difficulty of evacuating Spain and the Indies, in favour of King Charles. But, if this be the plain meaning of this proposal, how came the treaty to break off upon this point? What can be more unjust, than to desire the Allies to quit part of what the preliminaries give them, for the sake of the rest, and yet not tell them, which way the rest is to be had? What is more ridiculous than to press the States to all the inconveniencies, which the consenting to a partition might be attended with, without allowing them the least advantage from it? How can one reconcile the asking a partition at the beginning of the Conferences, and then breaking them off, because the Allies desire to be secured of the effect proposed from it? Now after all that has been said upon this subject, can there be any doubt, which side is in fault, or at whose door it lies, that those Conferences did not succeed? — It is plain they broke off, because the French would not secure to the Allies the restitution of Spain and the Indies. And it is as plain, the French ought to have done this: It is what they promised from the beginning, and undertook for at the opening of those Conferences, the proposal of a partition being incapable of any other fair construction. And therefore the blame of the rupture can lie only upon the French, or on those, who have encouraged them to act thus, by dissuading the mighty haste they were in for peace. For whether the French, when they first began these conferences, intended they should end as they did, may possibly be a question. I must own, when I heard they had proposed a partition, I thought the necessity of their affairs had at last forced them to be sincere; and that they would have

1710. *Hesse Cassel* was detached with twelve Squadrons to fall upon their rear ; but they broke down so many bridges, and retired so fast that he could not put his designs in execution, and only took a few prisoners. The army under the Duke of *Marlborough* passed the *Scarpe*, incamping his right near *Vitri*, and his left at *Gouy*; the extremity of his left at *Goulesfin*. The army under Prince *Eugene* remained on the other side of the river to invest *Doway*, the siege of which was resolved upon ; and for that purpose Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* marched to take post at *Pont-a-Rache*, and other detachments were made to open a communication over the lower *Scarpe* with *Lille* and *Tournay*. The enemy quitted *St Amand*, *Marchienne*, and the abbey of *Hafnon* below *Doway*; and their army retired towards *Cambray*, upon the news that the Confederates had passed the *Scarpe* at *Vitri*. This opened the way to *Doway*, which was immediately invested.

On the 8th of *May*, eight hundred men were detached from Prince *Eugene's* Army to attack the castle of *Pignonville* near *Fort-Scarpe*, which would have disturbed the Besiegers in their approaches ; and after an hour's resistance, the garrison, consisting of about one hundred men, surrendered prisoners of war. At the same time the necessary preparations for the attack of *Doway* being made, forty battalions were appointed for that service, under the command of the Prince of *Anhalt-Dessau*, and the Prince of *Nassau-Friesland*, both Generals of foot. And, on the 4th at night, the trenches were opened with so

much precaution and regularity, that the men were covered before they were perceived from the town ; so that all the fire, which the enemy then made, proved ineffectual. The siege was carried on in the usual methods till the 7th ; when about ten at night the Besieged, to the number of one thousand foot, (most grenadiers) and two hundred dragoons, made a vigorous sally, under the command of the Duke of *Mortemar*, against the left attack, commanded by the Prince *Nassau* ; put the workmen into great disorder, and levelled some paces of the parallel. Colonel *Sutton's* regiment suffered very much, being the first that supported the workmen ; but, *Macartney's* and some other regiments coming up to their relief, the enemy were repulsed with considerable loss, and pursued to their counter-scarp. The Besiegers had above three hundred men killed or wounded upon this occasion, and among the latter, Lieutenant-Colonel *Gledbit*, who was taken prisoner.

By this time the enemy's troops began to assemble in different bodies near *Bethune*, *Bapaume*, *Arras*, *Cambray*, *Landrezi*, and behind the river *Somme* ; and, Marshal *Villars*, whom the French Court had appointed to command their forces in the Netherlands, being arrived at *Peronne* on the 14th of *May*, the Confederate Generals received advice, that he designed to pass the *Scheld*, between *Bouchain* and *Denain*, in order to advance towards the Allies. And indeed he made such speeches to his army, that it was generally believed he would venture a battle, rather than look on and see *Doway* lost.

On

have struck up a Peace before *Doway* was taken, that the Allies might not extend their conquests beyond the bounds of their preliminaries. And perhaps, even after this, they might balance with themselves, and were for some time irresolute with intention to consent, or not consent to the Allies, as they found themselves pressed by the War. And, could the Duke of *Marlborough* have either beat their army, or besieged *Arras*, I believe they would have thought the King might with honour have abandoned his Grandson, after he had sacrificed so much for the support of him ; and the safety of *France* would have excused to all the world his quitting *Spain*. And it was with this view principally they kept their Ministers so long at *Gertruydenberg*, that they might be upon the spot, to clap up a Peace immediately, if there should be occasion. By this they were sure to have an advantage, in case of a battle, which ever way it turned ; for, if they lost it, they would have been able to prevent the fatal consequences of a great defeat by closing with the terms of the Allies, before a victory could be pursued ; and, if they had won it, they would have made use of the first consternation, which the loss of a battle would have put the Dutch into, to press them to a Peace on their terms. That this was the most the French meant by these Conferences, is evident from what was doing at the same time in *Spain*. I have observed before, that either the Spaniards or we must have been deceived ; and therefore the French kept it in their power, by the most artful ways they could, to do either as they found most convenient ; but that the King's inclination and interest were too well known to leave room to doubt, that he would keep his promise to the Spaniards, if he could. Accordingly we see, he did not only enable his Grandson, as I have observed before, to put *Spain* into the best posture of defence it was capable of, and supply him with every thing that was necessary ; but promised to make the siege of *Gironne* early in the spring, and was making a new offensive and defensive treaty with

him during these very Conferences. And the assistance and assurance, the Duke of *Anjou* had given him, made him think of nothing less than quitting *Spain*. In the spring he pretended to have an Army of one hundred and twenty two battalions, and one hundred and forty-five squadrons, besides the troops that were coming to him from *Flanders*. Before the Conferences begun, the King received an express from his Grandson, to acquaint him with the zeal the *Castilians* express for him, and his resolution to stand by them ; and the French Minister at *Madrid* in April gave out, that the Conferences were broke off. At the same time the Duke of *Anjou* was hastening to put himself at the head of his army, but was stopped by the affair of the Duke de *Medina Celi* ; which, as great a mystery as it was, was probably at bottom a French trick. It was very natural for the Spaniards to take umbrage at the Conferences, and to think it was time to take care of themselves ; and that, if the King should in earnest abandon them, it was to no purpose for them to adhere to his Grandson. To feel their pulse upon this point, it is probable the French Ministers, either *Bleau* or *Ibberville*, or some others of their emissaries, had pretended to treat with some of the Grandees upon this foot, and acquainted them, that the King's affairs would not permit him to support his Grandson any longer, and that the King did not expect they should ruin themselves to maintain him on the Throne, since in that case it would be impracticable. But that, if they would dispose him to resign, the King would endeavour to get some partition for him. It is extremely probable, this trick was tried at *Madrid*, to find how the Grandees were inclined to act on this occasion ; the Duke of *Medina* in particular, who was the first Minister ; and that, when they had got out of him the sense of him and his friends on this nice subject, the use they made of it was to betray him to the Duke of *Anjou*. And possibly the thing went farther ; and that in concert with the French, to save the King's honour, they had

1710.

On the 17th of May, in the morning, the Besieged made a second salley with nine companies of Grenadiers, and a detachment of dragoons upon the left. But Colonel Preston, who commanded there, gave them so warm a reception, that, upon the first firing of his men, the enemy retired with precipitation. The 21st, at night, the Besieged made another salley on the left, wherein several men were killed on both sides; and, notwithstanding they were disappointed, they made a fourth attempt on the trenches, the 23d at night. But, the Besiegers, who had notice of it, having killed about twenty of their men, upon the first discharge, the rest retired in great confusion.

May 19.

During these transactions before Doway, Villars set out from Peronne, and arrived the same day at Cambray, where he held a grand Council of war, in which it was resolved, immediately to assemble the French Army, in order to attempt the relief of Doway. Accordingly, Villars sent expresses to some reinforcements, that were commanded to join him from the Upper Rhine, to advance with all possible expedition; and having drawn together all his troops, passed the Scheldt, and incamped with his right near Bouchain, and his left at Ribecourt. Upon advice of this motion, the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene thought fit to alter the disposition of their forces, except thirty battalions left at the siege, and twelve squadrons at Pont-a-Racbe. The 24th, all the cavalry of the Duke of Marlborough's army marched over the Scarpe, and incamped near Gouffesin; and, the

next day, the infantry moved the same way, incamping with the right over against Vitry, and the left near Arleux. At the same time, Prince Eugene made a motion with his army, placing his right at *Isle-les-Esquerchiens*; by which situation, the Confederate troops were ready to repair immediately to either of the fields of battle, already marked out, according to the next motions of the enemy; for which purpose roads were made for the armies to march in four columns either way. The 25th, bridges were laid in several places over the Scarpe (which parted the two armies) for the more easy communication of the troops; and, the same day, upon advice, that the enemy were in motion, all the troops were ordered to be in a readiness to march. The four following days, both armies made several motions; and, on the 30th, the Dutch Infantry, under Count Tilly, was ordered to join the Duke of Marlborough's army; which was by this time reinforced by the arrival of the Prussians, Palatines, and Hessians, and the recalling of several detachments. Upon intelligence, that Villars had positive orders from Court to venture a battle, the expectation of a sudden engagement increased on both sides; and that General, who was incamped with his right at Roquelincourt, near Arras, and his left at St Eloy, advancing with his troops in order of battle, the Confederate Generals repaired to their respective posts; the cannon was placed on the batteries, that defended the avenues to their camp; and all other necessary dispositions were made to receive them. Villars, with a great detach-

had agreed to seize his person, and carry him off; which I remember, was the first report we had upon that Minister's disgrace. After this affair was over, which had sufficiently intoxicated the Spaniards, the Duke of Anjou left Madrid, and joined his army near Lerida. And the Duke of Noailles was advanced to the banks of the Ter, the river Gironne stands upon, to favour his designs. In June the Duke of Anjou was so sanguine, that he made no doubt of being able to drive King Charles out of Catalonia that campaign, especially if the Duke of Noailles could but make the siege of Gironne. This appears at large in some letters of his, that were intercepted, to the King and the Duke of Burgundy, writ to congratulate the marriage of the Duke of Berry, which he shews himself not at all pleased with. Upon his disappointment in Catalonia, when he could neither attack Marshal Staremberg, nor besiege Balaguer, he grew dissatisfied with his Spanish Generals: And in July both he and his Princes solicit the King in very pressing terms to send the Duke of Vendôme to him; which was soon complied with, and, that the Duke might have no apprehensions of the King's designing to abandon him, he entered into a new Alliance with him. This Alliance was framing, while the Ministers of France were at Gertruydenberg; which place they left but the 25th, and the 8th of August, or before, the articles of this new treaty were known publicly at Paris: Which makes it plain to a demonstration, that this treaty was forming before the Conferences were broke off.

From this account, it is exceeding evident, that the French were taking the most effectual methods to support the Duke of Anjou, as I make the Spaniards faithful to him, while they were persuading the Allies, the King would in earnest abandon him, and give him no assistance directly or indirectly; nay, while they were making terms for him, upon which they would oblige him to resign. And, if this be not insincere in the last degree, I would be glad to know what is. If

he was sincere, why did he treat for a general Peace, when either he would not, or could not make the necessary conditions of it practicable? Why, when he meant nothing but a separate Peace, did he not frankly from the beginning tell the Allies, that he was willing to make terms with them for himself, but that he could make none for Spain? Was this for any thing else but to amuse the Allies, who, he knew, would flatly have refused entering into any Negotiations, if he had spoke out plainly what he meant? Did not he intend, from the beginning, to defeat by an exception a general peace, while he pretended all the while to be for it? As old managers sometimes do with a bill in parliament, which they contrive should be lost by an amendment, while they would be thought zealous for it; which they would not have been able to effect, had they openly declared against the bill itself. Thus they gain the point they would have, by seeming to be for what in truth they would not have: And the same part the King of France has acted with respect to Peace, but not with the same success. He has not got yet what he wants, I mean a separate Peace, by affecting to treat for a general one, which he would of all things keep off. A man must shut his eyes very hard, not to see the French meant nothing by these Conferences but to amuse the Allies, and keep it in their power to make what use of them they should have occasion for; and that they never designed to consent to what was necessary to make a general peace practicable. They meant either no Peace at all, or only a separate one for themselves; which they hoped from the temper of the Dutch, the nature of their government, and the experience they have formerly had of them, they might be frightened into. To which end they affected from the very first Conference to let nothing fall from them, that might look like a desire to retard the operations of the campaign, but on their own part threatened what mighty things they would do upon the Rhine and in Spain; and, to intimidate them the more, Marshal Villars condescended

1710. detachment, advanced some time after, within musket-shot of the Confederates guard, and took a view of the army and its situation. But instead of attacking them (as he had so confidently given out in the morning, he marched back, and joined the center of his army, and incamped between *Noyelles sous-Lens* and the Heights of *St Laurens*. The Confederates judging, he did not design to attack them, but only to retard the siege, sent the troops back, which they had drawn from before *Doway*; and those under General *Fagel* returned into the lines on the other side of the *Scarpe*. And, to prevent any surprize from the enemy, orders were given to join the several redoubts, in the front of the camp by a line to extend from *Montignon* to *Vitri*, which was finished on the last of May.

The siege of *Doway*, which by all these motions had been retarded, was carried on with all imaginable vigour, notwithstanding the many obstacles the Allies met with in their approaches, both from the difficulty of the ground, and the resolute defence of the garrison. On the 29th of May, the Besieged made a fifth salley on the right attack, and penetrated into the trenches; but, after an obstinate engagement, they were repulsed with the loss of twenty-five Officers, and about one hundred private men. The next day a party of the garrison of *Fort-Scarpe* made a salley, and advanced to *Pont-a-Rache*, with a design to intercept the bread-waggons of the Allies. But Colonel *Caldwell*, who commanded there with three hundred dragoons, vigorously

repulsed them, though he had the misfortune of being wounded in one of his arms. The last day of May, the Besieged made a vigorous salley, burnt several villages, took part of the equipage of General *Fagel*, and returned into the town with a good number of cattle. The Besieged continued to defend their out-works with the utmost obstinacy; but notwithstanding their frequent sallies and mines, on the 5th of June, the Allies made two lodgments on the glacis of the counterescarp at the right attack; as also lodgments on the right and left of the other attack of the counterescarp of the ravelins, and fired briskly from the batteries of cannon and mortars, to drive the enemy from their traverses. The 10th in the morning, the Allies fired five pieces of cannon into the covered-way, and continued the sap, which went on but slowly, by reason of the great fire of the enemy. However the Besiegers in the night, between the 14th and 15th, perfected a lodgment on the covered-way at the right attack, and repaired the damages their works received at the left by the great number of bombs, that were thrown into them. On the 16th, the Besiegers began to fire against the ravelins, from a battery of seven pieces of cannon, and made a line of communication on the left attack. They sprung likewise two mines, that night, at the right attack with so much success, that the enemy abandoned all their places of arms, and the Besiegers made lodgments at both attacks. After this they brought several pieces of cannon on their batteries, and fired so effectually, that, the

1710.

defended to the mean artifice of writing to the *French* Ministers, from time to time, letters filled with the grossest galconade, what a brave army he had; how desirous they were to come to an engagement; and that, if the Allies had a mind to a battle, they should meet with no intrenchments, but should find him ready to receive them in an open plain. These poor tricks they fancied would pass upon the *Dutch* Deputies; but they were too well known to be believed; and the event shewed there was nothing else in all these boasts aimed at, but to deceive; for, the minute *Doway* began to capitulate, the Marshal retired to safe ground, and intrenched with all his might, and dared not offer them battle all the rest of the campaign, though more battalions had been weakened by the sieges of *Doway* and *Bethune*, than the battle of *Blenheim* was fought with; and almost as many more were afterwards at the same time employed in the sieges of *St Venant* and *Aire*. But these and all the other artifices of *France* could not delude or drive the *States* to quit the common interest, or induce the Allies to hearken to a separate Peace with the *French*, who, they knew, were taking the most effectual means to make the reduction of *Spain* impossible, while they were treating of terms for the surrender of it. But nothing can discover more plainly the insincerity of *France*, than what happened after these Conferences were ended. Two days after their Plenipotentiaries were gone, the Duke of *Anjou* received a considerable disgrace at *Almanara*; and, in about three weeks after that, his army was intirely defeated at *Saragossa*, beyond a possibility of maintaining his ground, or recovering his affairs, without the assistance of *France*. Here was now a fair occasion for the *French* King to shew himself; his language had been all along, that he could not be active to dethrone his Grandson, but would consent absolutely to abandon him, if that would procure a Peace. The Allies cannot take his bare word: His Ministers make the most solemn protestations in his name, and give

No. 63. Vol. IV.

repeated assurances of this in the most express words, and complain heavily, that they are not believed. Now, in less than a month after the Conferences were ended, there happens the best opportunity in the world for the King to shew his great sincerity: The obstruction to a Peace is the evacuation of *Spain*. Let now the King but keep his word, and be passive only, and the thing will do itself: The Allies cannot fail of *Spain*, if the King does not support his Grandson against them. What part now does the King take? Does he send to the Allies, that he will abandon his Grandson in earnest, if that will content them? Nothing like it; he balances, indeed, for some time what to do, and holds frequent councils: But for what? Not because he was in any doubt, whether he should act agreeably to his word, or shew he is sincere; for that I have already observed he could not be; he must deceive either us, or the *Spaniards*. All the debate therefore was, which he should do: At first their affairs seemed to be in so desperate a condition, as to be beyond retrieve; and that all the support he could give his Grandson would be insignificant; and therefore there were some thoughts of making a virtue of necessity, and to procure a Peace to *France* by abandoning *Spain*; since, if he did not abandon it, it must be lost. And had the action of *Saragossa* happened a month sooner, it is very likely it had proved so, for the hands of the *French* were too full of other work to send any considerable force to *Spain*, till the campaign was in other parts, *Savoy* particularly, drawing to an end. After many consultations, it is resolved to make the utmost efforts to support the Duke of *Anjou*, notwithstanding all their pretences to leave him to himself, or rather to persuade him to quit a kingdom, which, without their help, all the world sees he could not have kept. What success this assistance, that has been given him, has had, I need not tell you; nor what further mischief the common cause is like to suffer from it. It is a great pity the Conference did

X x.

not

1710.

the breaches in the ravelins being judged wide enough, and all things being in a readiness to storm both of them by the 19th, the troops commanded for the assault performed that service with great bravery, but met with so vigorous a resistance, that many were killed on both sides. On the 23d at night the Prince of Anhalt having made the necessary dispositions for attacking the two ravelins at the right attack, they stormed the same on the 24th, and lodged themselves thereon after a small resistance. Soon after the enemy sprung two mines under the ravelin of the right,* whereby the Besiegers lost some workmen: However they enlarged the lodgments and communication at the left. At length the garrison, being reduced to the last extremity, on the 25th at two in the afternoon beat a parley, and offered to capitulate for the town only, without including *Fort-Scarpe*. But, this being refused, they sent hostages to both attacks, who were conducted to the Duke of Marlborough's quarters; where being again told, that no capitulation could be granted to the town without including *Fort-Scarpe*; on the 26th in the morning, Monsieur *Albergotti* signified, that he was willing to surrender that fort with the town, provided he might have liberty to remove all their provisions and ammunition. This pretension occasioned a Conference in Prince *Eugene's* quarters, where it was agreed, that the garrison of *Fort-Scarpe* should be allowed to march out with two cannon, two covered waggons, twenty others, and two days provisions; but they were to leave their muskets in the magazine. So the capitulation for the town and *Fort-Scarpe* were signed on the 26th, after fifty-two days open trenches. Pursuant to this capitulation, on the 29th, about ten in the morning, *Albergotti*, marched out of *Doway* (1) with his garrison (which amounted to no more than four thousand five hundred and twenty-seven men) and Lieute-

nant-General *Hompesch* took possession of the town as Governor. Brigadier *Des Roques*, Engineer-General of the *States*, was likewise made Governor of *Fort-Scarpe* at the same time. The Allies found in the place forty pieces of brass cannon, two hundred of iron, and eight mortars, with ammunition and small arms, but a very small stock of provisions (2). As soon as the trenches and other works before the place were levelled, and the breaches repaired, the Confederate Armies, being joined by several detachments, advanced to *Vitry*, and from thence to the camp at *Villars-Brunin*, *Villars* being likewise reinforced with several detachments, and having drained the garrisons of *Condé*, *Quefroy*, *Valenciennes*, and *Cambray*, instead of attacking the Confederates, incamped within his new lines from *Arras*, towards *Miramont*. The Confederate Generals finding it impracticable, either to attack the enemy, or besiege *Arras*, turned their army against *Bethune* (3), which was invested the 15th of July, N. S. and on the 29th of August the place was surrendered by Monsieur *du Puy Vauban*, who commanded there, and was nephew to the famous Engineer of that name.

During the siege of *Bethune*, *Villars*, with his army, marched out of their intrenchments, and positively declared, that he would attack the Confederates, and endeavour to raise the siege. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough and Prince *Eugene* formed their armies in order of battle, and the Duke advanced with a detachment to Aug. 14 observe the French army, who, instead of preparing for a battle, were casting up a new line and intrenchments for the better security of their troops. On the 24th of August, the right wing of Prince *Eugene's* army foraged in the front towards *St Pol* near the enemy's camp, under a guard of five hundred horse, and one thousand Danish and Hessian foot. *Villars*, having notice of it the night before, detached thirty squadrons

not last one month longer, which would have put the French under a necessity of keeping their word, or in the most infamous manner breaking it, to support a cause they had so often, and with so much seeming earnestness, promised to renounce. As it is, there is but one excuse for them,—which those, I am arguing against, had rather should not be made; and that is, to plead, that the case is altered: Affairs are not in the same condition they were in, when they made those promises. They have a political observatory at *Paris*, where the Marquis de *Torcy* and the French Ministers frequently examine what appearances there are in the heavens of all the countries in war with them; and according to these they take their measures of War and Peace; and it is by this they justify their assisting the Duke of *Anjou*. What passed in *Spain*, the 20th of August, they thought sufficiently balanced by what happened to the Northwest of them the 19th. What preceded that phenomenon, and has since followed it, has determined the French not only to support the Duke of *Anjou*, but to desert for the present from all further offers of Peace, by which we are as much plunged into the War, as we were seven years ago; and there seems no remedy for it, but, what is worse than the disease, an ill Peace.

(1) *Doway*, or *Doway*, a strong City of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*, the Marquise of the territory of *Doway*. An University, subject to the French, and taken by them in 1667. It stands on the river *Scarpe*, between *Artois* and *Hainault*, thirteen miles almost North of *Cambray*, fifteen almost East of *Arras*, and thirty-five West of *Mons*.

(2) The French, according to their custom, very much magnified the loss sustained by the Allies in the siege of *Doway*. And it is certain, the reduction of so strong and important a place must be attended with no small danger and difficulty; and according to the computation, which was made by the Allies of their killed and wounded, there were three Lieutenant-Colonels, three Majors, twenty-three Captains, thirty-five Subalterns, one hundred Sergeants, and one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine private men killed: Two Lieutenant-Colonels, four Majors, fifty Captains, one hundred and fifty-two Subalterns, two hundred and forty-two Sergeants, and five thousand two hundred and sixty-seven private men wounded. Of the Artillery, fifty-four killed, and ninety-six wounded: Engineers, thirteen killed, and thirty-three wounded: Miners, twelve killed, and twelve wounded. Total at both attacks, two thousand one hundred and forty-two men killed, and five thousand eight hundred and sixty-five wounded.

(3) *Bethune* is a town of the *Low-Countries*, in the Earldom of *Artois*, vastly strong, and in extraordinary repair. A Nobleman, in his travels, was so extremely pleased with it, that he declared, it gave him such surprising ideas of the great loss of *France*, in the death of Monsieur *Vauban* (who drew the plan of it) that he could not but pass away a melancholy thought upon mortality, and regret the short duration of inventors of arts and sciences, when the works, that are done by them, are of so long continuance. It stands on the river *Biette*, eighteen miles North-west of *Arras*, and eighteen South-east of *Aire*.

(1) *St*

1710. squadrons under the command of the Count de Broglie, to attack the foragers; and, in order to be an eye-witness of that enterprize, he followed in person, and arrived on the mount of *St Pol*, where he ordered four squadrons of Carabineers to attack the foragers on that side, while some other squadrons were advancing to attack them another way. They fell upon three squadrons of the Allies, which gave way; but the foragers, joining with their guard, beat the enemy back with great slaughter. However, the *French* growing too numerous, the Allies retired in very good order to an adjacent village, from whence the *Danish* and *Hessian* infantry made such a fire upon the enemy, that they lost a great many men. *Villars* advanced in person, and having surrounded that post, summoned the infantry to surrender, and, upon their refusal, ordered part of his horse to dismount and attack them; but they were so warmly received, that they retired in disorder. In the mean time the picket guard of the army advancing, and Prince *Eugene* marching with part of his cavalry, *Villars* thought fit to retreat, lest this skirmish should occasion a general engagement, having lost a great many men in this fruitless attempt, besides a Colonel, twenty other officers, with three hundred private men, who were made prisoners, and a booty of one hundred and fifty horses.

As *Villars* still declined an engagement, the Confederate Generals, in order to secure the head of the *Lys*, resolved to besiege *St Venant* (1) and *Aire* (2) at the same time. Both these places were invested on the 6th of September, and both surrendered on honourable terms. *St Venant* the 30th of September, and *Aire* the 9th of November.

Notwithstanding the great precaution of the Allies, for the security of their artillery and ammunition, which were to be used in these sieges, the enemy formed a design of surprising a convoy of several boats coming up the *Lys* from *Ghent*, under a guard of twelve hundred men, who were to be reinforced by another detachment. But *Monsieur de Ravignan* with four thousand men from *Ypres*, not far from *Courtray*, beat the guard; killed about two hundred men; took six hundred soldiers; blew up some boats laden with ammunition, sunk others laden with cannon-ball and bomb-shells, to interrupt the navigation of the *Lys*, and then retired with so much precaution, that a detachment of the Allies, sent out to cut off his retreat, could not effect it. There was no time lost in repairing the damages occasioned by this misfortune; and the country people were immediately summoned to weigh up the boats, which the enemy sunk in the *Lys*, and clear the passage of that river.

On the 26th of September, the Chevalier de *Luxemburg* having formed a design to surprise *Fort-Scarpe*, marched from *Bouchain* with a strong detachment to *Pont-a-Rache*, sent two hundred men in the night into the wood of *Bellifonties* near the Fort, and had two waggons loaded with hay, in which several grenadiers were concealed.

These waggons were driven by some other soldiers disguised as Boors, who were to seize the Barrier, and, upon a signal, to be supported by others, and then by the Chevalier himself. But Major-General *Anania* coming at the same time to visit General *Hompesch*, who, having some suspicion of the design of the enemy, was gone into the Fort to give the necessary orders for its security, left his guard without the Barrier, who walking their horses, and following the waggons by mere chance, the enemy believed they were discovered, and so ran away, leaving their Captain and one of their men prisoners.

Six days after the surrender of *Aire*, the Confederate armies broke up and marched into winter-quarters.

Thus ended the campaign in *Flanders*, which, though not of such lustre as the former, because no battle was fought, yet was, by military men, esteemed very extraordinary in this respect, that our men were about a hundred and fifty days in open trenches, a thing said to be without example.

Nothing considerable passed on the *Rhine*, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both sides. The *French*, who, in the winter, had threatened the Empire with a new invasion, were obliged to weaken their forces, in order to cover their frontiers, and strengthen their armies in the *Neiderlands*; and the *Germans* were not in a condition to improve so fair an opportunity of invading *France*. The Elector of *Brunswick*, who commanded the Imperial army, dissatisfied with these proceedings, desired leave to resign a command, from which, as he said, he could not promise himself any honour, nor the public expect any advantage. As he could not be prevailed with to desist from his purpose, the command of the army of the Empire was given to Count *Grensfeld*.

Nor was the campaign on the side of *Piedmont* more considerable than on the *Rhine*. The march of the Confederate troops met with such difficulties and delays, that the army was not formed till about the middle of July; and the Duke of *Savoy*, besides his former pretences for not putting himself at the head of the army, was now indisposed, as well as the Prince of *Piedmont*, his eldest son, and his brother, the Duke of *Aosta*. In this situation, Count de *Thaun*, Veldt-Marshal of the Imperial forces, took upon him the command of the Confederate army, the *Piedmontese* Generals being directed to comply in every thing with his orders. But, notwithstanding the preparations made to pass the *Alps*, and penetrate into *Dauphiné*, they found it impossible to force their way through the mountains; so that, after having dislodged the *French* from *Arbés*, and some other posts at the entrance of the valley of *Barcelonnette*, they gave over that design, and the army marched to *Susa*, where they continued, as long as the season permitted, to hinder the Duke of *Berwick*, who commanded the enemy's forces, from making any detachments into *Spain*. The *French* were so apprehensive of an invasion on the side of

(1) *St Venant* is a town of the Low-Countries, in the Earldom of *Artois*. It stands by the borders of *Flanders*, about four miles East of *Aire*, twenty-six South of *Dunkirk*, and as many North of *Arras*.

(2) *Aire* is a large and handsome City of *France*. It stands upon the *Lys*, twenty-five miles South of *Dunkirk*, twenty-eight North-west of *Arras*, and twenty-six East of *Boulogne*.

* Namely,

1710. of Dauphiné, that, besides the intrenchments they cast up in the mountains with great labour and expence, they were obliged to keep there seventy-two battalions, and a good number of horse.

Affairs in
Spain.
M. S.

The campaign this year in *Spain* was very remarkable, where both parties were conquerors and conquered by turns. In *April* a great Council of war was held (says our Author *) in which it was resolved to take the field on the first of *May*, and that the fleet (lately arrived at *Barcelona*, under the command of Sir *John Norris*) should immediately sail for *Cagliari*, to secure the Island of *Sardinia*, which was performed in a short time. Pursuant to this resolution, our army assembled near *Agramont*. The enemy, under the command of the Marquis de *Villadarias*, had already taken the field, and were incamped at *Balaquer*. Upon our approach they marched to *Lerida*, and we took possession of their camp. Here King *Charles*, with General *Stanbope* (who was come from *Italy* with money and a thousand recruits) came and reviewed the whole army. On the other hand, King *Philip*, who was likewise come to head his army, gave it out, that he was resolved to put all to a decisive battle; and, accordingly, the enemy, consisting of forty-two battalions and sixty squadrons, marched along the plain in our full view, in nine columns, to attack us. Marshal *Staremberg* immediately prepared to receive them, but they did not think fit to come within cannon-shot that day, and only drew up in battle on the hills on our left, from whence they could easily discern every thing in our camp. In the evening they retired to *Belcaire*, in the way to *Balaquer*, about four miles distant. The next day they came again, and, forcing in our grand guard, halted an hour or two; after which they marched towards our front, raised a battery, and began to fire. This was answered by one of ours, which did some execution on their foot. Having halted some time, they retired a second time to the same place, and were pursued by General *Stanbope* with some squadrons, who fell upon their rear, and killed several hundreds. A few days after, the enemy sent a large detachment, with six pieces of cannon, to take the town of *Calaf*, where we had some men, but they met with so warm a reception, that they were glad to return to their camp.

On the 15th of *July*, it was resolved in a Council of war, to march down the plain in our turn, and attack the enemy before they had passed the river at *Lerida*: But that evening, news being brought that all had passed, or would have passed before we could come up with them, that design was laid aside, and another was put in execution. The next morning some squadrons of dragoons, and twenty companies of grenadiers, with cannon and pontoons, marched very early to make a bridge over the *Noguera* at *Alfaras*, and the whole army followed. When our horse came upon the hills, they saw forty-two squadrons drawn up, with nine battalions, upon some high grounds near *Almanara*, who were followed by their whole army, which was in the valley, on the other side the hills. General

Stanbope, rightly judging that we had a fair opportunity of falling upon these squadrons before their whole army was joined, went with General *Belcaire* to King *Charles* (who was near with Marshal *Staremberg* and Count *Attalaia*) and pressed his Majesty very warmly to attack the enemy with the horse, sustained by the whole army; but, perceiving the King and the Marshal did not so readily come into his proposal as he expected, he said aloud, that, if they let slip so fair an opportunity, General *Belcaire* and he had orders to withdraw his troops, which he would instantly obey and leave the country. Upon these words he went away to a great number of General Officers and Colonels, who were got together about fifty paces from the King, viewing the enemy, and expecting what news the General would bring them. In a few minutes, Count *Attalaia* came to *Stanbope* from the King, to inform him that he complied with his desire and advice, but wanted to know, Who was to command? Who but myself, answered the General, being the Lieutenant General of the day. He immediately sends his Aid de Camps to the regiments he intended to take with him, with orders to mount and follow him. These were all the horse and dragoons of our left, in all sixteen squadrons. The rest of the horse were commanded by the Marshal to follow, and all the foot to form and be ready to march. Or-
The battle
of Al-
manara,
July 17,
O. S.

train to fix a battery of six guns upon a rising ground on our left. The sun was not above half an hour high, when General *Stanbope* marched up to the enemy, who were in two lines, twenty-two squadrons in the first, and in the second, twenty, besides the nine battalions who were a little behind them on their right. *Stanbope* put himself at the head of the first squadron of *Harvey's* horse, and *Carpenter* at the head of the other. He made a very short speech to the men, and desired them to keep very close, and not break themselves, for he was sure they would be as firm as a rock, and all the enemy's squadrons could not break them. Then he marched and attacked the Guards commanded by General *Amessaga*, who, as their horses closed, spoke some words to him, which *Stanbope* answered with a stroke of his sword, that killed the *Spaniard*. The whole squadron, as indeed all the rest, animated with the example of their General, performed wonders, pushed the first line upon the second, and entirely routed the *Spanish* horse. The nine battalions ran away, and all were pursued till dark. We lay upon our arms all night, and the next day incamped on the field of battle. In this short Action we took Lieutenant-General *Verboon*, and lost the Earl of *Rockfort* and Count *Francis Nassau*, both killed at the head of their regiments of dragoons, and both Officers of great merit and distinction. About four hundred men were killed and wounded on our side; but the enemy's loss was considerable, the number of their slain and wounded not being less than fifteen hundred. Many more would have been made prisoners, if our men, in the heat of the action, could have charged themselves with them. The enemy

* Namely, of the Manuscript account of the campaigns in *Spain*. This Manuscript uses the *Old Style*.

1710. enemy retired that night in such haste to *Lerida*, that they left behind a great deal of their baggage (amongst which was some of King Philip's plate) and in two days marched on towards *Saragoza*, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Aragon*.

We left our camp of *Almanara* to pursue them, and took the castle of *Monjon*, and fortified the head of the bridge. From hence a thousand horse were detached to seize the town of *Albastro*, and the day after a thousand foot, with four pieces of cannon, were sent to the town of *Stadilla*, which was defended by above five hundred men, and where the enemy had some magazines, which were all taken. *Stanbope* marched all that night for *Sarimana*, where he found two regiments of horse, which he soon put to flight. A party of four hundred horse marched to *Candamos*, and surprized a convoy of forty waggons with stores, sixty laden mules, and two thousand sheep, guarded by two troops of horse, which they routed and brought away the whole convoy. This supply was very acceptable in a country, where provisions for man and beast began to grow very scarce, being at so great a distance from *Barcelona*, where our magazines were.

On the 2d of *August* General *Stanbope*, after having been away several days with two thousand horse, joined the army, and all marched to *Cajadin*. Here we saw the enemy plant their camp near *Fraga* on the other side the river *Cinca*, which it was resolved we should pass that evening to attack them the next morning: But they marched all night towards *Saragoza*, so that instead of fighting we were put to a long and tedious march after them, in which we overtook part of their rear, and several skirmishes ensued, which might have drawn us into a general battle, very much to our disadvantage; because the main of our army was still at a distance over a very long heath, where no water was to be found, and the weather excessively hot; whilst the enemy's were altogether behind a brook and such high eminences as were almost inaccessible, and the ford, through which they had passed the brook very narrow. When General *Stanbope* came up to the advanced guard, and to some squadrons sent to sustain it, he immediately formed all the horse of the left, and sent with all speed the Generals *Belcastel* and *Wills* to march up the foot as fast as they could. Presently after Marshal *Staremburg* came up with the right of our horse and formed immediately; for the enemy was not then half a mile from us. Fresh orders were sent to the foot and artillery to make all possible haste. The enemy sent several small parties to the rising grounds to observe us. Some of their horse came through the narrow ford, but, when they saw ours drawn up, they quickly retired. At last the foot and train being arrived, dispositions were made to receive the enemy, if they thought fit to come from behind their strong natural intrenchment and attack us: but they suffered our army to refresh themselves after so great a fatigue, and marched away in the night, leaving at a small town on this side of the ford, some of their baggage, which was se-

cured the next morning. Here we rested ourselves that night without pitching our tents, and early in the morning marched after the enemy to the large town of *Candamos*, where we were in danger of perishing with thirst, there being neither pump, nor well, nor cistern in the place, but only one large pond of water, which the troopers, as they came up, marched their horses into, and by that means the water was so spoiled, that it could not be used. The pond was supplied by two springs, which the foot-soldiers entirely ruined by their great eagerness to come at the water. Wine was as scarce as water, none being to be found in the Town, nor even in the Convent, and what the butlers had was all turned four (1). We were glad to march out of this place the next morning, but found ourselves in as great distress for want of water as the day before, till we came to *Bucarelos*, where we incamped, the enemy still retiring before us. At break of day the army marched on in four columns, in expectation of overtaking the enemy, but were disappointed, and instead of them had to encounter, on our march to *Ufesa* on the *Ebro*, with violent thirst and heat, without a drop of water; and, to incommode us the more, the enemy had set fire to a very long heath, we were to pass over. It is not to be conceived what we suffered upon such a march, smothered, all that day with clouds of ashes, especially the foot. About five in the evening, and not before, the horse of both lines got to the river *Ebro*, whose waters did not a little refresh us. Some Generals rid up by the river-side, and discovered at a small distance the tops of the enemy's colours behind a rising-ground. A party of *Hussars* being ordered to advance, brought word in a quarter of an hour, that their army was there in a marching posture. *Staremburg* instantly made a disposition, in case they should come back, and the foot formed as they came up. We stayed upon our arms till night, when we could hear the enemy's drums, who then began to march to *Saragoza*.

General *Stanbope*, perceiving no great inclination in the Marshal to pass the river that night, prevailed so far as to have *Carpenter* detached with two thousand horse to ford it over, and went with him as a volunteer. We expected to hear every moment, that the pontons were ordered to be laid over the river for the whole enemy to pass; but no such thing, till at last the Generals *Belcastel*, *Wills*, *Frauenberg*, and *Lepel* went to *Staremburg*, and, after a long consultation, gained the point, in which it was said, the Marshal was determined by the King, as well as convinced by the reasons of the Generals. The pontons, after this, were laid with all expedition, and the army began to pass the river between one and two in the morning, on the 8th of *August*. *Carpenter*, finding the enemy were gone to *Saragoza*, marched with his detachment of horse by the side of the *Ebro*, over-against *Villa-Franca*, and having notice that the army had passed the river, he marched as an advanced guard towards that city, where he found the enemy's horse drawn up. We marched with great speed, and came in the evening

(1) A General Officer gave fifteen pistoles for a chest of *Florence*, and had but three flasks out of it that could be drunk. *M. S.*

1710.

ning before the town, where we saw the enemy's whole army in order of battle (being within less than cannon-shot of them) on a rising ground on the right of the city. Here we continued all night on our arms, and some of the horse moved towards us, as if they intended to surprize us, but we were too well upon our guard for them to attempt any thing that night.

When General Stanhope viewed the enemy's disposition that evening, he observed their right line was extended far beyond our left, theirs consisting of thirty-two squadrons, and ours of twenty. Whereupon he formed a design, which he communicated at supper to some Officers, and which proved of great service the next day. He commanded the left of the army, and the body of reserve under Brigadier Hamilton was by the Marshal ordered to obey his directions. This body consisted of eight squadrons of *Portuguese* horse, who were clothed in red. The General rightly judged the enemy would take them for *English* (as they did) and so resolved to have them drawn up before the battle at a distance from his left, and to flank it, all which succeeded to his wish.

Battle of
Saragoza.
M. S.

The next morning very early the cannon began to fire on both sides. The most part of the morning was spent in viewing the lines and making alterations. King Charles with Marshal Staremberg rid from the right to the left, notwithstanding the danger, which animated the troops. The convoy of bread was expected every moment, and was much wanted, considering the last three days march, but it came not before the signal for the attack was given; so that the soldiers, as well as many officers, fought with empty bellies. General Stanhope was obliged to march the horse more to the left, by reason of a very large dry ditch made by the torrents, that come down from the hills, and which is very famous in the history of *Aragon*; for here it was, that King Ferdinand overthrew the *Moors*, and made such a slaughter of them, that the ditch is from thence called, *the Ditch of the Slain* *. We lost many men this morning, who, pressed by hunger and thirst, ventured to go and gather grapes in the vale between the two armies, and were shot by the enemy's advanced guard. Major-General Wade came to the left some time before the attack, and advised General Stanhope, besides his other project (which he much liked) to have three or four battalions sent for, to interline with his squadrons, which was done, and they performed very great service. About noon the signal for battle was given; the body of reserve immediately marched up and flanked our left, which had the desired effect; for the enemy observing this body of red coats beyond our line, ordered ten or twelve squadrons of their right to march and attack them. General Stanhope soon came up with the enemy's horse, which he did not find much superior to his, by reason of the detachment just made, but still they were superior. He received their fire, which killed and wounded some men, which put two squadrons into disorder, but they rallied in an instant. Then the whole left fell upon the enemy sword in hand with such order and courage, that, notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, the first line was entirely broke. The second made but a short stand, and ran away with the first. They were pursued very far, and in the flight many were taken

* La Barranque de
Jos Muer-
tos.

and killed. Our right and center were no less successful. For their left wing of horse was overpowered and put to flight in a short time by our right. The foot indeed made a longer defence, which lasted above two hours, but with such slaughter of their men, that the field of battle was covered with the dead. The enemy's horse of the left wing being gone, and our right being come up to the walls of the City, our horse had time to breathe, for the ground would not permit them to be in the lines, and the right of our foot was close to the walls. Here the Marshal was at the head of his own regiment, making it fire by platoons, as regularly as any of ours do at their exercise. The detachment, the enemy had made against the body of reserve, put them to flight as was expected, and pursued them a great way, till they found their mistake. Then returning towards the field of battle, and finding their right was gone off, they fell very furiously upon our battery, cut to pieces all the guard, and killed or wounded all the Officers and men belonging to it. Our author (a chaplain in the army) was upon the battery, and first discovered these squadrons advancing towards it; upon which he thought it high time to secure himself by galloping away to our right. When he came there, though the field of battle (which, says he, was a terrible sight) he met close by the walls with General Wetzel, whom he informed of the success of our left, and of what the enemy's detachment of horse was doing in our rear. Wetzel desired him to go to the Marshal, and sent his Aid de Camp with him. He found the Marshal (as was said before) exercising his men against a brigade, that had turned their backs upon us. When he told him, that General Stanhope had defeated the enemy's right, and was pursuing them, but that ten or twelve squadrons were in our rear and falling upon our batteries: That is no great matter (says the Marshal) if General Stanhope has beat the right, we are sure of a complete victory. And so indeed it proved, for quickly after all the foot threw down their arms and ran away, or were taken prisoners. However, upon the intelligence given the Marshal, he ordered Wetzel to be upon his guard, and prevent any surprise from those squadrons, who, in a few minutes, came in sight of our rear; but upon our first motion galloped away and were seen no more. A great slaughter was made of the enemy's foot, to the number of five or six thousand, and above seven thousand were taken prisoners. We took all their colours and cannon, and should have made more prisoners, had the horse of our right had room to pursue them; but the situation was such, that they could not pass by or through the foot. However the victory was entire and glorious, considering the great disproportion of numbers, the enemy having sixty squadrons to our forty-seven, and forty-two battalions to our thirty-three. The army incamped that night in a very commodious and pleasant ground near the City.

King Charles, in the evening, entered Saragoza, attended by most of the General Officers, and was received with loud acclamations by the people, who looked upon him as their deliverer from the yoke they had so long groaned under, and as come to restore them to the form and privileges of their ancient Government, which had been taken from them. And in this he answered

1710.

1710. answered their expectations; for the King's first care, that very night, was to abolish the *Castilian* Government (which had been introduced by King *Philip*, and consisted of Chancellors, Syndics, &c. in every City, of his appointment) and gave them their old Magistrates or *Jurats*, as well in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, as in *Valencia* and *Catalonia*, who are chosen by the people. During the public rejoicings, the populace fell upon the houses of King *Philip's* Magistrates in a very riotous manner, and committed great outrages, as they did also upon all the persons of distinction, that were reputed to be better affected to the House of *Bourbon* than to that of *Austria*. Nor would this tumult have been so soon appeased, if parties of soldiers had not been sent to disperse them.

In this large City we found very considerable stores of all sorts of provision, ammunition, and entire cloathings of regiments. The situation of *Saragoza* is extremely pleasant, being seated on the river *Ebro*, in a very plentiful country, abounding with every thing necessary for the support and convenience of life. The streets are broad and long, adorned on both sides with stately palaces, belonging to the *Grandeas* of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. This City was the delight of *Julius Cæsar*, who erected here a very magnificent palace for himself (inhabited now by the Archbishop) and built a large stone-bridge over the *Ebro*, opposite the middle of the town, with a great number of arches, which is now as firm and strong as if it was a modern structure. To perpetuate the memory of his benefactions to this City, he called it after his own name, *Cæsaris Augusta*. Here the army refreshed themselves, after their fatigues, a whole week, which time was employed by King *Charles*, in settling the civil Government of this Kingdom upon the old establishment, and not in diversions.

The Generals were daily consulting among themselves what was proper to be done to improve their late success, in order to put an end to the war, and fix King *Charles* on the Throne of *Spain*. A great Council of war was held, in which it was resolved to march to *Madrid*. General *Stanbope* did not think fit to lay before this Council a project of his own (which he had communicated only to one or two friends, particularly to General *Wade*) because the march towards *Madrid* was, for some days, in the way to the place he intended to propose. On the 16th of *August*, we broke up our camp at *Saragoza*, and were seven days before we reached *Calatayud*, where we halted three days. At this place a Council of war was held, in which General *Stanbope* opened his project, namely, That, since there was no bodies of the enemy able to oppose our march to *Madrid*, a strong detachment should be sent to *Pampeluna* (which was not very far from *Calatayud*) the only pass by which the *French* could send any forces into *Spain*: That all we had to fear was from the *French* reinforcements; and, if that pass was well

secured, they could not penetrate into *Spain* but by *Gironne*, on the other side of the Kingdom: That, if our forces once took post at *Pampeluna*, they could not be dislodged by all the troops the *French* King could send to the assistance of his Grandson: That there we might have fresh troops, sent us from *England* and *Holland*, and not only troops, but all manner of necessaries, it being a much shorter voyage to the Bay of *Biscay*, than to any Port in the *Mediterranean*: That, if they could prevent any succours from joining the enemy the latter end of this year, such measures might be taken in the winter, as would secure the quiet possession of the Kingdom. These, with many other reasons, were urged by General *Stanbope*, and heard with surprise. He answered, in a very plain and satisfactory manner, all the objections that were made against his proposal, but his answers did not content all the Members of the Council, who perhaps had their private views (1). However, Marshal *Staremberg* approved of this well-concerted project; but, as his single approbation was not sufficient to bring over the rest, it was resolved the whole army should march to *Madrid*, which gave General *Stanbope* a very great concern, and very justly; for, had his project been put in execution, it would very probably have soon brought the war to a happy conclusion, and prevented the shocking turn of affairs, which happened in less than three months (2).

On the first of *September* we got to *Seguença*, a City of *Castile*. Here another Council of war was held, and it was again resolved to continue our march towards *Madrid*. On the 9th, the army arrived at *Alcala*; and, the next day, General *Stanbope* went with a thousand horse to *Madrid*, followed by all the troops. King *Charles* came thither the 17th, but made no stay. He found none of the *Grandeas* there, and it appeared, that the *Castilians* were firmly united to King *Philip*, and resolved to adhere to him at all hazards. A detachment was sent to take and fortify *Toledo*; and about that City, and the neighbouring Country, the army continued in several incampments till the latter end of *October*, when they began to march into cantons. The King of *France* now shewed he was resolved to maintain his Grandson, since, if it had ever been his intention, it was now very easy to oblige him to evacuate *Spain*. But he had no such design, but the contrary, as appeared by his proceedings*. For after the battle of *Saragoza*, which had caused a great consternation in the Court of *France*, it was resolved in a Council at *Verfailles*, that the Duke of *Vendosme* should immediately set out for *Navarre*, and put himself at the head of the remains of the *Spanish* troops, which were to be reinforced with detachments from several parts of *France*. King *Philip*, after the battle, got off with a very small body to *Madrid*. But he soon left it, and retired with all the tribunals following him to *Valadolid*, and sent his Queen and son to *Victoria*. Some of his troops got off in small bodies, and these

1710.

(1) Of which views the plunder of *Castile* is said to be none of the least.

(2) Contrary to this account of our Author, who was on the spot, a letter from the *Comé d'Assumar*, the Portuguese Ambassador in *Spain*, is quoted by *Boyer*

and others, asserting, That a certain foreign General (meaning *Stanbope*) with some *Spanish* General Officers, prevailed with King *Charles* to march into *Castile*, in opposition to the opinion of *Staremberg* and *Belcassel*.

* See note, p. 121.

1710. these were in a little time brought together to the number of ten thousand men; the troops, they had on the frontier of *Portugal*, were brought to join them, with which they soon made up the face of an army. The Duke of *Vendosme*, in the beginning of *September*, arrived at *Bayonne*, and orders being given for the garriſons of *Pampeluna*, *Jaca*, and other towns in *Nivarni*, to march and join the *Spaniſh* army, he and the Duke de *Noailles* purſued their journey to *Spain*. When they came to *Valladolid*, where King *Philip* kept his Court, it was reſolved in a Council of war, that the Duke de *Noailles* ſhould return to *Paris*, and from thence proceed with the utmoſt diligence to *Rouſſillon*, in order to act offensively in *Catalonia*, and that, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* army was recruited, the Duke of *Vendosme* ſhould repair thither.

In the mean time, though the *French* were preparing to ſupport King *Philip's* broken affairs, no care was taken by the Allies to ſupply or ſupport King *Charles*. We were ſo engaged in our party-matters at home, that we ſeemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done. The Court of *Vienna* was ſo apprehenſive of the danger of a war, like to break out between the Grand Signior and the *Czar*, that they would not diminiſh their army in *Hungary*. But to return to the army in *Spain*.

On the 5th of *November* a Council was held, in which it was reſolved, that *Toledo* ſhould be abandoned, and King *Charles* ſhould move towards *Saragoza*, and the army follow in a few days. Accordingly, on the 22d, the Generals of the ſeveral Nations began to march ſeparately at the head of their reſpective troops, and all were ordered into cantons in the neighbourhood of *Ciſuentes*, where Marſhal *Staremberg* with the *Germans* was to canton. Colonel *Du Bourgay*, with his regiment, was detached two days before to guard the train, and march to the ſame place. Count *Atalaya* came, on the 25th, to *Aſignan* with all the *Portugueſe* going to his cantons. Brigadier *Lepel* marched out by order with his own and *Richards's* regiment to *Gargules*, within a few miles of *Ciſuentes*, where, on the 27th, *Staremberg*, who was then getting into that town with the *Germans*, ſent him word by his Aid de Camp, Major *Nugent*, to make all poſſible haſte to join him, left he ſhould be ſurprized by the active *French* Partizan *Vaillejo*, who was at the head of a thouſand horſe (1). *Lepel* with the two regiments got into *Ciſuentes*, in the cloſe of the evening, without being attacked. The Brigadier (in company with our Author) waited preſently after upon *Staremberg*, whom he had not ſeen ſince the beginning of *September*, having been upon a ſeparate command. In above an hour's converſation the Marſhal told the Brigadier, he hoped he thought him very kind to receive him that night into his head-quarters among his *Germans*, for that he ſhould have marched on to *Bribuega*, the canton of the *Engliſh*, where, he had received a letter, General *Stanbope* was arrived with his troops; but he hoped Colonel *Du Bourgay* would come up that night with the

train, and the three regiments might march together the next day to *Bribuega* without any great riſque. And ſo Brigadier *Lepel* took his leave.

The Generals *Stanbope*, *Carpenter*, *Willis*, *Pep- The Eng- 1710.*
per, and *Gore*, with the *Engliſh* forces, marched along the *Tajuna*, and on the 26th of *Novem- ber*, came to their canton at *Bribuega*, a town of about a thouſand houſes, ſituated on the ſide of a hill near that river. The next day a body of the enemy appeared about three on the hills above the town, to the great ſurprize of the *Engliſh*, who had ſeen no troops in their march from *Clincon* to *Bribuega*, except ſome ſmall ſtraggling parties of horſe: Nor had they any intelligence of an army being aſſembled, though all poſſible care had been uſed, and great rewards promiſed to get early notice of it; ſo well affected were the *Caſtilians* to their King *Philip*. The Duke of *Vendosme*, having joined the *Spaniſh* army with freſh ſuccours, had marched three days and three nights with incredible expedition; and the foot, which appeared on the hills over *Bribuega*, were brought thither behind the troopers; but the whole army and train did not come up till late that night. This army conſiſted of thirty-two battalions (which had been reduced from forty-five to that number) and eight thouſand horſe, with thirty-two pieces of cannon, ſome whereof were twenty-four pounders. That very night *Vendosme* ſent a ſummons to General *Stanbope*, which was answered as uſual in ſuch caſes. *Stanbope* diſpatched Captain *Coffey*, his Aid de Camp, to *Staremberg*, to inform him of his unexpected and unhappy ſituation, which, it was ſaid, might have been prevented, if an advanced guard had been kept on the high grounds; for they might have given notice of the enemy's approach time enough for our troops to retire to *Ciſuentes*. This, it is affirmed, was the advice of one of our Generals*, which unfortunately was not followed. In the night the enemy marched ſome of their foot, and took poſſeſſion of the bridge over the *Tajuna*. * Suppoſe to be Carpenter.

The next day about noon many regiments, with their colours flying, came and ſurrounded the town within cannon-ſhot. We had no artillery, and ſo little ammunition (which was reſerved for the attack) that we could not moleſt them. Their whole army joined, and made four different attacks at once, which were ſoon turned into breaches in the ruinous wall. Our troops were diſpoſed in excellent order for a vigorous defence, every attack being defended by a General Officer. The enemies opened one of the gates with their cannon, made a large breach, and gave a general aſſault, but were repulſed. At laſt about eight hundred men got into the town and into houſes, from whence they made a terrible fire, which we could not answer, our ammunition being quite ſpent; ſo that about ſunſet it was thought adviſable to bear a parley, and thoſe brave troops, that had behaved ſo gallantly all the campaign, were forced to ſurrender priſoners of war, and to march out the next day towards *Valladolid* and the neighbouring towns, where they were to remain (2).

Captain

(1) Our Author ſays here, I am obliged to relate more minute particulars than I ſhould do, in order to do juſtice to a great man (General *Stanbope*) who has

been much aſperſed, upon the account of one miſfortune, both before and after his death.

(2) There were taken in *Bribuega* three Lieutenant-Colonels.

1710.

Captain *Cosby*, who was sent to Marshal *Stanhope* with an account of General *Stanhope's* being surprized, did not come to *Cifuentes* till late at night. The Marshal immediately sent to the Generals of the three Nations, the *Portuguese*, *Dutch* and *Palatines*, to march their troops with all possible Expedition to *Cifuentes*. They were indeed cantoned in towns very near, and got ready so quickly, that at break of day they were all assembled before one of the gates of the town. The Marshal had ordered the *Germans* to beat to arms, which much alarmed us (says our Author, who was then with *Lepel* at *Cifuentes*) and we were not a little surprized to see, upon opening one of *Brigadier Lepel's* windows, great bodies of troops close to the walls; but it was so dark we could not distinguish what they were. An Officer sent by the *Brigadier* to the Marshal brought word, that the *English* were surrounded in *Bribuega* by the enemy; that the troops about the town were our own; and that he must not lose a moment to get ready to march. This order was immediately obeyed, and we were out before we could well see. The *Germans* came out soon after, and the Marshal himself about eight o'clock, when we expected to march every minute; but he was resolved to stay for *Du Bourgay's* regiment and the train. At last, after waiting three hours in vain, about eleven, orders were given to march, and *Brigadier Lepel* was sent back with his regiment to meet *Du Bourgay*. We passed the *Tajuna* at *Olmeda*, and marched through such very narrow and difficult roads, that it was quite dark before we were clear of the defiles, and got to the high grounds in the way to *Bribuega*. As soon as our field-train (which had much retarded our march) came up to the ground, where we lay that night on our arms, the Marshal ordered several pieces of cannon to be fired, as a signal to General *Stanhope*, that we were marching to his relief; but it was too late and to no purpose; for they were not heard, it being just at the time the enemy got into the town, when they made their last and greatest fire before the capitulation began. So it may truly be said, that the saving one regiment was the cause of our losing such a considerable body of *English*. For, had we marched to the relief of *Bribuega*, as soon as all the troops were ready about *Cifuentes*, we should have been there between two and three in the afternoon, and very probably saved that valuable part of our army; for the enemy must have either retired or fought between two fires. About eight, *Brigadier Lepel* joined us, with *Du Bourgay's* regiment and the train, having skirmished above three hours with *Vailejo*, who had pursued them till they came to the army.

On the 29th, early in the morning, we marched upon four columns toward *Bribuega*, though it was believed *Stanhope* had surrendered; the firing of small arms having been heard by the advanced guard, from the time we came to that ground. About eleven the Marshal, with his Adjutant General, and some Aids de Camp, went about half a mile before the army to try whether he could get a sight of the town from the rising ground. After some minutes some smoke was discovered to rise from the bottom between the hills, and he was soon satisfied there was the place, by hearing the enemy's horse marching up the high grounds before he could see them; but it was not long before he saw them plain enough, upon which he galloped back, and ordered his army to form. The enemy was also forming; but their lines extended as far again as ours, consisting of twenty-five thousand men to our thirteen thousand. Between twelve and one, the armies began to cannonade one another; but as the enemy saw how weak we were since the loss of the *British* troops, they soon began the attack on their right, flanking and almost surrounding our left, which had no more than thirteen weak squadrons who behaved very ill, and ran away as soon as the enemy charged them (1.) By that means our foot were left to mercy, and two *English* battalions, two *Dutch*, four *Palatines*, two *Spanish*, and one *Neapolitan*, were cut in pieces or taken prisoners. Here the Generals *Belcastle* and *St. Anand* were killed, besides many Field-officers and others. By good fortune, the victorious right, instead of pursuing their blow, fell to plundering the baggage of the whole army, which was very considerable, and could not stir from the place, *Vailejo* being in the rear of it with his party. Besides the baggage they met with another great booty. Many persons of quality and distinction (chiefly Ladies and Ecclesiastics) having left *Madrid* to follow King *Charles* to *Saragoza* or *Barcelona*, fell into their hands with a great number of coaches, and all the riches they could bring away. Unfortunately for them they came into the field of battle, which was on the high-road, just before the action began, and could not proceed, for fear of falling into the hands of the Partisan *Vailejo*.

The enemy's right being thus employed, the Marshal fought the left with great slaughter and success till night, when both horse and foot retired in disorder. The Duke of *Vendosme*, with King *Philip* (who was present during the whole action) galloped away in such haste, that they passed by the *English* prisoners before they got to *Guadalaxara*. Thus the Marshal remained master of the field, took all their cannon, and retook ours, but was forced to nail it all up for want

1710.
The battle
of Villa-
viciosa.
M. S.

Colonels, *Stanhope*, *Carpenter* and *Wills*; Major General *Pepper*; *Brigadier Gore*; Colonel *Dormer*; fifteen Lieutenant-Colonels, *Mosley*, *Oruay*, *Montague*, *Benson*, *Hawker*, *Varriv* (died), *Dalzel*, *Faulkland*, *Richardson*, *Ramsey*, *Houard*, *Whitmore*, *Strickland*, *Newell*, *Pearson*; nine Majors, *Bland*, *Cotton*, *Wyoll*, *Erle*, *Kenley*, *Wheeler*, *Douglas*, *Pinfold*, *Savage*; sixty Captains, seventy-six Lieutenants, sixty-four Ensigns, three Adjutants and Quarter-Masters, three Secretaries of General *Stanhope*, and one of General *Carpenter's*; *Larcom*, Quarter-Master General, and about two thou-

sand men belonging to the following regiments: *Harvey's* horse; the Royal dragoons; *Pepper's* dragoons; *Stanhope's* dragoons; battalion of foot-guards; the foot regiments of *Harrison*, *Wade*, *Dormer*, *Boules*, *Gore*, *Munden*, *Dalzel*.

By this means *Brigadier Lepel* became the Commander in chief of the Queen's troops, consisting of his own regiment of dragoons, with the two regiments of foot of *Richards* and *Du Bourgay*. M. S.

(1) *Lepel's* regiment is said to behave very ill.

1710.

want of mules to draw it away. The *Germans* made use of their *Chevrons de Vite*, which were of singular service, and the *Portuguese* horse behaved very well. Some of their squadrons were mixed with the foot, and fell upon the enemy's infantry sword in hand, as soon as ours had put them in disorder, and made a very great slaughter. It was computed the next day that no less than seven thousand were killed on the spot, besides the wounded. General *Frankenberg* and Brigadier *Lepel* had rallied the horse on the left, within half a mile of the field, and would have marched them to Count *Staremberg*; but they were seized with such a panic at the sight of some straggling squadrons, that they galloped away the second time, and did not stop in three or four miles, when we overtook them in small parties, and made up at last a body of about six hundred horse with which we made haste to *Siguencia*, lest *Vallier* should overtake us, who followed us so close, that we did not halt above three hours in that City, but continued on long marches, till we got to *Saragoza* (1).

Staremberg, who had suffered so much in the action, that he was not in a condition to pursue the enemy, left the field of *Villa Viciosa*, and marched with his army to *Saragoza*, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any disturbance. As he did not judge it safe to stay long in *deza*, he marched into *Catalonia*, and the Duke of *Vendosme* with his army, came and took possession of *Saragoza*; two days after, to the inexpressible grief and great loss of the *Aragonese*.

The Marshal, though closely pursued by several parties of the enemy, passed the *Cinca* and *Noguera*, and, leaving a small garrison in *Balaguer*, came, in the beginning of February, to *Barcelona* with the remains of his army. Some days before his arrival, Count *Tattenbach*, Governor of *Gironne*, was obliged to capitulate. The French under the Command of the Duke of *Noailles*, had invested that place in December, the very day King *Charles* came to *Barcelona*, and had carried on the siege with great resolution, notwithstanding the difficulties they met with, both from the badness of the weather, and the vigorous defence of the garrison, who obtained very honourable terms. Not long after upon the approach of the Marquis de *Valdecannas* with a body of troops, in order to attack *Balaguer*, the garrison, which Count *Staremberg* in his march had left there, consisting of two battalions and one hundred horse, thought fit to abandon the place; so that King *Charles's* affairs had now a very ill aspect, being confined within the narrow bounds of the principality of *Catalonia*, which, by the loss of *Gironne*, was open to the enemies on all sides. On the other hand, King *Philip* gained this summer a very material advantage, by having unquestionable demonstrations of the affection of the *Castilians*, which neither his defeats at *Almanara* and *Saragoza*, nor his retreat from *Madrid*, nor the presence of King *Charles* with a veteran victorious army, were able to shake.

The Spanish Grandees seemed indeed to be in some apprehension of their being given up
Disgrace of the Duke of Medina Celi. Burnett.

(1) The affair of *Bribuaga* has been variously related, and General *Stanbope* much censured, but by this account of an eye-witness, he was by no means to be blamed. Our author undertakes to answer the falsties published in a pamphlet called the *Romance*, (wherein General *Stanbope* is introduced under the name of *Celfus*) particularly those relating to this affair.

The *Romance* says, *Celfus* was left at *Bribuaga* by Count *Staremberg* with the *English* troops and some battalions of the *Dutch*, to cover his march as well as the cannon and heavy baggage, being himself to incamp about three leagues further, and that he gave him orders to come and join him the next day.

To this our Author answers: That *Celfus* was not left at *Bribuaga* to cover the Count's march, is very plain from the disposition that was made some days before, when it was resolved in a Council of war, that the army should canton upon the borders of *Arragon*, to secure that Kingdom. *Bribuaga* then fell to the *English* for their canton, as *Cifuentes* did to the *Germans* for theirs; and the towns and villages near *Cifuentes* to the troops of other nations.

That there were no battalions of the *Dutch* in *Bribuaga*, is evident from this, that none of them were taken in that town with the *English*: Neither was the cannon or heavy baggage there, both being with Count *Staremberg's* army at the battle of *Villa Viciosa*; and one may easily conclude, that, had *Celfus* had the *English* train with him, he would not have surrendered with such a considerable body of *English* officers and soldiers, who had signalized themselves all that campaign, and were flushed with victory and success; but would have given time to Count *Staremberg* to have come to his relief.

But the most malicious falsehood of all is, that *Celfus* had orders to join Count *Staremberg* the next day.

Count *Staremberg* could have given no such orders, since *Bribuaga*, as I have observed before, was the canton assigned to the whole *English* body of troops

and artillery; and where they were to continue till Count *Staremberg* thought fit to remove the whole army from their several cantons.

The truth of this will appear from the following narration: The same day that the troops marched into their cantons, Brigadier *Lepel's* regiment of dragoons, which was within four or five miles of *Cifuentes*, and where it was left to secure *Du Bourg's* regiment from falling into the hands of *Vailley's* Partisan, received orders from Count *Staremberg* to march with all haste into *Cifuentes*. The regiment lost no time, and narrowly escaped the Partisan with his thousand horse, who fell upon some part of the rear of the *Germans*, as they were marching into that town.

About seven that Evening, Brigadier *Lepel* waited on Count *Staremberg* who told him that he was resolved to cover the Kingdom of *Arragon*, and secure it from the insults of the enemy: That he had ordered the troops into several cantons, each nation by itself: That the *English* had *Bribuaga*, and he wished all the regiments were there together. But till *Du Bourg's* was come up, he would suffer *Lepel's* dragoons to continue with him in *Cifuentes*, and that, as soon as it had joined, the three regiments of *Lepel*, *Richards*, and *Du Bourg*, with the train, would be able to make their way to *Bribuaga*, without any danger from *Vailley's* party. Now let it be judged, whether this is consistent with what the *Romance* tells us, That *Celfus* had orders to join Count *Staremberg* the next day? Neither is there more truth in what it relates, That *Celfus* dispatched one of his Aids de Camp to Count *Staremberg*, to let him know that he thought proper to rest his troops one day more at *Bribuaga*, but that he would certainly join him the day after, since no other Aid de Camp was sent from *Bribuaga* to Count *Staremberg*, but Mr. *Cody*, who came to acquaint him late in the evening, that the enemy's troops had surrounded that town.

It appears also from our Author's account, why *Staremberg*

1710. by the French; and there was a suspicion of some caballing among them: Upon which the Duke of Medina Celi, King Philip's chief Minister, was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Segovia, and was kept there very strictly, none being admitted to speak with him. He was not brought to any examination; but, after he had been some months in prison, being often removed from one place to another, it was at last given out that he died in prison, not without the suspicion of ill practices*.

Nothing material happened this year in Portugal, except only, that, about the beginning of July, the Marquis de Bay, who commanded the Spanish Forces in Estremadura, made himself master of the town of Miranda de Duero by surprize; took in it four hundred men of regular troops and militia; and then formed the blockade of Bragança, which was raised by the Marquis de Risbourg, upon the news of the battle of Saragoza; and soon after the Portuguese took from the Spaniards, Xeres de los Cavaleros, Barcarota, Alcanza, and Puebla, places of no great consideration. Some time before, the Earl of Galway, who found himself useless in Portugal, had desired and readily obtained leave to return to England.

The Czar of Muscovy made a very considerable improvement of his great Victory at Pultowa; for in this year's campaign he reduced to his obedience Elbing, in Polish Prussia; Wyburgh, the Capital of Carelia; Kenholm, in Finland;

Aremberg, in the island of Oesel; Pernau, Revel, Riga, the Dunamunder-fort, and, in a word, all Livonia, the most valuable province in the Swedish dominions. It is very probable, the united forces of the Czar and King Augustus would have made a greater progress; but, the Allies having, with great wisdom taken early measures, and interposed their good offices and power, to prevent the northern war from spreading into the Empire, the province of Pomerania, where General Crassau had retired out of Poland, enjoyed a perfect tranquillity. The treaty, or project of neutrality, which was made for that purpose, was accepted by the Czar and King Augustus, and by the King of Denmark with some exceptions; as it was by the Regency of Stockholm for the Swedes; though the last did it only to serve a turn. For their Czarish and Polish Majesties demanding, that the troops under General Crassau should be either disbanded, or put into the service of the Allies; this last was not agreed to by the Swedes, though a treaty was set on foot for that purpose. At the same time the Swedish Ministers at Vienna, Ratisbon, and other places, notified that their master, who still continued at Bender, was dissatisfied with that neutrality: And, on the other hand, notwithstanding the earnest endeavours of the British and Dutch Ministers at the Ottoman Porte to baffle the artifices of the French and Swedes, the Grand Signior by the advice of the Cham of Tartary, resolved at last, openly to espouse the quarrel

* See note, p. 171. Campaign in Portugal. Hist. of Eur.

The Earl of Galway returns home.

Affairs in the North. Hist. of Eur.

remberg delay'd his marching to Stanhope's relief so many hours; namely, his waiting for Du Bourg's regiment and the train, though he marched without them at last. Bishop Burnet indeed says, Staremberg might have come time enough to have saved Stanhope, but he moved so slowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the glory that General had got, and was not sorry to see it eclipsed, and therefore made not that haste he might and ought to have done. But this, as the Bishop observes, is only conjecture.

The following Letter was writ by Brigadier Lepel, to the Lord Dartmouth, then Secretary of State, concerning the Brihuega affair, and the battle of Villa Viciosa:

My Lord,
Saragossa, Dec. 10. 1710. O. S.

I think myself obliged to inform your Lordship of the misfortune that has befallen her Majesty's troops, in our retreat from Castile towards the borders of Arragon. The army marched upon three columns, the Generals of each nation at the head of their own people: General Stanhope led the Left, and the rear of all, and had with him the regiments of Harvey, Raby, Pepper, and his own, of the foot-guards; and Harri-son's, Wade's, Dormer's, Boules's, Munden's, Gore's, and Dalzell's regiments. The enemy had detached some squadrons to observe him. On Sunday the 26th of November, O. S. he got into a little walled town in the mountains of Castile, called Brihuega, where he resolved to halt a day and refresh his men and horses, who were much fatigued by their long marches, especially the last, which was of seven leagues. But, being among enemies from whom no intelligence could be had, though he had offered large sums to encourage the peasants, he was invested that very night by the enemy's whole army. The 27th, they erected three batteries against the town, which in a short time made very considerable breaches. That night Mr. Stanhope sent out with much difficulty Captain Cosby, his Aid de Camp, to inform the Marshal of his condition. The Marshal, who was at Cifuentes, four leagues from

Brihuega with the German troops, gathered immediately all the rest of his army, and marched the 28th to endeavour to relieve Mr. Stanhope; but the road was so difficult by reason of the defiles through the mountains, that the army could not advance that day above two leagues. The 29th we began to march at break of day, and got by noon to the rising grounds above Brihuega, within half a league of the town; where having halted a short time, and perceiving no signals from Mr. Stanhope, the Marshal concluded he was taken, and resolved to attack the enemy, who soon after marched to us in order of battle.

The cannonading began about one on both sides; and between three and four, their right attacked our left with much vigour, which was soon overpowered by their great numbers, they having by the best accounts we can get, eighty squadrons, and about forty battalions, and we in the whole not above ten thousand men, and on our left, not seven hundred horse; thus was our horse forced to retire, and our foot was almost cut to pieces. The right of their horse in the pursuit of ours, fell in with the baggage, and betook themselves to plunder. The Marshal improved that opportunity, and with his right fell upon the enemy with such bravery and conduct, that he put them to the route, retook our cannon, took theirs, and remained master of the field, where he continued till eight of the clock the next day; and, for want of mules to carry away the cannon, was obliged to nail them up; and then began his march towards Arragon to get bread and provisions for his army; where he is now at a place called Daroca, gathering his people from all parts, in order to secure this country.

As to Mr. Stanhope, what I can learn, which comes from some soldiers that have made their escape, and some of the enemy's officers that were taken in the battle, is this: That he was attacked several times at three different breaches the day before the battle, and always repulsed the enemy; but at last, for want of ammunition, was forced to surrender prisoners of war; that he began to capitulate about seven in the evening, and marched out the 29th about noon; that besides

1710.

Lieute.

1710. quarrel of the King of Sweden. The *Muscovite* Ambassador at *Constantinople*, was seized and confined; and not long after the Grand Signior declared war against the Czar, having, for that purpose sent circular letters by way of manifesto to the *Basha's* and Governors in his dominions.

About the beginning of *April* the *Swedes* published likewise a manifesto, in answer to one put out some months before by the King of *Denmark*, upon his landing in *Schonen*, and pretending to shew, that the reasons alledged by the *Danes* to justify that invasion, were so far from being a sufficient cause of war, that they did not amount even to a plausible pretence. Not long after both the *Swedes* and *Danes* sent out their fleets to sea; and the *Danish* fleet having on the 14th and 15th of *September*, N. S. met with a violent storm by which they were separated, and several of their ships damaged in their rigging, they were obliged to return to the *Kinger Bight*. The *Swedes* imagining their loss to have been much greater, went in quest of them; and on the 4th of *October*, attacked them with twenty-one ships of the line of battle, and ten frigates. Upon this surprize, the *Danes* immediately cut their cables, and endeavoured to gain the wind, so as to get between *Copenhagen* and the *Swedish* fleet, whilst the *Swedes* endeavoured to intercept them. This occasioned a cannonading between the foremost ships; during which, a *Danish* ship of ninety guns, called the *Danebrog* blew up. But, tho' the *Swedes* gained their point, yet, advancing too far towards the *Danish* coast, two of their flag ships, an Admiral and a Rear-Admiral,

struck upon a sand-bank, near the island of *Amack*, where the whole *Swedish* fleet came to an anchor, to endeavour to recover them. This being impracticable, they saved the men, and set fire to their two ship, as they did to a *Danish* transport. In the mean time the *Danish* fleet returned to their former posts before *Königsberg*, and the wind bearing hard on the coast, the *Swedes* were unwilling to attack them a second time; and, on the 7th of *October* in the morning, weighed anchor, and sailed towards the East sea. The *Danes* pursued them, but at such a distance, as shewed they had no mind to another engagement.

The Imperial arms were this year attended with great successes in *Hungary*, where they reduced several important towns. Some of the chief of the malecontents considering, that their affairs were desperate, inclined to consult their safety, by making their submission to the Emperor. But, upon the *Turks* declaring war against the *Muscovites*, Prince *Ragotzki* encouraged them to stand out to the last, by giving them hopes, that the *Turks* would assist them with men, and the *French* with Engineers and Money.

The Imperial Court persisting in their resolution not to grant the exercise of the Protestant Religion in *Silesia*, upon pretence that they were not included either in the treaty of *Westphalia*, or in the convention of *At Rastadt*, the Queen of *Great-Britain* ordered Lieutenant-General *Palmer* her Envoy Extraordinary to the Emperor, to make new Influences in their favour. And the *States-General* ordered the *Sieur Bruyninx*, their Envoy, to use his good offices, in

Lieutenant-General *Carpenter*, who was killed at one of the breaches, we have lost above three hundred men killed, and as many wounded; among the killed are some Field-officers, whose names and ranks I do not know.

In the battle, my Lord, our greatest loss has been sustained on the left, where Colonel *Richards*, and Col. *Du Bourgay's* regiments have been entirely cut off; and of my regiment above one hundred private men are still missing, and seven officers. Of the other nations the regiments of *St. Amand*, *Dutch*; *Lucini*, *Neapolitan*; *Albuquerque*, *Portuguese*; and *Unadar*, *Spanish*; are totally destroyed: Lieutenant-General *Belcastle*, and Major-General *St. Amand* killed. The enemy's loss is modestly computed to amount to above six thousand men killed on the spot.

By this great turn of affairs, my Lord, the command of the remnant of her Majesty's troops is devolved on me. I am endeavouring, by the Marshal's directions and desire, to make up the regiments of *Richards* and *Du Bourgay*, out of the few people that are come off, and those that were left in the hospitals. The greatest difficulty attends my own, which is reduced to betwixt eighty and a hundred men, and as many horses, and no fund to go upon; but, if I can get money from Mr. *Mead*, or credit, I shall use my best endeavours to get men and horses to repair my regiment, and put it in a condition to serve next campaign, if my designs are approved. This I humbly pray your Lordship to lay before her Majesty, and that speedy supplies may be sent to us, to keep up the few bodies that are left, if it be thought fit for the service; for Mr. *Mead* complains very much for want of money and credit, by which we are already reduced to great straits here, where our credit is very indifferent, and our wants extremely great, having lost all our equipages in the battle, and saved nothing but what we had on our backs; and, as my loss in particular is very con-

siderable, I hope your Lordship will be so kind as to represent it as such, that her Majesty will be pleased to consider me in it, and grant me some compensation, which may enable me to serve the next campaign with some satisfaction.

To this letter, our Author had added the Memorial sent to the Queen by the officers of the two regiments commanded by the Colonels *Richards* and *Du Bourgay*, which begins thus:

That the said two regiments were the only *English* battalions, that were at the battle of *Villa Viciosa*: That, being posted on the left of the two lines, the horse, who were on our flanks gave way, and left us naked, and exposed to the weight and shock of the whole right wing of the enemy; who like a torrent not to be resisted, soon over-bore us. Many of your Majesty's faithful officers lost their lives upon the spot; many more were wounded, and all were at last made prisoners: Tho' some few of us were fortunate enough to be retaken. Fortunate indeed we esteem it; because we hope to be able to serve your Majesty again this campaign, and to revenge the wrongs our Country suffered in the last. With regard to every thing else, our misery is equal to that of the poor captives.— For never certainly in any nation, or in any age, where Christianity, or the civil arts have been planted, have such barbarities been practised, as by this ungenerous enemy, of whom it may truly be said, Their very tender Mercies were cruel. For, after their Officers had taken from us what money or whatever else of value we had about us, and had promised us their protection, they suffered, nay, encouraged their soldiers to strip us of our cloaths, to insult, and to wound us. In this miserable condition we were found, when some of us were restored to our liberty; and in this condition we retreated with the body of the army, having lost the entire baggage of the two regiments.

1710. in concert with the *British* Ministers. They presented a joint-memorial to the Emperor, which, however, had but little effect; though, at this time, the Imperial Court had more reason than ever to keep measures with the Protestant powers. These were the transactions abroad this campaign, during which great changes had happened in *England*.

Addresses of different file. Burnet.
The trial of Dr. *Sacheverel* had given, as was observed, great advantages to the Tory party, who set on foot addresses from all parts of the Nation, in which the absolute power of our Princes was asserted, and all resistance was condemned, under the designation of Anti-Monarchical and Republican principles; the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged; and yet a zeal for the Protestant Succession was likewise pretended, to make those addresses pass the more easily with the unthinking multitude. Most of these concluded with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would dissolve the present Parliament, giving assurances, that in a new election they would chuse none, but such as should be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church. These were at first more coldly received; for the Queen either made no answer at all, or made them in very general words. Addresses were brought up on the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the Parliament, and expressing a zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Protestant Succession.

The Queen sends to the Duke of Marlborough to give a regiment to Mr. Hill. Cond of D. of Marl.
But the Queen's resolution of changing her Ministry had begun to appear very early this year; for in the beginning of *January 1709-10*, upon the death of the Earl of *Effex*, she writ to the Duke of *Marlborough* to give his regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a man, who had been extremely ungrateful to the *Duchess of Marlborough*, and whose sister, Mrs. *Malham*, the Duke well knew, was at this time undermining the interest of himself, his family and friends. The scheme of the Queen's new Counsellors to make her Ministers quit her service, or engage her to discard them, now shewed itself without disguise. They durst not tell her at once all they designed; but, proposing to her only one thing at a time, led her, by insensible degrees, to the accomplishment of the whole. They began, as has been related, with engaging her to nominate persons to Bishopsricks, without consulting her Ministers. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without advising with her General. And nothing could be more to their purpose, than this choice of Mr. *Hill* for Lord *Effex's* regiment, because they knew, that nothing could be more disagreeable to the Duke of *Marlborough*, or would tend more to lessen his weight and authority in the army, and consequently at home too. The new Counsellors saw, that, if the Duke readily yielded in this matter, it would sow discontent among the Officers; and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army, and insult him. And, on the other hand, if the Duke should not comply, or should shew any reluctance in complying, this would furnish an excellent pretence for grievous complaints, that the Queen was but a cypher, and could do nothing. Upon the Queen's letter, the Duke waited on her, and with all humility represented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her service, to have so young an Officer preferred before so many others of higher rank and longer service;

besides, that the shewing so extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs. *Malham's* brother could be interpreted no otherwise, than as a declaring against all those, who had so much reason to be uneasy with her; and that, indeed, it would be setting up a banner for all the discontented persons in the army to repair to. In short, the Duke said every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern that the nature of the affair created in him; to engage her to change her resolution. But all seemed to no purpose. He could not draw one kind expression from her, nor obtain any answer, but "that he would do well to advise with his friends."

The Earl of *Godolphin* spoke often to her upon the same subject, representing to her the Duke's long, great, and faithful services, and the very bad influence, which her intended favour to Mr. *Hill* must necessarily have in the army. But neither had this so much effect as to engage her to say one favourable word about the Duke. Wherefore, on the 15th of *January*, he left the town, and went to *Windsor* in great discontent. It was Council-day. The Queen did not ask where he was, nor take the least notice of his absence. His withdrawing himself made a great deal of noise in the town. Many of the Nobility spoke with earnestness to the Queen of the very ill consequences of mortifying a man, who had done her so long and important services. She answered, that his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she had as much kindness for him as ever she had. The noise, however, still continued and increased, and there was great discourse, not without probability, that some notice would be taken of the matter in the House of Commons, and some votes passed disagreeable to the Queen and her new Counsellors. This design was laid to the *Duchess of Marlborough's* charge; but she said enough to the Queen to vindicate herself. And indeed it was owing to the Duke's particular friends in the House, that no such notice was taken.

The new Counsellors being alarmed with apprehensions of what the Parliament might do, and believing, that they should be able, at a proper season, to make better use of the Queen's yielding up the point, than of her insulting upon it, gave her advice accordingly; so that, on the 20th of *January*, she ordered the Earl of *Godolphin* to write to the Duke, "that he might dispose of the regiment, as he himself thought fit;" and to desire him to come to town. But, before this reached the Duke, he had written the following letter to the Queen:

1710.

The Duke of Marlborough retires to Windsor.

The Queen desists from her recommendation.

MADAM,

"By what I hear from *London*, I find your Majesty is pleased to think, that, when I have reflected, I must be of opinion, that you are in the right in giving Mr. *Hill* the Earl of *Effex's* regiment. I beg your Majesty will be so just to me, as not to think I can be so unreasonable, as to be mortified to the degree that I am, if it proceeded only from this one thing; for I shall always be ready and glad to do every thing that is agreeable to you, after I have represented what may be a prejudice to your service. But this is only one of a great many mortifications that I have met with. And, as I may not have many opportunities of

A a a " writing

1710. "writing to you, let me beg of your Majesty to reflect what your own people, and the rest of the world, must think, who have been witnesses of the love, zeal, and duty, with which I have served you, when they shall see, that, after all I have done, it has not been able to protect me against the malice of a bed-chamber woman. Your Majesty will allow me on this occasion to remind you of what I write to you the last campaign of the certain knowledge I had of Mrs. *Mafham's* having assured Mr. *Harley*, that I should receive such constant mortifications as should make it impossible for me to continue in your service. God Almighty and the whole world are my witnesses, with what care and pains I have served you for more than twenty years; and I was resolved, if possible, to have struggled with the difficulties to the end of this war. But the many instances I have had of your Majesty's great change to me has so broke my spirits, that I must beg, as the greatest and last favour, that you will approve of my retiring, so that I may employ the little time I have to live, in making my just acknowledgments to God, for the protection he has been pleased to give me. And your Majesty may be assured, that my zeal for you and my country is so great, that in my retirement I shall daily pray for your prosperity, and that those, who shall serve you as faithfully as I have done, may never feel the hard return, that I have met with."

The Queen wrote the Duke an answer, expressing some concern at several parts of his letter, assuring him, without entering into particulars, that he had no ground for suspicions, and desiring him to come to town. But fearing, at the same time, that some motion might be made in Parliament against Mrs. *Mafham*, which might be attended with very disagreeable consequences, she sent about in much concern to ma-

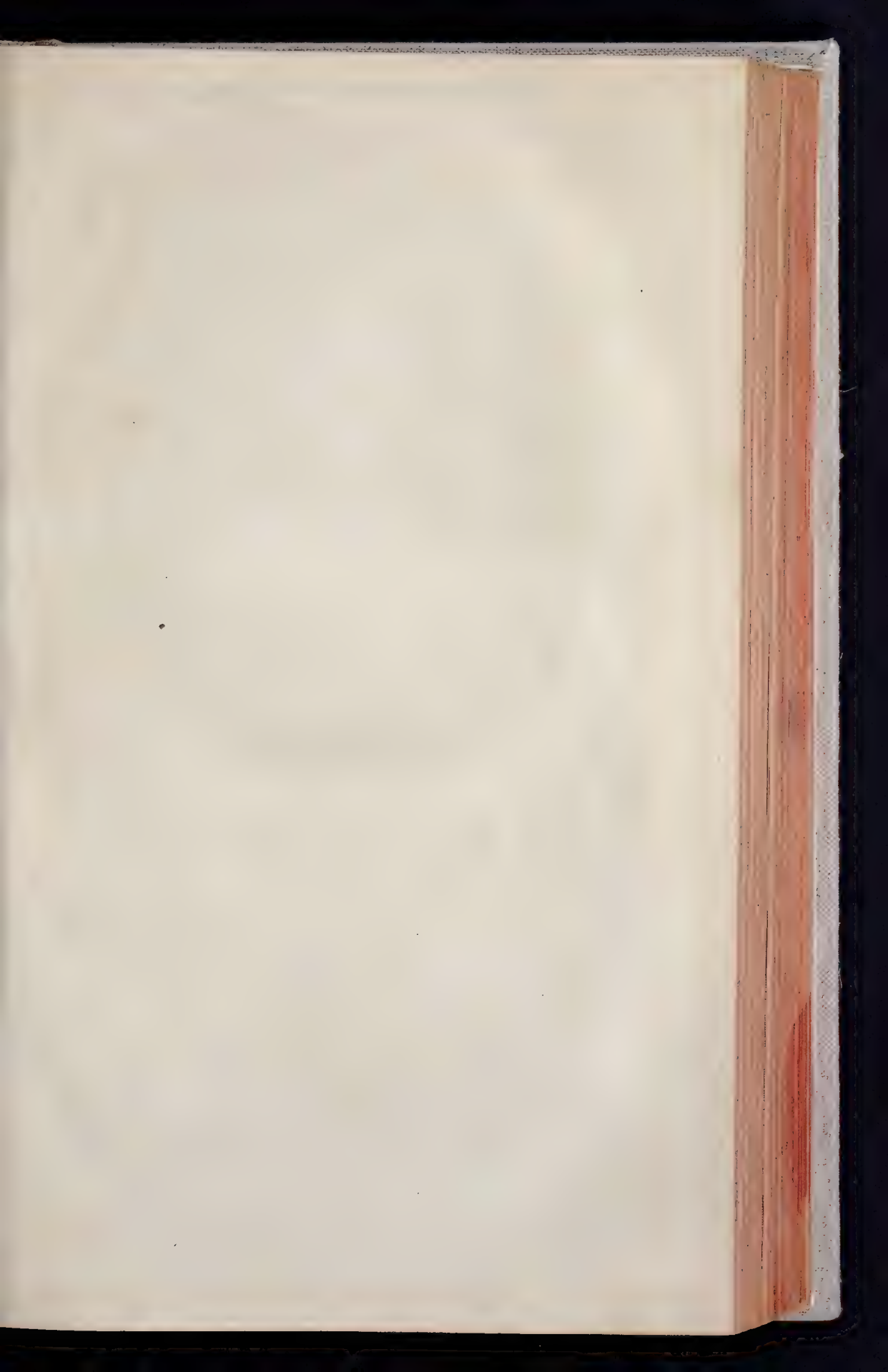
ny persons to stand by her, as if some great attack was going to be made upon her. This application, and the clofeting some persons, who were known enemies to the Revolution, gave encouragement to the Jacobites; several of whom were now observed running to Court with faces full of business and satisfaction, as it they were going to get the Government into their hands. And this being represented to the Queen, as a kind of victory gained by her over the *Marlborough* family, was doubtless one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation.

In about a month after this it was, that both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen, to order the Duke of *Marlborough* over into *Holland*, to attend to the great affair of a peace, and in case that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign. In her answer to this address (as hath been said) she used these words: "I am very glad to find, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of *Marlborough's* eminent services." But, notwithstanding this, he had not been long gone, before she gave a signal proof how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr. *Hill* a pension of one thousand pounds a year; and in some time, she made both him and Mr. *Mafham*, men of little or no service, general Officers over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her service, and had gone through the toils and hardships of a tedious war.

In the mean time the Duchefs of *Marlborough* learnt, that the Queen was made to believe, that she often spoke of her in company disrespectfully; upon which she desired an audience, in order to justify herself, which she obtained on the 6th of *April*; but could make no impression upon the Queen, whom she never saw afterwards, nor ever had any correspondence with her Majesty, except upon two occasions relating to the public (1). However, notwithstanding

(1) The Duchefs of *Marlborough*, in the account of her Conduct, says: As I knew myself wholly free from the guilt of this charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her Majesty the 3d of *April*, 1710, and begged of her that she would be pleased to give me a private hour, because I had something which I was desirous of saying to her Majesty, before I went out of town. I named three several hours, in which I knew the Queen used to be alone, but she refused them all in a very unusual and surprizing manner; and at last she herself appointed six o'clock the next day, the hour for prayers, when she could least of all expect to be at leisure for any particular conversation. But even this small favour though promised, was not thought advisable to be granted by her new Counsellors. For that night she wrote a letter to me, in which she desired me to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the country as soon as I could. I took the first opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and used all the arguments I could to obtain a private hour; alledging, that when her Majesty should hear what I had to say, she would herself perceive it impossible to put things of that nature into writing: That I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps should never have occasion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refused it several times in a manner hard to be described; but at last appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon further consideration it was thought advisable to break

this appointment; for the next morning, she wrote to me, to let me know, that she should dine at *Kenington*, and that she once more desired me to put my thoughts into writing. To this, I wrote an answer, begging that her Majesty would give me leave to follow her to *Kenington*; and that she might not apprehend a greater trouble than she would receive, I assured her Majesty, that what I had to say, would not create any dispute or uneasiness (it relating only to the clearing myself of some things, which I had heard had very wrongfully been laid to my charge) and could have no consequence either in obliging her Majesty to answer, or to see me oftner than would be easy to her: Adding, that, if that Afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day, and wait till her Majesty would please to allow me to speak to her. Upon the 6th of *April*, I followed this letter to *Kenington*, and by that means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The Page, who went in to acquaint the Queen, that I was come to wait upon her, staid longer than usual; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give time to deliberate, whether the favour of admission should be granted, and to settle the measures of behaviour, if I were admitted. But at last he came out, and told me, I might go in. As I was entering, the Queen said, she was just going to write to me. And, when I began to speak, she interrupted me four or five times with these repeated words, *Whatever you have to say, you may put it into writing.* I said, her Majesty never did so hard a thing





1710. ing this thorough alienation of the Queen's affections from the Duchess, she was not yet divested of her employments; it being, perhaps, not yet determined, who should succeed her, nor whether it were proper, that the Duke of Marlborough should have that mortification, before the season was fully ripe for the execution of the new scheme; though it now was greatly advanced, since the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had voted for the acquittal of Dr. Sacheverel, was soon after appointed Lord-Chamberlain, in the room of the Marquis of Kent, who was made a Duke. The Duke of Shrewsbury had gone out of England, towards the end of the Reign of King William, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was necessary for his health. He staid several years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman Lady; who, upon his leaving Rome to return to England, went after him to Augsburg, where she overtook him, and declared herself a Protestant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to England in 1706. Upon his return, the Whigs lived in civilities with him; but they thought his leaving England, and his living so long out of it, while the Nation was in so much danger, and his strange marriage, gave just cause of suspicion. The Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin lived still in friendship with him, and studied to overcome the jealousies, that the Whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had advised King William to the change, which he made in his Ministry towards the end of his Reign. He seemed not to be concerned at the distance, in which he was kept from business; but, as was observed above, in the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, he left the Whigs in every vote; and the change of his principles, which he had discovered by this, was imputed to a secret management between him and Mr. Harley with the new Favourite. But, before the Queen declared her intention for giving him the Lord-Chamberlain's Staff, she thought fit, for form sake, and perhaps to cover her fur-

ther designs to communicate her resolutions to the Earl of Godolphin, who, being then at Newmarket, sent a letter to the Queen; to which her Majesty wrote, with her own hand, on the 13th of April, the following answer:

"I am sorry to find by your letter, you are ^{The} so very much in the spleen, as to think you ^{Queen's} cannot, for the future, contribute any thing ^{letter a-} towards my quiet but your wishes. How- ^{but it is} ever, I will still hope you will use your endea- ^{the Earl of} vours. Never was there more occasion than ^{Godol.} now; for, by all one hears and sees every ^{Phin.} day, as things are at present, I think one can expect nothing but confusion. I am sure, for my part, I shall be ready to join with all my friends in every thing, that is reasonable, to allay the heat and ferment, that is in this poor Nation. Since you went to Newmarket, I have received several assurances from the Duke of Shrewsbury of his readiness to serve me upon all occasions, and his willingness to come into my service; which offer I was very glad to accept of, having a very good opinion of him, and believing he may be of great use in these troublesome times. For these reasons I have resolved to part with the Duke of Kent, who, I hope, will be easy in this matter, by being made a Duke; and, I hope, this change will meet with your approbation, which I wish I may ever have in all my actions. I have not yet declared my intentions of giving the Staff and the Key to the Duke of Shrewsbury, because I would be the first, that should acquaint you with it."

The Lord-Treasurer, who well understood ^{The Earl's} the meaning, and foresaw the consequences of ^{answer.} such a change, wrote to the Queen the following letter:

Newmarket, April 15. 1710.

"I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 13th, by which I have the grief to find,

thing to any, as to refuse to hear them speak, and assured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the subject, which I knew to be so ungrateful to her; but that I could not possibly rest, till I had cleared myself from some particular calumnies, with which I had been loaded. I then went on to speak (though the Queen turned away her face from me) and to represent my hard case: That there were those about her Majesty, who had made her believe, that I had said things of her, which I was no more capable of saying, than of killing my own children: That I seldom named her Majesty in company, and never without respect, and the like. The Queen said, *Without doubt there had been many lies told.* I then begged, in order to make this trouble the shorter, and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars, of which I had been accused; because, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear; and, if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The Queen replied, that *she would give me no answer*; laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to say, in my own vindication, would have no consequence in obliging her Majesty to answer, &c. which surely did not at all imply, that I did not desire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impossible for me to clear myself. This I assured her Majesty was all I desired, and that I did not ask the names of the authors or the relators of those calumnies; saying all that I could think reasonable to inferce my

just request. But the Queen repeated again and again the words she had used, without ever receding. And it is probable, that this conversation had never been consented to, but that her Majesty had been carefully provided with those words, as a shield to defend her against every reason I could offer. I protested to her Majesty, that I had no delign in giving her this trouble, to solicit the return of her favour; and that my sole view was to clear myself, which was too just a design, to be wholly disappointed by her Majesty. Upon this the Queen offered to go out of the room, I following her, and begging leave to clear myself; and the Queen repeating over and over again, *You desired no answer, and shall have none.* When she came to the door, I fell into great disorder; streams of tears flowed down against my will, and prevented my speaking for some time. At length I recovered myself, and appealed to the Queen in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not still have been happy in her Majesty's favour, if I could have contradicted or dissembled my real opinion of men or things? Whether I had offended in any thing, unless in a very zealous pressing upon her that, which I thought necessary for her service and security? I then said, I was informed by a very reasonable and credible person about the court, that things were laid to my charge, of which I was wholly incapable: That this person knew that such stories were perpetually told to her Majesty to incense her, and had begged of me to come

and

1710. "find, that what you are pleased to call *spleen* in my former letter, was only a true impulse and conviction of mind, that your Majesty is suffering yourself to be guided to your own ruin and destruction, as fast as it is possible for them to compass it, to whom you seem so much to hearken.

"I am not therefore so much surprized, as concerned at the resolution, which your Majesty says you have taken, of bringing in the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. For when people began to be sensible, it would be difficult to persuade your Majesty to dissolve a Parliament, which, for two winters together, had given you above six millions a year for the support of a war, upon which your Crown depends; even while that war is still subsisting, they have had the cunning to contrive this proposal to your Majesty, which, in its consequence, will certainly put you under a necessity of breaking the Parliament, though contrary (I yet believe) to your mind and intention.

"I beg your Majesty to be persuaded, I do not say this out of the least prejudice to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. There is no man, of whose capacity I have had a better impression; nor with whom I have lived more easily and freely for above twenty years. Your Majesty may please to remember, that, at your first coming to the Crown, I was desirous he should have had one of the chief posts in your service; and it would have been happy for your Majesty and the Kingdom, if he had accepted that offer. But he thought fit to decline it; and the reasons generally given at that time for his doing so, do not much commend him to your Majesty's service. But I must endeavour to let your Majesty see things as they really are. And to bring him into your service and into your business at this time, just after his being in a public open conjunction in every vote with the whole body of the Tories, and in a private constant correspondence and caballing with Mr. *Harley* in every thing, what consequence can this possibly have, but to make every man, that is now in your Cabinet-Council, except—

"to run from it as they would from the plague? And I leave it to your Majesty to judge, what effect this intire change of your Ministers will have among your Allies abroad; and how well this war is like to be carried on, in their opinion, by those who have all along opposed and obstructed it, and who will like any peace the better, the more it leaves *France* at liberty to take their time of imposing the Pretender upon this Country.

"These considerations must certainly make *Holland* run immediately into a separate peace with *France*, and make your Majesty lose all the honour and all the reputation your arms had acquired by the war; and make the Kingdom lose all the fruits of that vast expence, which they have been at in this war, as well as all the advantage and safety, which they had so much need of, and had so fair a prospect of obtaining by it. And can any body imagine, that, after so great a disappointment to the Kingdom, there will not be an enquiry into the causes of it; and who have been the occasion of so great a change in your Majesty's Measures and Counsels, which had been so long successful, and gotten you so great a name in the world? I am very much afraid your Majesty will find, when it is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult task for any body to stand against such an inquiry. I am sure, if I did not think all these consequences inevitable, I would never give your Majesty the trouble and uneasiness of laying them before you. But persuaded as I am, that your Majesty will find them so, it is my indispensable duty to do it out of pure faithfulness and zeal for your Majesty's service and honour. Your Majesty's having taken a resolution of so much consequence to all your affairs both at home and abroad, without acquainting the Duke of *Marlborough* or me with it, till after you had taken it, is the least part of my mortification in this whole affair, though perhaps the world may think the long and faithful services, we have constantly and zealously endeavoured to do your Majesty, might have deserved a little more consideration.

and vindicate myself: That the same person had thought me of late guilty of some omissions towards her Majesty, being intirely ignorant how uneasy to her my frequent attendance must be, after what had happened between us. I explained some things, which I had heard her Majesty had taken amiss of me; and then with a fresh flood of tears, and a concern sufficient to move compassion even where all love was absent, I begged to know what other particulars she had heard of me, that I might not be denied all power of justifying myself. But still the only return was, *You desired no answer, and you shall have none*. I then begged to know if her Majesty would tell me some other time?—*You desired no answer, and you shall have none*. I then appealed to her Majesty again, if she did not herself know, that I had often despised interest in comparison of serving her faithfully, and doing right: And whether she did not know me to be of a temper incapable of disowning any thing, which I know to be true?—*You desired no answer, and you shall have none*. This usage was so severe, and these words so often repeated, were so shocking (being an utter denial of common justice to one, who had been a most faithful servant, and now asked nothing more) that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful thing I ever yet spoke to the Queen in my life, and

yet, what such an occasion, and such circumstances might well excuse, if not justify; and that was, *I was confident her Majesty would suffer for such an Instance of inhumanity*. The Queen answered, *That will be to myself*. Thus ended this remarkable conversation, the last I ever had with her Majesty. I shall make no comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much sooner she might be blinded or misguided. But in a letter, which I had from the Duke of *Marlborough* about eight months before, there is something so pertinent to the present occasion, that I cannot forbear transcribing the passage:

Aug. 26. 1709.

"It has always been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so just, serve to no end but making the breach wider. I cannot help being of opinion, that, however insignificant we may be, there is a power above, that puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness. If any body had told me eight years ago, that after such great success, and after you had been a faithful servant twenty-seven years, that even in the Queen's lifetime we should be obliged to seek happiness in a retired life, I could not have believed that possible."

1710. "tion. However, for my own part, I must
"humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, I
"will never give the least obstruction to your
"measures, or to any Ministers you shall please
"to employ. And I must beg further, to
"make two humble requests to your Majesty;
"the one, that you will allow me to pass the
"remainder of my life always out of London,
"where I may find most ease and quiet. The
"other, that you would keep this letter, and
"read it again about next Christmas, and then
"be pleased to make your own judgment, who
"hath given you the best and most faithful ad-
"vice."

This letter made no impression upon the Queen, who, two days before she received it, being already fixed in her choice, delivered, on the 14th of April, the Staff and Key to the Duke of Shrewsbury, who gave the Ministers very positive assurances, that his principles were the same they had been during the last Reign, and were in no respect altered. Upon which he desired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for suspicion.

About the beginning of June, the design of turning out the Earl of Sunderland from the post of Secretary of State began to be talked of. As soon as this design reached the Duke of Marlborough, who was then abroad at the head of the army, he wrote a very moving letter to the Queen, representing the very ill consequences it would necessarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his son-in-law, against whose fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the Allies had so intire a confidence, turned out of her service in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his past services, that she would at least delay her resolution till the campaign was ended. The Duchess of Marlborough was likewise urged by some friends to try to say something, to divert, if possible, such a stroke; because it was given out, that the Queen would do this chiefly on the Duchess's account, that she might feel the effects of her displeasure in so sensible and tender a point. No consideration proper to herself could have induced the Duchess to trouble the Queen again after that last conversation: But she was overcome by the consideration of the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, and the public interest, and wrote to the Queen, on the 7th of June 1710, begging, for the Duke of Marlborough's sake, that her Majesty would not give him such a blow, of which she dreaded the consequence; putting her Majesty in mind of her letter about the Duke upon the victory of *Blenheim*, and adding the most solemn assurances, that she had not so much as a wish to remove Mrs. *Masbam*; and that all the noise, which had been about an address for that purpose, had been occasioned by the Duke of Marlborough's discontents at that time. To this the Queen wrote a very short and harsh answer, complaining, that the Duchess had broke her promise of not saying any thing of Politics or of Mrs. *Masbam*, and concluding, that it was plain from this ill usage, what she was to expect for the future. The Duchess upon this wrote a second letter, in which she assured her Majesty, that she should not have troubled her with the first, but that she had heard it reported, that

that the persecution, begun against the Duke of Marlborough and his Family, was chiefly occasioned by her Majesty's displeasure and aversion to her, as having promoted an address against Mrs. *Masbam*: That it was only to vindicate herself from that asperson, that she had presumed to trouble her Majesty: That she could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate herself from what was now made the pretence for turning out the Earl of Sunderland, and pushing the Duke of Marlborough to extremities: That she had no reason to think, that the assuring her Majesty, that she would never have any hand in any thing against Mrs. *Masbam*, could have been construed as an ungrateful speaking about her; or called a continuation of ill usage: That she thought this was rather a complying with her Majesty's inclination, and saying what she could not but approve: That all the politics in her letter was her concern for the Duke; making it her last request, that her Majesty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This (she added) she begged upon her knees, and left her Majesty to judge, whether, after such an expression, it was likely that she should ever enter into any thing that could displease her.

Whether the Duchess's interfering in this matter hastened the execution of the design, is not known; but it is certain, that it did not retard it, the Lord Sunderland was, on the 14th of June, dismissed the office, and the Seals given, the next day, to the Lord Dartmouth, one of the Lord's Commissioners of trade and plantations, and son-in-law to the Earl of Nottingham. On this occasion several great men, who wished well to their country, and who feared, that the Duke of Marlborough might, in disgust, quit the service, immediately wrote him a joint-letter in the following terms:

My Lord,
June 14, 1710.
"We should not have given your Grace the
"trouble of this joint-letter, but for the great
"concern and uneasiness in which we find you,
"on account of my Lord Sunderland, by your
"letter of the 20th to my Lord-Treasurer,
"which he has communicated to us. That
"letter, as moving and reasonable as it was,
"has not hindered the Seals from being taken
"this morning from my Lord Sunderland. No
"wonder then, if the utmost endeavours, which
"could be used to prevent it, and the strong
"arguments, which have been made of the ill
"consequences that must attend such steps both
"at home and abroad, have met with so little
"success. We find ourselves so much afflicted
"with this misfortune, that we cannot but be
"extremely sensible of the great mortification
"this must give you at this critical juncture,
"when you are every moment hazarding your
"life in the service of your country, and whilst
"the fate of Europe depends, in so great a de-
"gree, on your conduct and good success: But
"we are also as fully convinced, that it is im-
"possible for your Grace to quit the service at
"this time, without the utmost hazard to the
"whole Alliance. And we must therefore
"conjure you, by the glory you have already
"obtained, by the many services you have done
"your Queen and Country, by the expectation
"you have justly raised in all Europe, and by
"all that is dear and tender to you at home,
"whose

1710.

The Earl of Sunderland dismissed. Cond. of D. of Marl.

The Lord Dartmouth made Secretary of State.

1710. "whose chief dependance is upon your success, that you would not leave this great work unfinished, but continue at the head of the army. This we look upon as the most necessary step, that can be taken to prevent the dissolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's compliance with this our earnest request would be the greatest obligation to us, and all that wish well to our country. And, you may depend upon it, that the contrary will be the greatest satisfaction to your enemies." (1)

The Tories elated at this change. Hist. of Eur.

The High-Church party were much pleased and elated upon this alteration, which they looked upon as a sure forerunner of greater changes; "extolling the Queen for asserting her just prerogative, and setting herself free from an arbitrary junctio, who kept her in an inglorious dependance on their will and caprice." And it was said, the Duke of Beaufort being, about this time, come to Court to pay his respects to her Majesty, told her, "That he was extremely glad he could now salute her Queen." On the other hand, the Whigs were the more alarmed, as the best part of their wealth was lodged in the Exchequer and public funds; and, as they rightly considered, that the removal of the Earl of Sunderland was but a step to come at the Lord-Treasurer, in whose capacity, punctuality, and integrity, the monied men reposed an entire confidence; and they foresaw that his being laid aside would very much affect the public credit, as it immediately did. Whereupon

The Whigs alarmed at it.

The Bank interposed in favour of the Ministry.

Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Governor of the Bank of England; Nathaniel Gould, Deputy-Governor; Francis Byles and Sir William Scawen, two of the Directors, made their application to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy-Seal, to whom having represented the dangers likely to attend the change of the Ministry, the Duke introduced them to the Queen, who told them, "That she, for some time before, had resolved to remove the Earl of Sunderland for particular reasons of State; but that she had not yet determined to make any other changes; and whenever she should, she would take care, that the public credit might not be injured thereby." Upon this it was reported, the Queen had declared, she designed to make no more Alterations in the Ministry, which immediately restored the public funds to their former value; but they soon began to fall again, and many foreigners withdrew their effects from England upon a strong report, that not only the Lord-Treasurer would be laid aside, but even the Parliament dissolved.

The Queen's Allies, and particularly the Emperor and the States, were very attentive to what passed in Great-Britain; and being apprehensive, that the Duke of Marlborough would

either be removed, or so far disguised, as to lay down his command, which might bring a great prejudice to the common cause, Count Gallas, the Imperial Minister, and Monsieur de Vryberg, the Dutch Envoy, were directed, in a most respectful manner, to represent to the Queen, what ill influence the changing of the Ministry might have on affairs abroad. In answer to their memorials, Count Gallas was told that he might assure the Emperor, "whatever changes the Queen designed to make, she had resolved to continue the Duke of Marlborough in his employments; and desired, Prince Eugene, and the other Imperial Generals and Plenipotentiaries might act with him, with the same confidence as before." The answer which was given to Vryberg, was kept a secret; however, it was said, the Queen put a favourable construction on the interposition of the States, in favour of the Ministry, looking upon it as the effect of their zeal for the common cause, and the confidence they reposed in the Duke of Marlborough's conduct. These interpositions were represented by those who had never been versed in the Negotiations of Princes in an Alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's Councils; though nothing is more common, than for Princes to offer mutual advices (2).

The Queen had no sooner begun to change her Ministry by displacing the Earl of Sunderland, than the French were attentive how to turn it to their advantage. The Earl's removal was quickly inserted in the Paris Gazette, with the particular notice, that he was son-in-law to the Duke of Marlborough. Their other newspapers were likewise filled with all the domestic feuds and contentions of the parties in Great-Britain, which were related with an air of triumph, and helped very much to raise the spirits of the French.

On the 8th of August, the very day after the Queen had expressed her desire to the Earl of Godolphin himself, that he would continue in her service; she dismissed him; and her letter of order to him to break his Staff was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in a livery, to be left with his Lordship's porter (3). The Queen indeed confessed to those, who expostulated with her upon this occasion, "That she was sorry for it, but could not help it." The next day it was declared that the Queen had appointed Earl Paulet, Mr. Robert Harley, Mr. Henry Paget, Sir Thomas Mansel, and Mr. Robert Benson, Commissioners of the Treasury. Though Lord Paulet was the first in form, Mr. Harley was the Person with whom the secret was lodged; and it was visible, he was the chief Minister, being at the same time made Chancellor

1710.

The French infer the Earl of Sunderland's removal in their Gazette.

The Earl of Godolphin dismissed by D. of Marl.

(1) This letter was subscribed by,

Cowper,
Godolphin,
Somers,
Newcastle,

Devonshire,
Orford,
Hallifax,
H. Boyle.

(2) The Dutch, as well as the Bank, were severely reflected upon by the Tories, for intermeddling in an affair of this nature; and at the same time, they handed about a harsh answer, which they pretended the Queen gave to Vryberg's memorial: "I am surprised a matter of this kind should come from the

States. It is the greatest insult that ever was offered to the Crown of England. However, it shall not lessen my Esteem of my Allies, nor alter my resolution in my own affairs." Those, who framed this answer, had forgot that the Queen had interposed at the Court of Vienna in favour of the Emperor's Protestant subjects, and that the Parliament had desired her to apply to the Emperor, for sending Prince Eugene to command in Spain.

(3) Boyer and others say, the Duke of Somerset was sent to demand the Treasurer's Staff.

(1) The

1710. lor and Under Treasurer of the *Exchequer*, in the room of Mr. *Smith*, who was afterwards made a Teller of the *Exchequer*. And now it appeared, that a total change of the Ministry, and the dissolution of the Parliament, were resolved on.

Sacheverell's progress into Wales.

In the mean while Dr. *Sacheverel*, being presented to a benefice in *North-Wales*, went down to take possession of it; as he passed through the counties, both going and coming, he was received and followed by such numbers, and entertained with such magnificence, that our Princes in their progresses have not been more run after than he was: Great fury and violence appeared on many occasions, though care was taken to give his followers no sort of provocation; he was looked on as the champion of the Church; and he shewed as much insolence on that occasion, as his party did folly (1). No notice was taken by the Government of all these tumultuous proceedings; they were rather encouraged than checked. All this was like a prelude to a greater scene, which was to be acted at Court.

The Parliament dissolved, and other changes in the Ministry. Burnet.

The Queen in September came to Council, and called for a proclamation to dissolve the Parliament, which Sir *Simon Harcourt* (made Attorney-General in the room of Sir *James Montague* who had quitted that post) had prepared. When it was read, the Lord-Chancellor *Cropper* offered to speak; but the Queen rising up would

admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new Parliament to be got ready. About the same time she dismissed the Lord *Sommers*, and, in his room, made the Earl of *Rocheſter* Lord-President of the Council. She sent to the Duke of *Devonſhire* for the Lord-Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of *Buckingham*. Mr. *Boyle* was removed from the post of Secretary of State, and Mr. *Henry St. John* had the Seals. The Earl of *Derby* was dismissed from being Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and was succeeded by the Lord *Berkley*. Upon all these removes, the Lord-Chancellor came, on the 23d of September, and delivered up the Great-Seal. The Queen did not expect this, and was surprized at it; and, not knowing how to dispose of it, she, with unusual earnestness, pressed him to keep it one day longer. The day following, having considered the matter with her favourites Mrs. *Masſham* and Mr. *Harley*, she received it very readily. At first she committed it to the custody of three Lords-Commissioners, Sir *Thomas Trevor*, Chief-Justice of the *Common Pleas*; Mr. *Robert Tracy*, Judge of the same Court; and Mr. *Scroop*, Baron of the *Exchequer* in *Scotland*; but it was soon after given to Sir *Simon Harcourt*. The Earl of *Wharton* delivered up his Commission of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which was given to the Duke of *Ormond* (2). The Earl of *Orford*, First Commissioner of the Admiralty, withdrew from that board;

1710.

(1) The particulars of this progress more at large were as follows: He went from London about the middle of May to Oxford, with a numerous attendance, and was welcomed and magnificently entertained by the Earl of *Abingdon*, Mr. *Charles Bertie*, Fellow of *All-Souls College*, Mr. *Rouney*, one of the Members of Parliament for that City, the Vice-Chancellor, the Heads of Houses, and most persons of distinction in the University. Here he continued the remainder of that month; and, on Thursday the first of June, set out, and came that night to Banbury, where the Mayor, Recorder, and Corporation, in their robes and formalities, with their mace before them, attended him at his inn, congratulated him upon his deliverance, making him a present of wine; and, in the evening, there were bonfires, ringing of bells, and all public expressions of joy. The next day, the Doctor dined at the Lord *Willoughby's*, and from thence went forward to Warwick, being met at a distance from the town by a body of horse, who conducted him in. The Mayor and Aldermen, with a great number of the Gentry and Inhabitants of that place, paid their respects to him at his inn, presented him with wine, and would have entertained him the day following; which he declined, and went that night to the Lord *Craven's*, and continued some days in that County. On the 12th of June, he was entertained at dinner by Sir *William Boughton*, together with the Lord *Willoughby*, Lord *Craven*, and divers other Gentlemen and Clergymen, who came to express their great joy and satisfaction to see the Doctor. Some days after he continued his progress, and, on the 23d, went thro' *Wrexham*, in the way to his living at *Salatin*, being met within a mile of the town by most of the Gentlemen in the County, and others, to the number of about two thousand. He lay that night at the House of *Gerage Shakerley*, Esq; and, next day, the Chancellor of the Diocese gave orders for his institution and induction, which was performed some days after. The Doctor having been invited to *Shrewsbury*, he went thither the 23d of July, being met at *Memford bridge* three miles from the town, by *Corbet Knafston*, Esq; Mr. *Owen*, Mr. *Cresset*, Mr. *Cresswell*, Mr. *Mitten*,

and all the neighbouring Gentlemen and others, and was conducted to *Shrewsbury* by about five thousand horse. After he had been nobly entertained there, he went to Mr. *Owen's* at *Condover*, where he was also magnificently treated; and then proceeded to *Bridge-north*, in which place he could not fail making a pompous entry, Mr. *R. Cresswell*, jun. a professed Jacobite, who designed to stand for Member of Parliament for that place, having sent a circular letter to the Clergy round about, and others who were well-wishers to the Doctor's doctrine, desiring them to accompany him into town, and favour him with their company at dinner. According to this invitation, most of the neighbouring Clergy and Gentlemen repaired to *Bridge-north* on the 5th of July; so that, when Dr. *Sacheverel* came near the town, he was met by Mr. *Cresswell*, at the head of about four thousand horse, and near three thousand foot, most of them with white knots, edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats; the hedges, two miles from the town, being dressed with flowers, and lined with people, and the two steeples adorned with fifty pounds worth of flags and colours. The Doctor being likewise invited to *Ludlow*, he repaired thither the 7th of July, being met by great numbers of men on horseback, and a vast multitude on foot, with drums beating, trumpets sounding, and colours flying; and, being conducted to the apartment prepared for him, was most magnificently entertained. But this was the last stage of the Doctor's triumph; for, expecting to be received at *Worcester* with the same honours and respects, which had been paid him in other places, he set out from *Ludlow*, in order to repair thither, but met with some flights and affronts in some towns through which he had passed. His disappointment and mortification were still more remarkable at *Worcester*. Dr. *Lloyd*, Bishop of that See, having given express orders to the Clergy of his Diocese against paying any respect to the Doctor, which were punctually obeyed.

(2) The Lord *Wharton* had held a Parliament at *Dublin* before he resigned, which he had opened the 19th of May with a speech, recommending Union among themselves, and a zeal for the *Protestant Intere-*

1710. board; but the other four Commissioners, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Mr. Dodington, and Mr. Metbuen were continued; to whom were added Sir William Drake and Mr. Aislaby. Mr. George Granville, a near relation of the Earl of Bath, was appointed Secretary at war, in the room of Mr. Robert Walpole; and Mr. Manley was made Surveyor-General, in the room of Mr. Samuel Travers; and Mr. Arthur Moore was made one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. Mr. Robert Raymond, an eminent Lawyer of Gray's-Inn, was appointed Solicitor-General in the room of Mr. Eyre, who, on the 5th of May, had kissed the Queen's hand, and been knighted, in order to be made one of the Judges of the Queen's-Bench, in the room of Sir Henry Gould, deceased; and Sir Edward Northey was made Attorney-General. Dr. Keble, Dean of Worcester, who, of late, had grown into great confidence with Mr. Harley, was nominated to succeed Dr. Hall, deceased, in the Bishoprick of Bristol; and Dr. Byss to succeed Dr. Bull deceased, in the See of St. David. The Duke of Hamilton was appointed Lord Lieutenant of the County Palatine of Lancaster; the Earl of Portmore was made Commander in chief of her Majesty's forces in Portugal in the room of the Earl of Galway; the Lord Winchelsea took the post of Lieutenant-General; and General Webb made Governor of the Isle of Wight.

So sudden and so entire a change in the Ministry is scarce to be found in our history, especially where men of great abilities had served with such zeal and success, that the administration of all affairs, both at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raised the admiration of all Europe. All this rose purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the Queen's personal dislike to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all these changes, and seemed to think she was freed from the chains, which the old Ministry held her in. She spoke of it to several persons, as a captivity which she had been long under. The Duke of Somerset had very much alienated the Queen's mind from the old Ministry; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of the Parliament, and the new model of the Ministry, that, though he continued

some time Master of the Horse, he refused to sit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices which had been used to make him instrumental to other people's designs.

On the 28th of September the Queen went to Hampton-Court, having the same day ordered the Seals to be put to a Commission for renewing the Lieutenancy of the City of London; in which several Whigs, who were in the former, were left out, and Tories put in their places. This new Commission was chiefly designed, both to prevent Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an Alderman near the chair, and Governor of the Bank (who had given offence to the Court by his application to the Queen in favour of the late Ministry) from being chosen Lord-Mayor, and to strengthen the interest of the High-Church party in the election of Parliament men for the Capital City, which generally has a great influence upon other elections. But that Commission was opened too late to have the intended Effect; for, the election for a Lord-Mayor coming on the 29th of September, according to custom, the majority appeared for Sir Gilbert Heathcote and Sir Robert Beacroft; and though a poll was demanded, and great interest made by the Tory-party for Sir Richard Hoare, yet the two first had the majority of voices; and, being on the 5th of October, returned by the Common-Hall, the Court of Aldermen, on the 11th, chose Sir Gilbert Heathcote Lord-Mayor for the year ensuing; but in this point he had but common justice done him, there having been an agreement made some years before between the Aldermen of London, to chuse him who was next the chair, to prevent animosities and disputes. On the 10th of October, the Queen's Commission for a new Lieutenancy was opened at Guild-Hall, when Sir Samuel Garrard, then Lord-Mayor, Sir Francis Child, Sir John Parsons, Sir Robert Bedingfield, Sir William Withers, and Sir Richard Hoare, were chosen Colonels of the six City-regiments. About a fortnight after the new Lieutenancy of London presented an address to the Queen, who took that opportunity to desire them, "as they had great fortunes of their own, that they would use their endeavours to support the public credit." It was expected, that this recommendation would have had a good effect, and engaged the Tory-party

The Lieutenancy of London, 1710.

Oct. 23.

A and Protestant Succession. But this did not hinder the enemies to both, from defacing the statue of King William, on the 25th of June, which had been erected by the City of Dublin, after the battle of the Boyne. They twisted the sword that was in one hand, wrested the truncheon out of the other, daubed the face with dirt, and offered it other indignities. The address, on this occasion, of the commons of Ireland, deserves to be remembered; after taking notice of the Lord Wharton's concern for their preservation from the enemies of their happy Establishment, who envied their late glorious Sovereign the honour of a statue, erected as a testimony how much was owing to their Deliverer from Popery and Slavery: They added, "His memory must be ever dear to all men, except those who desire to bring our religion, lives and properties into the same dangers from which his courage and conduct so bravely and seasonably rescued us. And such we unanimously declare all those to be, who, on any pretence whatsoever, endeavour to reflect on the justice of the late happy Revolution, the memory of God's great instrument in effecting it, or the necessary means made use of in bringing it about. Had

their most intemperate and maliciously accomplished their design, by entirely demolishing and destroying that monument of our gratitude; yet, are we persuaded, that his name would always be distinguished with honour, and continued dear to a People delivered, by him, from Popish superstition, and Popish slavery; and to whose reign we are indebted for those inestimable laws, which exclude all Popish successors, and settle the Crown upon our most gracious Queen, and the Husbands of her body, being Protestants; and, for want of such allies, on the most illustrious House of Hanover. So that if we have any true regard for her Majesty's Title, for our most Holy Religion, or for our civil Liberties, we cannot sufficiently acknowledge your Excellency's most generous care, to detect so base and barbarous a fact, nor omit any opportunity of expressing our detestation of those, whose repeated indignities, offered to the memory of our great Deliverer, are sufficient indications of their being enemies to our happy Constitution in Church and State, and of their opposition to the Pretender." The City of Dublin entered the Statue to be repaired, for which they had the thanks of the House of Commons.

1710. party in the City, either to advance money to the Government, or to use their utmost endeavours to support the public funds. But neither of these happened; and so the Bank, *East-India*, Annuities, and other Stocks continued sinking, which gave the Ministry no small uneasiness; the rather, because some bills of Exchange, drawn from *Genoa* for remittances into *Spain*, happened at this juncture to be protested. Mr *Harley*, the new Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, sent his Agents into the City, who found means to engage several rich Merchants and Bankers, particularly Mr *John Lambert*, a *French* Refugee, to supply the urgent necessities of the Government.

The election of Parliament-men.

By this time the elections for Parliament-men were over in several places; and by the first returns it appeared, that, amongst the new Members, the number of the Whigs was near equal with that of the Tories; which, as was then given out, answered the expectation and desires of the new Managers. For having gained their chief aim, which was to remove the late Lord-Treasurer and his friends, it was by many believed, that they designed to carry things even between both parties; and therefore wished only for such a Majority of the High-Church in the House of Commons, as might countenance the new scheme; and whom, on the other hand, they might easily check by means of their own creatures, if an unreasonable zeal for the Church should prompt them to make any motions against the *Toleration*. If this was the real intention of the new Ministry, or of Mr *Harley* in particular, the chief Author of the late changes; it soon appeared, that they were either mistaken in their computation, or disappointed in their wishes; and that the new Members of the High-Church party far out-numbered those of the contrary side; which, besides the influence of the Court, was owing to several other causes. For, in the first place, many of the Whig Gentlemen, who either could not be induced to believe, that the last Parliament would be dissolved, till the blow was given; or who, in case of a dissolution, thought themselves secure of being re-chosen, had neglected making an interest; whilst those, who designed to oppose them, had early taken all the necessary measures to carry their point. Secondly, the ferment, raised by Dr *Sacbeverel*'s trial, was now rather increased than abated, being industriously fomented and propagated throughout the Kingdom, in order to influence elections; which it did effectually, and in a more visible manner, in the Cities and Boroughs, through which that Divine had made his triumphant progress in the summer. Thirdly, all the inferior Clergy, a few excepted, thinking themselves attacked through the sides of Dr *Sacbeverel*, were more than ordinarily zealous and diligent in promoting the interest of such, as they thought best affected to the Church; not only without any regard to the necessary qualifications of personal merit or estate in the Candidates, but in several instances, in breach of the common duties of gratitude, strenuously opposing their very Patrons and Benefactors. Besides a course, for some months, of very inflaming sermons, they went about from house to house, pressing their people to shew, on this great occasion, their zeal for the Church, and now or never to save it. They also told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been

kept, as in captivity; and that it was a charity; as well as their duty, to free her from the power, which the late Ministry exercised over her. In the last place, there was a vast concourse of rude multitudes brought together, who behaved themselves in so boisterous a manner, that it was not safe, and in many places not possible, for those, who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a Whig. Open violence was used in several places. This was so general through the whole Kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible, that the thing had been concerted for some time, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The influence of the mob was, in a particular manner, remarkable in the election for the City of *Westminster*; where Mr *Medicot* and Mr *Cress* being set up by the High-Church party, some of those, who offered to give their voices for their Competitors, General *Stanhope* and Sir *Henry Dutton Colt*, were knocked down and wounded, which obliged many of their party to return home without polling; so the two first Candidates had a vast majority. The Whigs expected, that the election of the City of *London* would balance that of *Westminster*; and indeed, the first day of the poll, their Candidates had a considerable advantage; but such industry was used by the then Lord-Mayor and the Aldermen of the High-Church party, in bringing many Citizens upon the livery, and engaging their votes, that, upon closing the books, Sir *William Wilters*, Sir *Richard Hoare*, Sir *George Newland*, and Mr *John Calf*, all four of that party, having the majority of votes, were declared duly elected. After the poll was ended, there were extraordinary rejoicings throughout the City, by illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, &c. and the tumultuous mob were so exalted and enraged against those, who seemed not to partake in the public joy, that they broke all the windows they saw unlighted, without distinction; so that many houses of the Church-party were damaged, as well as those of the Whigs, and in particular that of Sir *Richard Hoare*, one of the four, for whose sakes these rejoicings were made. Some days before, the mob was guilty of a still greater instance of outrage; for, as Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, one of the Whig Candidates, and Lord-Mayor elect, was going out of *Guild-Hall*, they not only insulted him with reproachful language, but one of them spit in his face.

Though the Tories had boasted, that none of the Managers against Dr *Sacbeverel* would be rechosen Members of Parliament; yet, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours, that were used to prevent it, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Sir *Peter King*, Mr *Lechmere*, and Mr *Walpole*, were returned; as was also General *Stanhope* for *Cockermouth*, though he lost his election at *Westminster*: However, there were few Whigs returned, against whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about a hundred, and, by the first steps after the meeting of the Parliament, the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the House of all who were suspected to be of that party. As for the elections in *Scotland*, the sixteen Peers returned were the Dukes of *Hamilton* and *Arbuthnot*; the Marquis of *Annandale*; the Earls of *Mareischal*, *Eglington*, *Mar*, *Loudoun*, *Hume*, *Kinoulde*, *Northesk*, *Orkney*, *Roseberry*, *Illy*; the Lord Viscount *Kellie*; and the Lords *Balmoro*

1710. rino and Blantyre. And the elections of the Commons were much upon an equal foot between Whigs and Tories.

On the 30th of October, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Lord-Mayor of London, was, according to custom, sworn at the Exchequer in Westminster; but the pageantry, and some other parts of the usual solemnity, were omitted, as he well knew, he was not acceptable to the common people, some of whom were so bold as to insult him in the cavalcade. On the 6th of November, the Queen came from Hampton-Court to St James's Palace, where, the next day, she kept the general Thanksgiving, for the successes of the last campaign, in her Royal Chapel.

A remarkable advertisement.

Two days after, a remarkable advertisement, signed Henry St John, was published in the London Gazette, importing, "That, some evil-disigning persons having unfcrewed and taken away several iron bolts out of the great timbers of the West roof of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, her Majesty, for the better discovery of the offenders, was pleased to promise her most gracious pardon, and a reward of fifty pounds, to any person concerned therein, who should discover his accomplices." This advertisement occasioned the report of a plot to destroy the Queen and the Court, by the fall of the roof of St Paul's, on the Thanksgiving-day, when it was supposed her Majesty would have gone thither; which pretended screw-plot (as it was afterwards called) many of the Tories and Emisaries of the new Ministry were ready enough to charge upon the Whigs. But upon enquiry it appeared, that the missing of the iron pins was owing to the neglect of some workmen, who thought the timbers sufficiently fastened without them.

Third Parliament of Great-Britain. Pr. H. C. Mr Bromley chosen Speaker.

The Parliament being met on the 25th of November, the Commons, by direction from the Throne, proceeded to the choice of a Speaker, which, as it was generally expected, fell, without any opposition, on Mr Bromley. He had, for many years past, been chosen Members for the University of Oxford; was sure of all the votes of the Church-party, of which he had been one of the most constant and resolute leaders, particularly in the two first Parliaments of this Reign, when he brought in, and strenuously supported, the Occasional Conformity bill. Sir Thomas Hanmer and Mr Smith, formerly Speaker, and another Member, were at first proposed; but this was only to try the temper of the House; for, as soon as Mr Bromley was named, the general voice was for him. The Queen, being, on the 27th of November, come to the House of Peers, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's Speech.

"I Have, by calling this Parliament, made appear the confidence I place in the duty and affections of my subjects; and I meet you here with the greatest satisfaction, having no reason to doubt, but that I shall find such returns, as will add new life to our friends, and intirely disappoint the hopes of our enemies.

"To this end I shall recommend to you what is absolutely necessary for our common safety.

"The carrying on the War in all its parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost

1710. "vigour, is the likeliest means, with God's blessing, to procure a safe and honourable Peace for Us and all our Allies, whose support and interest I have truly at heart.

"For this purpose I must ask from you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the necessary Supplies for the next year's service: And let me put you in mind, that nothing will add so much to their efficacy, as unanimity and dispatch.

"I cannot, without great concern, mention to you, that the Navy, and other Offices, are burthened with heavy debts, which so far affect the public service, that I most earnestly desire you to find some way to answer those demands, and to prevent the like for the time to come: The justice of Parliament, in satisfying former engagements, being the certain way for preserving and establishing national credit.

"I am sensibly touched with what my people suffer by this long and expensive war, to which, when it shall please God to put an end, the flourishing condition of my subjects shall be as much my care, as their safety is at present.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The eyes both of friends and enemies are upon you. The way to give spirit to the one, and to defeat the restless malice of the other, is to proceed in such manner, as becomes a British Parliament.

"I shall, in the plainest words, tell you my intention; and I do this with the greatest satisfaction, because I depend upon their being agreeable to you.

"I am resolved to support and encourage the Church of England, as by law established:

"To preserve the British Constitution, according to the Union: And to maintain the Indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences.

"And, that all these may be transmitted to posterity, I shall employ none but such, as are heartily for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, the interest of which Family no person can be more truly concerned for than myself.

"These are my resolutions; and your concurrence with me in a steady pursuit of them, will best manifest your zeal for our Religion, for the interest of our Country, for your own Safety, and for my Honour."

The Queen, in this speech (the sentiments whereof were supposed to come from Mr Harley) took no notice of the successes of the last campaign, as she had always done in her former speeches; and it was much observed, that, instead of promising to maintain the Toleration, she had, in Sacheverel's language, said, she would maintain the Indulgence, granted by law, to scrupulous consciences. The Lords presented an address of an odd composition to the Queen, which shewed, it was not drawn by those who had penned their former addresses. Instead of promising, they would do all that was possible towards a vigorous prosecution of the war, in order to an honourable peace, they only promised to concur in all reasonable measures to that end, which seemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreasonable things might

The Lords' address. Pr. H. L. Vol. II. Burnet.

1710. be asked of them. The conclusion also was in a very cold strain of rhetoric: For they ended with saying, *They had no more to add.* The Commons were more hearty in their address, and, in the end of it, reflected on some late practices against the Church and State, in these words:

The address of the Commons.
Fr. H. C.
Vol. IV.

"These are the ends (namely, prosecution of the War, safety of the Church, indulgence to scrupulous Consciences, preservation of the Union, adherence to the Protestant Succession) truly worthy your Majesty's pursuit; and we do, with all humility, represent to your Majesty, that the most effectual way to give spirit to your friends, and defeat the restless malice of your enemies, will be, by discountenancing all persons of such principles, and avoiding all measures of such tendency, as may weaken your Majesty's Title and Government, the settlement of the Crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, and advance the hopes of the Pretender; and all other principles and measures, that have lately threatened your Royal Crown and Dignity, which, whenever they prevail, will prove fatal to our whole Constitution, both in Church and State."

But this address had but little or no effect in relation to the public funds; most of the Whigs and Monied Men, being still uneasy, whilst the Doctrine of *Absolute Passive Obedience* and of *Hereditary Right*, wholly inconsistent with the late Revolution and the *Hanover Succession*, were countenanced; not to mention their just apprehensions, that the Duke of Marlborough would be either laid aside, or made so uneasy, as to be obliged to resign his command. This jealousy was increased upon what happened, on the 28th of November, in the House of Peers, where the Earl of Scarborough having made a motion, that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Duke, some objections were raised against it by the Duke of Argyle, and the Duke of Marlborough's friends, being apprehensive, if the question were put, it would be carried in the negative, said, it would be time enough to speak to that matter, when the Duke was come home. The next day a complaint was made by the Earl of Rochester against the Lord-Keeper Harcourt, for taking upon him to introduce the Scots Lords to the Queen, being himself no Peer by Patent. But, the late Lord-Chancellor Cowper maintainings, he had a right to act as he had done, no further notice was taken of it. The Commons readily granted the supplies for the next year's service, and gave such dispatch to the Land-tax bill, that it received the Royal Assent before the short recess at Christmas.

Motion to thank the Duke of Marlborough dropped.
Fr. H. C.

The Suppliegrant ed.

Earl of Peterborough appointed to go to Vienna,

About the beginning of December the Queen appointed the Earl of Peterborough to go to Vienna, to concert measures with the Imperial Court for the vigorous prosecution of the war, particularly in Spain, which, at this juncture, seemed to be the Court's favourite project, though not generally approved. For many observed, that this was the very thing, which the French King had been aiming at in the late negotiations,

namely, to make a separate peace, exclusive of Spain, in order to carry the stress of the war into that country, where, whatever engagement he entered into, he might underhand assist his Grandson, who, having the affections of the people, might prosecute the war with great advantage over the Allies, whereby the French King would ease himself of the war in Flanders, which distressed him most, and threatened the very heart of his Dominions. About the same time Earl Rivers was sent to the Court of Hanover, from whence he was lately returned. It was also declared, that the Queen had, on the 12th of December, named Mr Richard Hill to be her Envoy-Extraordinary to the United Provinces, and to the Council of State appointed for the Government of the Spanish Low-Countries, in the room of Lieutenant-General Cadogan, who was recalled. The military men were not so surprized at this change, as when they heard, that the Commissions of Lieutenant-General Meredith, Major-General Maccartney, and Brigadier Honeywood were superseded, upon an information laid before the Queen, that these three Gentlemen had, in their cups, drank *Damnation and Confusion to the New Ministry, and to those, who had any hand in turning out of the Old* (1). Some persons, who, about this time, came over from Flanders, extenuated the crime of those three Gentlemen, averring, "they only drank a health to the Duke of Marlborough, and confusion to all his enemies;" which is usual in all armies, out of respect to the Commander in chief. But, whether this excuse was well-grounded or not, the new Ministers thought it necessary to make an example, in order to keep within bounds the Generals, and other Officers of the army, some of whom, it was said, dropped doubtful expressions of *standing by their General*. And this might administer the greater cause of suspicion at this juncture, because the design of making a General for life was laid to the charge of the Old Ministry in a pamphlet, called *Faults on both sides*, written by Mr Clements, and countenanced by some Great Men, and particularly the Earl of Peterborough. Not many days after the Earl of Hertford, son to the Duke of Somerset, was made Governor of Tinnmouth-fort, in the room of General Meredith, who, about this time, had a further mortification put upon him, his place of Gentleman of the horse to the Queen being given to Mr Conyers Darcy, brother to the Earl of Holderness. On the 13th of December the Dukes of Beaufort and Hamilton were sworn of her Majesty's Privy-Council; and, about the same time, Sir James Wisbart and Mr George Clarke were made Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the room of Mr Melbuen and Mr Doddington; and Mr Whitworth, who was Envoy to the Czar of Muscovy, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the same Court. The Queen likewise appointed the Earl of Abingdon Justice in Eyre, in the room of the Earl of Warton, and his Countess one of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber. Not many days after the Queen knighted Sir Con-

1710.

and Earl Rivers to Hanover.

Stanine

(1) Meredith's regiment was given to the Earl of Orrery; Maccartney's to Colonel Kane; and Honeywood's to Colonel Clayton. Major-General Syburg had the Lord Orrery's. The Duke of Schonberg resigned

his regiment of horse to his son the Marquis of Harwich, who had served two campaigns in Flanders as Volunteer and Aid de Camp to the Duke of Marlborough.

(1) The

1710. *stantine Phipps*, one of *Dr Sacheverel's* Counsel in his late trial, and made him Lord-Chancellor of Ireland.

The Duke of Marlborough, having embarked in *Holland*, arrived, the 28th of *December*, at *London*. Upon his entrance into the City about five in the evening, his coach was attended by a great Number of people with links and flambeaux, who by their acclamations expressed their joy at his return. The Duke thought it prudence, at this juncture, to avoid the least shew of popularity, and therefore ordered his coach, instead of driving directly to *St James's*, to go to *Montague-House*, from whence, after having rested an hour or two, he went out by a private door. Upon his arrival at *St James's*, he immediately waited upon the Queen, who discoursed with him about half an hour; after which, he retired to his apartment.

The Duke assisted at a Committee of the Privy-Council the next morning; and, afterwards, received the visits of the Earl of *Rochester*, President of the Council, the Earl *Portland*, first Commissioner of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, and other persons in the Ministry. It was, however, for many days a question with the public, whether he had any interview with Mr *Harley*, who had now the greatest share, both in the Queen's confidence, and in the management of affairs. Those, who pretended to know the secret of the Court, seemed persuaded, that the Queen had resolved to remove all coldness, that might be between them; and the event justified their conjecture.

The uncertainty, whether the Duke of Marlborough would be continued in his command in *Flanders*, cast, in the mean time, a fresh damp on the public credit. It was therefore the general wish and expectation of the most wealthy and substantial Citizens, that, in order to remove that doubt, the Duke should receive the thanks, if not of both, at least of either of the two Houses of Parliament. But the Duke's friends in the House of Peers, having already failed in one motion for it, were unwilling to attempt it a second time; especially, as they found the majority of the House inclined to pass that compliment on the Earl of *Peterborough*. And, as for his friends in the House of Commons, they found their number too small to venture to attempt it at all. For this the Duke had been prepared by the Queen, who, upon his coming over, told him, he was not to expect the thanks of the two Houses as formerly. She added, that she expected he should live well with her Ministers, but did not think fit to say any thing of the reasons she had for making those changes in the Ministry (1). However, the Duke shewed no resentments for all the ill usage he met with; and, having been much pressed by the *States* and the other Allies to continue in the command of the army, he told the Bishop of *Salisbury**, he resolved, upon that account, to be patient, and to submit to every

thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and, finding the Queen's prepossession against his Ducheys was not to be overcome, he carried a surrender of all her places to the Queen. She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes and the Privy-purse; in all which she had served with great œconomy and fidelity to the Queen, and justice to those who dealt with the Crown. The Ducheys of *Somerſet* had the two first places, and Mrs *Majham* the last.

The Queen's birth-day, Feb. 6. was this year solemnized with extraordinary magnificence; but it was observed, that the Duke of Marlborough did not appear at the festival, having, with the Queen's leave, set out four days before for *Blenheim-House*, with the Marquis de *Peschal* Governor of *Brussels*, lately come from *Flanders*, and Monsieur de *Seiffan*, on whom the Queen afterwards conferred a noble gratuity for his gallant, though unsuccessful, attempt the last summer, against *Port de Cette*, in order to assist the *Cevennois*.

During the short recess of the Parliament, the news came of the ill success in *Spain*; and, this giving an handle to examine into that part of the conduct of the late Ministry, the Queen was advised to lay hold of it; and therefore, without staying till she heard from her own Ministers or her Allies, as was usual, she laid the matter before the Parliament, as the public news brought it from *Paris*, which was afterwards found to be false in many particulars. On the 2d of *January*, Mr Secretary *St John* delivered to the Commons a message from the Queen, acquainting them, "That there had been an action in *Spain*, very much to the disadvantage of King *Charles's* affairs, which having fallen, particularly on the English forces, the Queen had immediately given directions for sending and procuring troops to repair this loss, not doubting but the Parliament would approve thereof." The like message was sent to the Lords (2); and both Houses returned their thanks for it; the Commons assuring her at the same time, "That they were perfectly satisfied in her great care; intirely depended upon her wisdom; and would effectually support her Majesty in her measures for retrieving the loss in *Spain*." And the Lords observing, "That, as this misfortune might have been occasioned by some preceding mismanagement, they would use their utmost endeavours to discover it, so as to prevent the like for the future." And they immediately entered into an inquiry concerning the affairs of *Spain*. They began it with an address to the Queen, to delay, for some days, the Earl of *Peterborough's* journey to *Vienna*, that they might make use of such lights and informations, as he was able to give them concerning those affairs. This was readily granted, and the Earl, in answer to five questions proposed to him in a Committee of the whole House, gave a long recital of the affairs of *Spain*, loading

(1) The Duke, instead of having the thanks of either House, had the mortification to see a scurrilous letter published, supposed to be sent to the Mayor of *London*, and containing, what the Author called, *Reasons why a certain great General had not the thanks of either of the two Houses of Parliament, &c.*

(2) Bishop *Ewmet* says, that, in her message, the Queen said, she hoped they would approve of the orders she had given. This (says he) was a mean expression from the Sovereign, not used in former messages, and seemed below the dignity of the Crown. II. 558.

(1) This

1710. loading the Earl of *Galway* with all the miscarriages in that war (1). And, in particular, he said, that in a Council of war in *Valencia*, in the middle of *January* 1706-7, the Earl of *Galway* had pressed the pushing an offensive war for that year; and that the Lord *Tyravley* and *Stanbope* had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive war for that year in *Spain*: He said, this resolution was carried by those three, against the King of *Spain's* own mind: and he imputed all the misfortunes that followed in *Spain*, to this resolution so taken. *Stanbope* had given an account of the debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of *Sunderland*, in answer to his letter, had wrote by the Queen's order, that she approved of their pressing for an offensive war; and they were ordered to persist in that. The Earl of *Sunderland* said, in that letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyravley*, and *Stanbope*) were the only persons that were for acting offensively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of *Peterborough's* opposition. Upon the strength of this letter, the Earl of *Peterborough* affirmed, that the whole Council of war was against an offensive war: He laid the blame, not only of the battle of *Almanza*, and all that followed in *Spain*, upon those resolutions, but likewise the miscarriage of the design on *Toulon*; for he told them of a great design, he had concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the use that might have been made of some of the troops in *Spain*, if a defensive war had been agreed to there. The Earl of *Galway* and the Lord *Tyravley* were sent for; and they were asked an account of that Council at *Valencia*. They said, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the *Portuguese* Ambassador and General, and the Envoy of the *States*, agreed with them in their opinions, for an offensive war; and they named some *Spaniards*, that were of the same mind: They also said, that all along, even to the battle of *Almanza*, in all their resolutions, the majority of the Council of war voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to persist in their opinions, by letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the words, in the Earl of *Sunderland's* letter, that spoke of them, as the only persons that were of that opinion; these were understood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's subjects, and that they re-

lated more immediately to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who opposed that resolution, but not to the rest of the Council of war; for the majority of them was of their mind (2).

As the Lord *Galway* said, his memory might have failed him in some important particulars, he desired that he might be allowed to give in writing what he had delivered by word of mouth; which being granted, he gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct from his first setting out for *Portugal*, till the time he was recalled; the other was an answer to the recital given in writing also by the Earl of *Peterborough*, with other papers (3).

After several debates (at which the Queen was present) the House of Lords was so disposed, that the majority believed every thing said by the Earl of *Peterborough*, and it was carried, 'That he had given a very faithful, just, and honourable account of the Councils of war in *Valencia*, and that the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyravley*, and General *Stanbope*, insisting in a conference held at *Valencia*, some time in *January*, 1706-7, in the presence of the King of *Spain*; and the Queen's name being used in maintenance of their opinions for an offensive war, contrary to the King of *Spain's* opinion, and that of all the General Officers and public Ministers, except the Marquis *das Minas*; and the opinion of the Earl of *Galway*, Lord *Tyravley*, and General *Stanbope*, being pursued in the operations of the following campaign, was the unhappy occasion of the battle of *Almanza*, and one great cause of our misfortunes in *Spain*, and of the disappointment of the Duke of *Savoy's* expedition before *Toulon*, concerted with her Majesty.'

From this censure on the Earl of *Galway*, The late Ministry censured. Burnet. the debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a censure on the ministry here. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the Queen, to free those, who were under an oath of secrecy, from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the House of all their consultations: The Queen granted this readily; and came to the House, which was understood to be on design to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Godolphin* and *Sunderland*, and the Lord *Cowper* shewed, that, considering the force sent over to *Spain* under the Lord *Rivers*, they thought an offensive war was advisable; that the expence of that war was so great, and the prospect was so promising, that they could not but

(1) This recital contained the facts and passages, published some years before by Dr Freind (who attended the Earl into *Spain*) in his account of the Earl of *Peterborough's* conduct. When he gave it in writing, he called it the recapitulation of his answers to the five questions propoed to him by the Lords, of which the Reader has seen great part in the Notes, Vol. III. p. 707-714, and p. 752-757. Vol. IV. p. 5-7.

(2) The Lord *Sunderland's* letter here referred to, was dated *February* 14, 1706-7, in answer to Mr *Stanbope's* of *January* 15, N. S. The substance of which was, 'That he was sorry they three only (meaning the Lords *Galway* and *Tyravley*, and Mr *Stanbope*) were of that opinion (for an offensive war); that nothing but interest could incline others to the contrary; that the dividing the army would be the ruin of all: That the Queen intirely approved what No. 65. Vol. IV.

he (Mr *Stanbope*) had done in the Council of war, as he would see more at large in the inclosed from my Lord-Treasurer: That this was so much the Queen's opinion, that she had written in the most pressing terms to King *Charles* about it: That, as for the Earl of *Peterborough's* projects in *Italy*, the less attention Mr *Stanbope* gave to them, the better. That he sent him a letter for the Earl *Rivers*, which he desired Mr *Stanbope* to deliver him, if the Earl took upon him the command of the army by the Lord *Galway's* giving it up, which however he hoped he would not do*. In * See Vol. III. 763. which last case Mr *Stanbope* was desired to burn that letter: Concluding, that the Lord-Treasurer had settled the remittances of the army, &c. Pr. H. L. II. 320.

(3) The Reader has likewise seen great part of the Lord *Galway's* two papers. Vol. III. p. 754, &c. Vol. IV. p. 5, &c. D d d

(1) The

1710. but think an offensive war necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the war. The design on *Toulon* was no way intermixed with the affairs of *Spain*; the Earl of *Peterborough* fancied he was in that secret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some troops from *Spain* on that design, and had offered a scheme to the Duke of *Savoy*, in which that was mentioned, and had sent that over to *England*. But though the Duke of *Savoy* suffered that Lord to amuse himself with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on *Toulon*; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was sacredly kept, and communicated only to those, to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No troops from *Spain* were to be employed in that service, nor did it miscarry for want of men. These Lords further said, they gave their opinions in Council, according to the best of their judgment; their intentions were very sincere for the service of the Queen, and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. However it was voted, after a warm debate, 'That it appeared by the lord *Sunderland's* letter, that the carrying on the war offensively in *Spain* was approved and directed by the Ministers, notwithstanding the design of attempting *Toulon*, which the Ministers, at that time, knew was concerted with the Duke of *Savoy*; and therefore were justly to be blamed for contributing to all our misfortunes in *Spain*, and to the disappointment of the expedition against *Toulon*. That the Earl of *Peterborough*, during the time he had the honour of commanding the army in *Spain*, did perform many great and eminent services; and, if the opinion he gave in the Council of war at *Valencia* had been followed, it might very probably have prevented the misfortunes, that had happened since in *Spain*.' The Lords of the High-Church party having, by the help of the *Scots*, who all voted on that side, carried these questions, the Earl of *Wharton* moved, that such Lords, as were against them, might enter their protests, which was readily granted (1).

Reflections
on it.

Here was a new and strange precedent of censuring a resolution taken in Council; and of desiring the Queen to order all, that had passed in Council, to be laid before the House: In all the hot debates in King *Charles* the first's Reign,

in which many resolutions taken in Council were justly censurable, yet the passing any censure on them was never attempted by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: But they understood well what our Constitution was in that point: A resolution in Council is only the Sovereign's act, who, upon hearing his Counsellors deliver their opinions, forms his own resolution: A Counsellor may indeed be liable to censure, for what he may say at that board; but the resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a silent respect; but, by this precedent, it will be hereafter subject to a Parliamentary enquiry. The Queen was so desirous to have a censure fixed on her former Ministry, that she did not enough consider the wound given to the prerogative, by the way in which it was done.

After these proceedings it was moved by the Duke of *Buckingham*, that the thanks of the House should be given to the Earl of *Peterborough*, for his remarkable and eminent services; which being ordered, the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt* addressed himself to the Earl, in a speech, wherein he obliquely reflected on the rewards that had been received by the Duke of *Marlborough*:

'Such is your Lordship's known generosity and truly noble temper, that I assure myself, the present I am now offering to your Lordship is the more acceptable, as it comes pure and unmixed, and is unattended with any other reward, which your Lordship might justly think would be an allay to it.'

The next morning the Earl set out for *Vienno*, and the Lords, not content with what had been done, entered, on the last Day of *January*, into an enquiry about the force we had in *Spain* at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, and it was found not to exceed fourteen thousand men, though the Parliament had voted twenty-nine thousand*. 'This seemed to be a crying thing, and tragical declarations were made upon it.† But, in truth, that vote had passed only in the *January* before the battle of *Almanza*, which was fought on the 14th of *April* following. Now it was not possible to levy and transport men in so short a time. It was made appear, that all the money, given by the Parliament for that service, was applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was used, both in forwarding the levies, and their transportation.

They

* See note,
p. 7.
† See note,
p. 53.

(1) The protest to the first resolution was as follows:

Dissentient

Because that, concerning the Army of the Allies in *Spain*, was to receive so great an addition of troops by the supply sent under the Earl *Rivers*, the general desire and expectation of the Kingdom to have the war brought to a speedy conclusion, and all other circumstances of the war, as it then stood, we are of opinion, that an offensive war was then fittest for those in her Majesty's service to advise; and we do not find reason, by any thing arising on the examinations and debates to be of another opinion, the occasion of fighting the battle of *Almanza* depending, as we conceive, on causes subsequent to that advice; the ill success of it, as we apprehend, being justly attributed to other manifest reasons, and the real design on *Toulon*, as finally adjusted with the Duke of *Savoy*, not requiring, as appears to us, the assistance of any forces from *Spain*.

Devonshire,
Kent,
Lincoln,
Wharton,
Godolphin,
Gilbert, *Sarum*,
Somerset,
Jo. Litchfield and *Coventry*,
S. Asaph,
Derby,
Jon. Winton,
Sunderland,
Bolton,
Bedford,
Leicester,
Stamford,
Rockingham,
Scarborough,

J. Ely,
W. Lincoln,
Jo. Landaff,
Harvey,
Rich. Peterborough,
J. Bangor,
Marlborough,
Dorchester,
Oxford,
Herbert,
Mobun,
Couper,
Abbeurham,
C. Norwich,
Bridgewater,
Derby,
Carlisle,
Berkeley.

(1) Bishop

1710. They were sent from *Ireland*, the passage from thence being safest and most speedy. All this and a great deal more to the same purpose was said, but it signified nothing (1); for, though no examination had been made, but into that single point of the numbers at *Almanza*, they came to a general vote, That the late Ministry had been negligent, in the management of the war in *Spain*, to the great prejudice of the Nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an address, and laid before the Queen: And though they had made no inquiry into the expence of that war, nor into the application of the money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their address they mentioned the great profusion of money in that service. This they thought would touch the Nation very sensibly; and they hoped the thing would be easily believed on their word. Protests were made against every vote in the whole progress of this matter: Some of these carried such reflections on the votes of the House, that they were expunged.

Never (says a certain Author *) was any thing carried on in the House of Lords so little to their honour as this was; some, who voted with the rest, seemed ashamed of it: They said, somewhat was to be done to justify the Queen's change of the Ministry; and every thing elsewhere had been so well conducted, as to be above all censure: So, the misfortune of *Almanza* being a visible thing, they resolved to lay the load there. The management of the public treasure was exact and unexceptionable; so that the single misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified; some were more easily drawn to concur in these votes, because, by the act of Grace, all those, who had been concerned in the administration, were covered from prosecution and punishment: So this was represented to some, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no person could be hurt. They loaded singly the Earl of *Galway*, with the loss of the battle of *Almanza*, though it was resolved on in a Council of war, and he had behaved himself in it with all the bravery and conduct, that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good retreat, and secured *Catalonia* with unexpressible diligence.

The Earl of *Galway* was also censured for not insisting on the point of honour in the precedence to be given to the *English* troops, as soon as the *Portuguese* army entered into *Spain*. The Earl being indisposed with the Gout, the Lords sent him a question in writing: 'Why, whilst he commanded the *British* troops in *Spain*, he gave the right to the *Portuguese*?' To this he answered, 'That, by the treaty with *Portugal*, the troops of that Crown were to have the right in their own country, and that, in order to engage them to march to *Madrid*, he was obliged to allow them the same honour, for otherwise they would never have stirred out of *Portugal*.' It is certain, if he had made the least struggle about it, the *Portuguese*, who were

not easily prevailed on to enter into *Spain*, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occasion, which such a dispute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And so, by his insisting on such a punctilio, the whole design would have been lost. We had likewise, in our treaty with them, yielded expressly the point of the flag in those seas, for which alone, on other occasions, we have engaged in wars; so he had no reason to contest a lesser point. However, the Lords thought fit to resolve, by a majority of sixty-six against forty-four, 'That the Earl of *Galway*, in yielding the post of her Majesty's troops to the *Portuguese* in *Spain*, acted contrary to the honour of the Imperial Crown of *Great-Britain*.' This was the conclusion of the inquiries made by the House of Lords, a representation of which was, in an address, presented to the Queen on the 10th of *February*.

In the mean time, the Commons were no less intent upon what seemed to be the principal business of this Session, to cast an Odium on the late Ministry. To this end, on the 3d of *January*, Mr *Harley* informed the House, that, in the examinations relating to the Navy, some very considerable abuses were discovered in the Victualling; and that a Member of the House was named therein. The Commons, after these examinations were laid before them, voted, on the 15th of *February*, "That there had been many notorious embezzlements and scandalous abuses in the management of her Majesty's brewhouse, and in contracts for furnishing beer, to the defrauding of the public, and injury of the seamen. That *Thomas Ridge* (Member of the House) having contracted to furnish five thousand five hundred and thirteen tun of beer upon his own account, and two thousand seven hundred and four tun of beer, in partnership with *Mr Dixon*, and having received bills for the whole, although he had delivered out but three thousand two hundred and thirteen tun on the first, and one thousand two hundred and sixty-nine tuns on the latter contract, be expelled the House: And that an address be presented to her Majesty, to cause *Mr Ridge* to be prosecuted for the same." However, this Gentleman was not prosecuted, but continued to serve the Navy as before; for, upon examination it appeared, that in fact the public suffered no wrong. The case stood thus: The service of the fleet had of late lain for the most part in the *Mediterranean*, where the difference of climate rendered the beer sent from hence useless; and the seamen, being not able to drink it there, required wine and water, which is ordinarily used on board the fleets in those parts. But as the Victualling-Office can, in their accounts, charge beer only, it was allowed to the seamen by the Office to take money of the Brewer, wherewith to buy wine in the *Streights*. Thus, though the beer was not delivered, and the seamen drank wine, yet the Nation paid for no more than the allowance of beer. Many other Brewers were complained of on the same account, but

(1) Bishop *Burnet* too justly observes here, When resolutions are taken up before-hand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form used to come at the question with some decency: And there was so lit-

tle of that observed at this time, that the Duke of *Buckingham* said in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make use of it, as he had observed done by others, when they had it on their side.

(1) The

1710 11. but it was plain this was only a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, when in reality there was no such thing, or at least the abuse was such, that it was suffered to go on as avowedly as ever.

*Two Lot-
teries
Burnet.
Pr. II. C.*

The money did not come into the Treasury so readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four shillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on malt: So to raise a quick Supply, there were two bills passed, for raising three millions and a half by two lotteries, the first of one million five hundred thousand pounds; and the second of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund, to answer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards, and dice, and on the postage on letters. In one branch of this, the House of Commons seemed to break in upon a rule, that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the duty upon leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a majority, and so, by their usual orders, it was not to be offered again during that Session: But, after a little practice upon some Members, the same duty was proposed, with this variation, that skins and tanned hides should be so charged; this was leather in another name. The Lotteries were soon filled up; so, by this means, money came into the Treasury; and indeed this method has never yet failed of raising a speedy supply (1). There was no more asked, though, in the beginning of the Session, the House had voted a million more than these bills amounted to; which made some conclude, there was a secret negotiation and prospect of peace.

*Lottery
of the
Palatines.
Burnet.
Pr. H. C.*

The Commons, finding the encouragement given to the *Palatines*, was displeasing to the people, resolved to inquire into that matter. In order to this, a petition was procured from the inhabitants of *St Olave* and other parishes, "Complaining of the great number of *Palatines* inhabiting in one House, whereby it was feared some contagious distemper might happen, and, having not wherewithal to subsist themselves, were likely to become chargeable to the parish!" This petition was immediately referred to the consideration of a Committee, appointed for that purpose, with instructions to inquire, "Upon what invitation or encouragement the *Palatines* came over, and what monies were expended in bringing them into Great-Britain, and for maintaining them here, and by whom paid." As the design was now formed to load the late Administration all that was possible, it was pretended, that, in the whole affair of the *Palatines*, there was a design against the Church, and, to increase the numbers and strength of the Dissenters. The Queen was addressed for the papers relating to the bringing over and subsisting the *Palatines*; and at last the House agreed to the following resolutions of their Committee, "That the inviting and bringing over into this Kingdom the poor *Palatines*, of all Religions, at the public expence, was an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the

Kingdom, and a scandalous misapplication of the public money, tending to the increase and oppression of the Poor of this Kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the Constitution in Church and State. 2. That whoever advised the bringing over the poor *Palatines* into this Kingdom, was an enemy to the Queen and Kingdom." And because a letter written by the Earl of *Sunderland*, in the Queen's name, to the Council of Trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to consider of the best methods of disposing of the *Palatines*; it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him in some severe votes. But this was put off for that time, and afterwards, by several adjournments delayed, till at last it was let fall.

While the heat, raised by this inquiry, was kept up, the Commons passed a bill to repeal the act for a general Naturalization of all Protestants, which had passed two years before; pretending that it gave the encouragement to the *Palatines* to come over, though none of them had made use of that act, in order to their Naturalization. This was sent up to the Lords; and the Lord *Guernsey*, and some others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the subject; yet, upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected, to the great joy of all the foreign Protestants. It is remarkable, if the bill was designed to prevent the *French* Refugees from enjoying the benefit of the Naturalization, it had in some measure a contrary effect: For whereas, since the passing of the act for a general Naturalization, scarce fifteen hundred of them took the advantage of it; above two thousand were naturalized after the motion for repealing it was made, till it was rejected by the Lords. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for disabling Members of the House of Commons to hold places, had also the same fate.

However, another bill for qualifying Members, by having six hundred pounds a year for a Knight of the Shire, and three hundred pounds a year for a Burgess, succeeded better: The design of this was to exclude Courtiers, Military Men, and Merchants, from sitting in the House of Commons, in hopes, that, this being settled, the land-interest would be the prevailing consideration in all their consultations. They did not extend these qualifications to *Scotland*; it being pretended, that, estates there being generally small, it would not be easy to find men so qualified capable to serve. This was thought to strike at an essential part of our Constitution, touching the freedom of elections: And it had been, as often as it was attempted, opposed by the Ministry, though it had a fair appearance of securing liberty, when all was lodged with men of estates: Yet our Gentry was become so ignorant, and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would

(1) The scheme of the lottery was drawn by Mr *John Blount*, Scrivener of *London*, who was employed by the Lords of the Treasury; which, being approved, was inserted in the lottery-bill. When it was advertised, on the 10th of *March*, that the payments would

begin to be taken in at *Moorers-Hall* on the 13th, it was found, that about two hundred and sixty-six thousand pounds had been subscribed at the Bank of *England*, above the first payment of the whole sum of one million and a half.

(1) *False*

1710-11. would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new Ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it; so it passed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our security for the future.

Another bill passed, not much to the honour of those who promoted it, for the importation of *French* wine. The interest of the Nation lay against this so visibly, that nothing but the luxury of those, who loved that liquor, could have carried such a motion through the two Houses. But, though the bill passed, it was like to have no effect; for it was provided, that the wine should be imported in natural vessels; and the King of *France* had forbid it to be exported in any vessels but his own. It seems he reckoned, that our desire of drinking his wine would carry us to take it on such terms, as he should prescribe.

In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of Tories of the highest form, who thought the Court was yet in some management with the Whigs, and did not come up to their height, which they imputed to Mr *Harley*; upon which account they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their jealousy of him on several occasions, sometimes publicly. But an odd accident, that had almost been fatal, proved happy to him. The Marquis de *Guiscard*, of whom a large account has been given *, enjoyed his pay as Colonel, till some time after the battle of *Almanza*; when that ceased, he solicited to have a settled pension in the time of the late Ministry; but his intimacy with some persons, who had been removed from their employments, particularly Mr *St John*, with whom he entered into a strict confidence and community of pleasures, did not at all promote his affair. When Mr *St John*, by the great change at Court, was advanced to the post of Secretary of State, the Marquis expected to have found a great support in him. But as all friendships, that are not grounded on virtue, are ever short-lived, the Secretary, who had some time before quarrelled with the Marquis about a mistress, or rather a child, which neither of them would own, was hardly prevailed with to speak in his favour. However, upon his faint recommendation, the Queen ordered him a pension of five hundred pounds a year; but Mr *Harley*, who never liked *Guiscard*, not only reduced his pension to four hundred pounds, but declined to have it put upon a fixed establishment. The Marquis endeavoured several times to apply to the Queen for redress; but being denied access, and highly disgusted with the usage he received from those very persons, whom he had looked upon as his intimate friends, he tried to make his peace with the Court of *France*, and, in order to that, wrote to Monsieur *Moreau*, a Banker in *Paris*. His letter being directed to a person in *Portugal*, under the cover of the Earl of *Portmore*, his Lordship, suspecting something, opened one of the packets, and, finding in it a dangerous correspondence, sent it back to his Lady, the Countess of *Dorchester*, who delivered it to Mr *Harley*; and by her means another packet, which *Guiscard* would have transmitted to *Por-*

tugal, was intercepted. It was pretended by some, that those letters contained only loose reflections on the weakness and mean capacity of the present Ministry; but, whatever was the purport of them, the Marquis was, on the 8th of *March*, apprehended in *St James's Park* for high-treason, by virtue of a warrant from Mr Secretary *St John*. He was so surprized and disordered, that he desired the Messenger, who disarmed him, to kill him: And, being brought to the *Cockpit* in the height of despair, he took the resolution to make his ruin fatal to those, who occasioned it; and, seeing in the room where he was confined a penknife, which lay among pens in a standish, he took it up unperceived by the Messengers, who watched him. A Committee of Council being summoned on this extraordinary occasion, and the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt*, the Earl of *Roche-ster*, the Dukes of *Buckingham*, *Newcastle*, and *Ormond*, Earl *Paulet*, Mr *Harley*, and the three Secretaries of State, the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Lord *Dartmouth*, and Mr *St John*, being met, the Marquis was brought before them to be examined. Mr *St John*, asked him several questions about his corresponding with *France*, to which he returned evasive answers, with an assured countenance. But when Mr *St John* asked him, Whether he knew Mr *Moreau*, Banker at *Paris*? producing, at the same time, the intercepted letters, the Marquis appeared very much surprized. Finding himself discovered, and despairing of a pardon, he resolved to put his black design in execution. It was the general opinion, that his design was to make his first attempt upon Mr *St John*; which appears the more probable, because, as soon as he thought himself in a manner convicted of the crime, for which he was apprehended, he desired to speak with him in private; but Mr Secretary told him, That was impracticable and unusual: That he was before the Committee of the Council, as a criminal; and if he had any thing to offer, it must be said to them all. The Marquis persisting in his desire to speak only to Mr *St John*, they went to ring the bell, to call in the Messengers to carry him away; which he observing, said, *That's hard; not one word* (1). Being disappointed in his design against Mr *St John*, who sat out of his reach, he stepped towards the table, as if he intended to say something to Mr *Harley*; and, stooping down, said, *Then have at thee* (2); and stabbed him about the middle of the breast; but the penknife, lighting on the bone, broke about half an inch from the handle; which *Guiscard* not perceiving, redoubled the blow, and with a great force struck Mr *Harley* not far from the first wound. When Mr *St John* saw Mr *Harley* fall, he cried out, *The villain has killed Mr Harley*; and drawing his sword immediately, as did also the Duke of *Newcastle*, and some others, they gave *Guiscard* several wounds. But when they saw Mr *Harley* get up, and heard Earl *Paulet* cry out, not to kill *Guiscard*, they gave over making passes at him. Some of the Privy-Counsellors secured themselves with chairs against the rage of the assassin, who seemed to threaten them all. Others ran out of the room to call for help; and the Messengers

(1) *Voilà qui est dur, pas un mot.*
No. 65. VOL. IV.

(2) *J'en veux donc à toi.*
E c c

1710 11. Messengers and Door-keepers having rushed in, and offering to lay hold on *Guiscard*, he struggled for a while, and overthrew some of his assailants; but, at last, *Wilcox*, one of the Queen's Messengers, a very strong man, grappled with him, and gave him several bruises, particularly one in the back, which was afterwards judged to have occasioned his death.

Mr *Harley*'s wound was presently searched, and appeared to be a very slight one, yet he was long in the surgeon's hands. Some imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice, to make it seem more dangerous than indeed it was. *Guiscard*'s wounds were deeper, and not easily managed; for at first he was sullen, and seemed resolved to die; yet after a day he submitted himself to the surgeons; but did not complain of a wound in his back till it gangrened; and of that he died. It was not known what particulars were in his letters, nor was it known what he confessed.

This accident was of great use to Mr *Harley*; for the party formed against him were ashamed to push a man, who was thus assassinated by one, that was studying to recommend himself to the Court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the Queen's person (1); whose health was at this time much shaken, she having had three fits of an ague, and the last a severe one; but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark.

The day after Mr *Harley* received his wound both Houses of Parliament agreed upon an address to the Queen, wherein they expressed their great concern for the most barbarous and villainous attempt made upon the person of Mr *Harley*; adding, 'That they had reason to believe, that his fidelity to her Majesty, and zeal for her service, had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction; and besought her Majesty to take all possible care of her sacred person; and, for that purpose, to give directions for causing Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster.' The Queen took this advice very kindly, promised to give the proper directions, according to the desire of both Houses, and recommended to them to make a law, to punish with death such villainous attempts on the lives of Magistrates in the lawful

execution of their office, though the mischiefs designed should not take effect. Upon which an act was passed this Session, 'to make an attempt on the life of a Privy-Counsellor to be felony without benefit of the Clergy.' On the other hand, a proclamation was published, *strictly to put in execution the laws against Papists*. And, when Mr *Harley* came first to the House of Commons after his recovery, he was by their order congratulated upon it by Mr *Bromley*, their Speaker, in a set flattering speech, wherein he prayed, 'That the same providence, that had wonderfully preserved him from some unparalleled attempts, and had raised him up to be an instrument of great good at a very critical juncture, when it was much wanted, might continue still to preserve so invaluable a life, for the perfecting of what was so happily begun; that they might owe to his counsels, and to his conduct, the maintenance and firm establishment of our constitution in Church and State.'

In the beginning of May, died suddenly the Earl of *Rockingham*, the Queen's Uncle, and Mr *Harley*, being rid of the only competitor in her favour, soon became Prime-Minister. Upon his recovery she created him Baron of *Wigmore*, and Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, two of the most noble titles in the English Hierarchy. The *Veres* had been Earls of *Oxford* many ages, and the title of *Mortimer* had been in the Royal Family. Preambles to patents of honour usually carry in them a short account of the dignity of the family, and of the services of the person advanced: But his preamble was very pompous, and set him out in the most extravagant characters that flatterers could invent; in particular it said, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had restored credit, and had rendered the public great service in a course of many years: All this was set out in too fulsome rhetoric, and, being prepared by his own direction, pleased him so much, that, whereas all other patents had been only read in the House of Lords, this was printed. He was also made Lord-Treasurer, (2) and he had the chief, if not the sole, direction of every thing. It soon appeared that his strength lay principally in managing parties, and in engaging weak people, by rewards and promises, to depend upon him; but that he

1711.

Death of the Earl of Rockingham. May 2. Harley made Earl and Lord-Treasurer. Burnet.

(1) For he had tried, by all the ways he could contrive, to be admitted to speak with her in private, which he had attempted that very morning. Burnet, II. 566.

(2) When, on the 1st of June, he came to take the Oaths in the Court of Chancery, the Lord-Keeper Harcourt addressed himself to him in the following speech, which surpassed even Mr *Bromley*'s:

My Lord of Oxford,

"The Queen, who does every thing with the greatest wisdom, has given a proof of it in the honours she has lately conferred on you, which are exactly suited to your deserts and qualifications.

"My Lord, The title, which you now bear, could not have been so justly placed on any other of her Majesty's subjects. Some of that ancient blood, which fills your veins, is derived from the *Veres*; and you have shewed yourself as ready to sacrifice it for the safety of your Prince, and the good of your Country, and as fearless of danger on the most trying occasions, as ever any of that brave and loyal House were. Nor is that title less suited to you, as it carries in it a relation to one of the chief seats

"of learning; for even your enemies, my Lord (if any such there still are) must own, that the love of letters, and the encouragement of those, who excel in them, is one distinguishing part of your character.

"My Lord, The high station of Lord-Treasurer of Great-Britain, to which her Majesty has called you, is the just reward of your eminent services. You have been the great instrument of restoring the public credit, and relieving this Nation from the heavy pressure and ignominy of an immense debt, under which it languished: and you are now intrusted with the power of securing us from a relapse into the same ill state, out of which you have rescued us. This great office, my Lord, is every way worthy of you; particularly on the account of those many difficulties, with which the faithful discharge of it must be unavoidably attended, and which require a genius like your's to matter them. The only difficulty, which even you, my Lord, may find insuperable, is how to deserve better of the Crown and Kingdom after this advancement, than you did before it."

1711. neither thoroughly understood the business of the Treasury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he trusted to his interest in the Queen, and her favourite Mrs *Masham*.

A design against King William's grants mis-carries. Burnet. Pr. H. L. The Tories still continued to pursue the memory of King *William*; they complained of the grants made by him, though these were far short of those, that had been made by King *Charles* the 1st; but that they might distinguish between those, whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were set, they brought in a bill, empowering some persons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the considerations upon which they were made: This was the method, that had succeeded with them before, with relation to *Ireland*; so the bringing in this bill was looked on, as a sure step, for carrying the resumption of all the grants, that they had a mind to make void. When the bill was sent up to the Lords, the design appeared to be an unjust malice, both against the memory of King *William*, and against those who had best served him; and therefore, upon the first reading, the bill was rejected (1).

Inquiries into the public accounts. Burnet. Pr. H. C. The Commons turned their malice next against the Earl of *Godolphin*. A Committee (of which, Mr *Edward Harley*, Auditor of the Imprest was Chairman) having been appointed to inquire how far the several Imprest Accountants had passed their respective accounts; the Commons found by their report, that the Supplies given by Parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet passed in the *Exchequer*; therefore they passed a vote, 'That of the monies granted by Parliament, and issued for the public service to *Christmas* 1710, there remains unaccounted for, the sum of above thirty-five millions, for great part of which no account has so much as been laid before the Auditors, and the rest not prosecuted by the Accountants and finished.'

This was a vast sum; but, to make it up, some accounts in King *Charles*'s time were

thrown into the heap; the Lord *Ranelagh*'s accounts of the former reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were so regularly brought up, as in the Queen's reign. Mr *Bridges*'s accounts, of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great item, of which, not above half a million was passed: But there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not passed in form, through the great caution and exactness of the Duke of *Newcastle*, at whose office they were to pass; and he was very slow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counsel on every article. The truth is, the methods of passing accounts were so sure, that they were very slow; and it was not possible, for the proper officers, to find time and leisure to pass the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the Earl of *Godolphin* had managed the Treasury, with an uncorruptedness, fidelity, and diligence, that were so unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any censure on his administration; yet, because many accounts stood out, the Commons passed several angry votes on that subject: But, however, since nothing had appeared in all the examination made by the Committee, that reflected on him, or on any of the Whigs, they would not publish the report, though it was ordered to be printed*, for by that it would * See Pr. H. C. IV. 206. have appeared who had served well, and who had served ill (2).

In the beginning of *April*, the Dauphin of *The Empire* and the Emperor *Joseph* both died of the small-pox. When notice came of the Emperor's death, the Queen sent, on the 20th of *April*, a message to both Houses, importing, "That she had come to a resolution to support the interest of the House of *Austria*, and to use her utmost endeavours to get the King of *Spain* made Emperor: That the *States-General* had concurred with her Majesty; and that she had taken the most proper measures to engage all those, who had a share in this election, and were in the interest of the common

(1) The Commissioners to examine the Grants appointed by the Commons, were, Mr *Hind-Cotton*, Sir *Simon Stuart*, Mr *Everysfield*, Mr *Baltesel*, Mr

Hewetson, Mr *Blackmore*, and Mr *Wrightson*. Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

(2) Mr *Mogynwaring*, the other Auditor of the Imprest, has given the true state of these thirty-five Millions, the chief articles of which are as follow:

The Earl of <i>Ranelagh</i> 's charge is	—	—	—	—	l.	s.	d.
Discharge,	—	—	—	—	21,015,618	19	4½
By accounts actually paid,	—	—	—	—	14,593,665	4	2½
By accounts rendered or lying before the Auditors,	—	—	—	—	6,420,182	6	8½
					21,013,847	10	10½
Remains to be accounted for					l.	s.	d.
					1,771	8	6
The Hon. <i>James Brydges</i> , Esq; his charge is	—	—	—	—	15,374,689	1	11½
Discharge,	—	—	—	—	956,789	6	5½
By accounts actually paid	—	—	—	—	8,097,492	8	7½
By accounts rendered or lying before the Auditors,	—	—	—	—	9,054,281	15	00½
By accounts delivered since <i>Christmas</i> , 1710,	—	—	—	—	3,227,778	2	6
Remains to be accounted for					3,092,629	4	5
Lord <i>Falkland</i> 's charge is	—	—	—	—	3,094,723	7	11½
Discharge,	—	—	—	—	1,122,133	5	11
By accounts actually paid,	—	—	—	—	1,465,368	5	3½
By acc ^t lying before the Auditors,	—	—	—	—	2,587,501	11	2½
Remains to be accounted for					507,221	16	8½

Sir

1711. "mon cause, to join with her in bringing this great work to a good issue: And she had an intire confidence in the affection and duty of her Parliament, that, with their assistance, she should be enabled to make a happy conclusion of the war in a safe and honourable peace." This produced a joint address from both Houses in almost the same language as the message, both which are the more remarkable, as the message gave some intimation of the project, which the new Ministry formed upon the death of the Emperor, and which they afterwards published, to make a treaty with the Emperor and the West-Indies to King Philip; not only because the regaining of them for King Charles was attended with insuperable difficulties, but also because, in their opinion, the same, if practicable, would destroy the balance of Europe, the settling of which was the chief aim of the Grand Alliance. And, both Houses of Parliament having, in that address, shewn a disposition to approve any measures which her Majesty should think proper to procure a peace, the Ministry thought themselves armed with sufficient authority to pursue their scheme.

An act for
the South-
Sea trade.
Barnet.
Pr. H. C.

The last thing settled by the Parliament, was the creating a new fund for a trade with Spain. The Commons, on the 20th of January, had appointed a Committee to examine the debts of the Navy; and, about two months after, they reported, that these debts amounted to above five millions. This great debt upon the Navy was occasioned partly by the deficiency

of the funds appointed for the service at sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying such supplies as were given, without appropriating clauses, to the service abroad, where it was impossible to carry it on by credit, without ready money; by which means it had risen up to so many millions, and the discount on Navy-bills was very high (1). All the debts, which were thrown into one Stock, amounting in the whole to 9,471,325*l.* and a fund was formed for paying an interest or annuity of 6 per cent. till the principal should be paid, which interest amounted to the annual sum of 568,279*l.* 10*s.* For the raising of this sum, all the duties upon wines, vinegar, and tobacco, India goods, wrought silks, whale-fins, &c. were, after the year 1716, continued for ever, and till then the Parliament was to make an annual provision for the interest. With this fund was also granted the monopoly of a supposed trade to the South-Sea or coast of Peru in America; the several proprietors of the Navy-bills, Debentures, and other public securities, being to be incorporated for that purpose. This grant may justly be called chimerical, since the projector knew he was entering upon a negotiation of peace, which, by the cession of Spain and the West-Indies, would for ever exclude the English from the privileges of trading to Peru and Mexico. Accordingly instead of such trade, King Philip, upon the conclusion of the peace, gave the pre-
carious

Sir Thomas Littleton's charge is — — — 18,382,750 1 5 ¹			
By accounts actually paid, or ready for declaration,	7,559,382	5	3 ¹
By accounts lying before the Auditors, under the examination of the Navy-Board, and by money paid over to R. Walpole, Esq;	10,770,179	19	0
}			
18,329,531 2 4			

Remains to be accounted for — 53,187 17 11

In the same manner he states the accounts of *Mintons, Snitting, Mazon, Povey, Munksworthy, and Savery*; by which it appears, that, of the thirty-five millions, above thirty millions were accounted for, though not all paid, and that the total to be accounted for amounted only to 4,330,135*l.* which, Mr. Munksworthy observes, was much short of a year's Supply. He says further on this subject, "No Accomptants could be found, who were to render in account under fifteen months, nor some under eighteen; yet this vote takes in all accounts to the first meeting of the Committee; but there is no mention made from what period of time they did commence. To have been particular, in every respect, was too much for the compass of a vote; so that there are accounts from King Charles, King James, and King William's Reigns, in the principal branches of the expence in all the revenue brought in, to make up and swell the general account; and this is, by many thousands of people, without doors, imputed to the late Ministers. He then exposes the partiality of the House of Commons, of which he was himself a Member, in ordering so unjust a vote to be printed: Adding, "And now if I may be allowed to suppose what I think I have fully proved, that many irregularities, and unavoidable delays, attend the passing of some accounts, which no care or industry can prevent. If it happen, that the nature of the services, and the method of payment in some offices, being inconsistent with the course of the Exchequer, require Privy-Seals, and are the work of longer time than is limited for pay-

ing accounts; if it appears, that these irregularities, incident to accounts, are yet necessary for the accommodation of the service, and not to be avoided without infinite prejudice to the management; and if it appears, that the security of the public does not entirely depend upon the actual passing of accounts, provided they have been daily rendered, *all which he fully makes out*, I hope people will begin to be satisfied, that the Nation has not been cheated of thirty-five millions."

(1) A full account of this matter was soon after published in a letter about the debts of the Navy, by which it appeared, that the public money had been managed with the utmost fidelity; and it was made evident, that, when there was not money enough to answer all the expence of the war, it was necessary to apply to that which pressed: So this debt was contracted by an inevitable necessity, and all reasonable persons were fully satisfied with this account of it. The Author of the letter thus shews the reasonableness of including the Extra-Services in the accounts of the Navy (besides which, he makes the charge upon the late Ministers to amount only to a little above five thousand pounds) "I must (says he) make one observation more to you: That as the debts of the Navy have annually increased, an annual account of it has been laid before the House of Commons, who were constantly informed how far the provision, made for the preceding year, had fallen short of answering the expence; but being sensible, that the more pressing Supplies were as much could be well raised within the year, they still thought it more advisable to leave the extraordinary charges as a grow-

1711. carious licence to send a ship or two thither yearly, limiting them both as to tonnage and value of cargo. This scheme produced what is called the *South-Sea Company* (1).

The flatterers of the new Ministers made great use of this to magnify them, and to asperse the old Ministry. But the Earl of *Godolphin*'s unblemished integrity was such, that no imputation of any sort could be fastened on him; and therefore, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expence he had run the Nation into, upon the early successes in 1706, which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the succeeding Session, as hath been related. But that affair was now revived, and it was said to be an invasion of the great right of the Commons in giving supplies, to enter on designs, and to engage the Nation in expence not provided for by Parliament. This was aggravated with many tragical expressions as a subversion of the Constitution; and at the end of the Sessions an inflaming representation about this and the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet passed, was presented by the Commons to the Queen, wherein they tell her, 'That they had not only raised the necessary supplies, but discharged the heavy debts so long and so justly complained of, and traced the causes thereof: That in several years the service had been enlarged beyond the bounds prescribed by Parliament: That the surplusage of some funds had not been applied to answer the deficiency of others; but other uses were found out, such as were neither voted nor addressed for by Parliament, which therefore we judge a misapplication of publick money. The debt of the Navy has arisen from a liberty, that has been taken of transferring money, issued for that service, to other uses, particularly for provisions for the land-forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*. To this we must add, the many notorious embezzlements in your Majesty's brew-house; and that the Com-

missioners for victualling have been guilty of great negligence; that the Receivers of the land-tax were not obliged to make due and punctual payments.' Then they added, 'Thus far have we proceeded in discovering some of those causes, which have brought so great a weight of debts upon the Nation; and we might have made a much greater progress in our inquiries, if the accounts of the publick money had been regularly passed; but, to our great surprize and concern, we find, "That they, who of late years have had the management of your Majesty's Treasury, and ought to have compelled the several Accomptants duly to pass their respective accounts, have been guilty of so notorious a breach of trust, and of so high an injustice to the Nation, that of the monies granted by Parliament, and issued for the publick service to *Christmas* 1710, there remains unaccounted for the sum of thirty-five millions, three hundred and two thousand, one hundred and seven pounds; for a great part of which no accounts have so much as been laid before the Auditors: And for the rest, though some accounts have been brought in, yet they have not been prosecuted by the Accomptants and finished." This has made it impracticable for us to arrive at so exact a knowledge of the State of the Nation, with regard to the publick money, as we wished, and might have expected; and your Majesty will please to consider, in such an immense sum unaccounted for, how many embezzlements may be concealed, and how justly it is to be suspected, that so scandalous a remissness has been allowed with no other design. We humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will give immediate and effectual directions for the compelling the several Imprest Accomptants speedily to pass their accounts; and, in the mean time, we humbly hope your Majesty will approve the resolution of your Commons, "That such of the Accomptants, who have

1711.

The representation of the Commons at the end of the Session. Pr. H. C. IV. 217.

ing debt, than to increase the public burden upon the people, by enlarging the usual provisions for the Navy. And in the Parliament before the last, a full account of the Navy-debt being called for, the late Ministers were so far from being blamed upon this subject, that, after a full consideration, and long debate about the causes and methods of contracting that debt, the House came to a resolution in their favour, and went as far in approving their conduct and management, as any subsequent Parliament has gone in censuring them: And, when the justice of two different Parliaments comes to be the question, I must not take upon me to determine between them, but will only make this short remark: That, from such time, at least, as the sense of the House was known upon this occasion, the late Ministry cannot be thought blameable for proceeding in their usual method, when they were supported by authority and approbation of Parliament.'

(1) The particulars of the debts and deficiencies, that were thus incorporated, were as follow:

	l.	s.	d.
The debt of the Navy	5,130,539	5	5
The debt of the Ordnance	154,324	15	8½
For Transport-service	424,791	5	4½
An army and transport-debenture, to Sept. 29, 1710	1,018,656	17	9½
Deficient tallies and orders on 9 Will. 3, c. 13, and another act, 1 Ann., for laying duties on coals	12,025	1	0

No. 65. Vol. IV.

	l.	s.	d.
Debts between Sept. 29, 1710, and Dec. 25, 1710, in the Offices of the Navy, Victualling, and Transport	378,859	5	8½
On subsidies to the E. of Hanover and D. of Zell	9,375	0	0
The interest of the said debts as carry interest, from Dec. 25, 1710, to Dec. 25, 1711	85,000	0	0
For money lent pursuant to an act, 8 Ann., c. 13, to raise money for the year 1710	1,296,552	9	11½
For interest due on the same, March 25, 1711	74,875	19	1½
All these amount to	8,585,000	0	0
The interest of this sum from March 25, 1711, to Dec. 25, 1711, at six per cent.	386,325	0	0
To be raised for the service of the year 1711	500,000	0	0
The whole stock	9,471,325	0	0

For payment of the interest of this stock at six per cent. the continuation of the general mortgage, from 1716, was granted to raise the annual sum of five hundred and sixty-eight thousand, two hundred and seventy-nine pounds, ten shillings.

F f f

1711.

"neglected their duty in prosecuting their accounts, ought no longer to be intrusted with receiving the publick money." From all these evil practices, and waste designs of some persons, who had, by false professions of love to their country, insinuated themselves into your Royal favour, irreparable mischief had accrued to the publick, had not your Majesty, in your great wisdom, reasonably discovered the fatal tendency of such measures; and, out of your singular goodness to your people, removed from the administration of affairs, those who had so ill answered the favourable opinion your Majesty had conceived of them, and in so many instances grossly abused the great trust reposed in them. Your people could, with greater patience, have suffered the manifold injuries done to themselves, by the frauds and depredations of such evil Ministers, had not the same men proceeded to treat your sacred person with undutifulness and disregard; but as the interests of your Majesty and your People are inseparable, and are, by your Majesty and your good Subjects, inseparably pursued, the wrong, which those men had done to the publick, drew upon them your Royal displeasure; and their irreverence towards your Majesty justly exposed them to the indignation of your people.

This representation was artfully spread through the nation, by which weaker minds were possessed, that it was not easy to undeceive them, even by the fullest and clearest evidences; the Nation seemed still infatuated beyond the power of conviction.

The Parliament is prorogued.

On the 12th of June the Queen came to the House of Peers, and, having given the Royal assent to ten publick and seven private bills, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's speech to both Houses.
F. H. C.

"I T is with great pleasure I tell you, at the end of this Session, that you have fully made good all the assurances you gave me at the beginning of it.
"This I look upon as a further pledge of my subjects duty and affection, which is the firmest support of my Throne.
"I thank you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, in a particular manner for what you have done. You have complied with my desire in granting a supply for building many new Churches, and you have not only enabled me to carry on the war, but have made effectual provision for paying those heavy debts, which were almost grown an insupportable burthen to the public; and this at a time, when our enemies every where pleased themselves with the hopes, that the supplies for the service of the current year could not have been found. You have disappointed them in all respects; and by the great sums you have raised, the greatest ever granted to any Prince in one Session, you have restored the public credit, which I will take care to preserve by a frugal management.
"The world must now be satisfied, that nothing can be too difficult for a Parliament, filled with so much zeal for the true interest of the nation in Church and State.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The satisfaction I take in the power, with

"which God has intrusted me, is to employ it for the protection and good of all my people, whose prosperity I have as much at heart, as ever any of my predecessors had.

"You see the happy effects of a mutual confidence between me and my Subjects. I shall look upon any attempt to lessen it, as a step towards dissolving my Government.

"The temper you have shewn, will, I hope, convince those, who have the misfortune to differ from our Church, that their Liberty is not in danger.

"It is needless for me to repeat the assurances of my earnest concern for the Succession of the House of Hanover, and of my fixed resolution to support and encourage the Church of England, as by law established.

"You are now returning to your several countries; and I expect from you, that you will further recommend yourselves to me, by studying to promote the public peace and quiet."

At the close of this speech, Lord-Keeper *Barnet.* *Harcourt* prorogued the Parliament to the 10th of July. Thus ended this Session, and all considering persons had a melancholy prospect, when they saw what might be apprehended from the two Sessions, that were yet to come of the same Parliament.

The Convocation was opened the 25th of November, the same day in which the Parliament met; and Dr *Atterbury*, in preference to Dr *Kennet*, was chosen Prolocutor by a great majority. The Queen sent a letter to the Archbishop, dated December 12, in which she signified her hopes, that the consultations of the Clergy might be of use to repress the attempts of persons of loose and prophane principles, and prevent the like for the future: And promised she would give them all fitting encouragement, to proceed in the dispatch of such business as properly belonged to them, and grant them such powers as should be thought requisite for carrying on so good a work; confiding in them that her Royal intentions would not be frustrated, by unreasonable disputes about unnecessary forms and methods of proceeding. Soon after the Queen sent a licence by the Lord *Dartmouth*, under the Broad-Seal, to sit and do business in as ample a manner as was ever granted since the Reformation. By this licence, the Queen empowered them to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the Church required, and particularly to consider of such matters as she should lay before them, limiting them to a *Quorum*; that the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, or the Bishop of Bath and Wells, should be present, and agree to their resolutions: With this licence, there was a letter directed to the Archbishop, in which the Convocation was ordered, to lay before the Queen an account of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy among us; and to consider how to redress abuses in excommunications; how rural Deans might be made more effectual; how Terriers might be made and preserved more exactly; and how the abuses in licences for marriage might be corrected.

In this whole matter, neither the Archbishop nor any of the Bishops were so much as consulted with; and some things in the licence were new: The Archbishop was not named the Pre-
Exception to the licence.

fixant

1711. sident of the Convocation, as was usual in former licences; and, in these, the Archbishop's presence and consent alone was made necessary, except in case of sickness, and then the Archbishop had named some Bishops to preside, as his Commissaries: And, in that case, the Convocation was limited to his Commissaries, which still lodged the presidentship and the negative with the Archbishop: This was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the Clergy of a province to do nothing, without the consent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the Archbishop. So a report of this being made, by a Committee that was appointed to search the records, it was laid before the Queen: And she sent the Bishops a message to let them know, that she did not intend that those, whom she had named to be of the *Quorum*, should either preside, or have a negative upon their deliberation, tho' the contrary was plainly insinuated in the licence. The Archbishop was so ill of the gout, that after their first meetings he could come no more: So was also the Bishop of London; upon which the Bishop of Bath and Wells, seeing how inviously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health, and the Convocation was at a stand, till a new licence was sent them, in which the Bishops of Winchester, Bristol, and St Davids, were added to be of the *Quorum*. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the Church before: So the Queen not only passed over all the Bishops made in King William's Reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief Minister; and, because the other Bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former Ministry, it was thought fit to put marks of the Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear, with whom her Royal favour and trust was lodged.

A representation drawn for the Queen. The Convocation entered on the consideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen: And a Committee was appointed to draw a representation of the present state of the Church, and of Religion among us; but, after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a most virulent declamation, defaming all the Administration from the time of the Revolution: Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The Lower-House agreed to his draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another representation to be drawn in more general and more modest terms. It was not settled, which of these draughts should be made use of, or whether any representation at all should be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the design in asking one was only to have an aspersi-

cast, both on the former Ministry and on the former Reign. Several provisions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's letter: But none of these were agreed to by both Houses (1).

An incident happened, which diverted their thoughts to another matter. Mr *Whiston*, the Mathematical Professor in Cambridge, a learned man, of a sober and exemplary life, but much addicted to search after Paradoxes, endeavoured to revive the *Arian Heresy**, though he pretended to differ from *Arius* in several particulars. He found his notions favoured by the *Apostolical Constitutions*; so he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the Canon of the Scriptures. For these tenets he was censured at Cambridge, and expelled the University: Upon that he wrote a vindication of himself and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promising a larger work on these subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the Bishop of the Diocese, in which he lived, should cite him into his Court, in order to his conviction or censure, from whose sentence an appeal lay to the Archbishop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a Court of audience. But there were no clear precedents of any proceedings in Convocation, where the jurisdiction was contested, a reference made by the High-Commission to the Convocation, where the party submitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in history, and even of this there was no record: So that, it not being thought a clear warrant for their proceeding, the Bishops were at a stand. The act, that settled the course of appeals in King Henry the Eighth's time, made no mention of sentences in Convocation; and yet, by the act in the first of Queen Elizabeth, that defined what should be judged Heresy, that judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbishop laid before the Bishops in a letter, that he wrote to them on this occasion) it seemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the first instance, proceed against a man for Heresy: And their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a *Præmunire*. So the Upper-House, in an address, prayed the Queen to ask the opinions of the Judges, and such others as she thought fit, concerning these doubts, that they might know how the law stood in this matter.

Eight of the Judges, with the Attorney and Solicitor-General (*Northey* and *Raymond*) gave their opinion, that the Convocation had a jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but brought no express law or precedent to support their opinion. They only observed, that the law-books spoke of the Convocation, as having jurisdiction; and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: They were also of opinion, that an appeal lay from the sentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they reserved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case, upon an argument that might be made for a pro-

1711. *Whiston reviews Arianism.*

* See note III. 521.

Different opinions about the Power of the Convocation.

(1) During these proceedings died Dr *Aldrich*, Dean of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*. He was a polite and learned Divine, and a warm Stickler for the Church and Hereditary Right. His zeal, in those respects, had

made him descend so low, as to apply himself to the contriving of the hieroglyphical figures of the *Oxford Almanack*, with allusions in favour of the Pretender.

(1) Dr

1711. a prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the Judges were positively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the Statutes made at the Reformation. The Queen, having received these different opinions, sent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two Houses of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of their jurisdiction, she did expect that they should proceed in the matter before them. In this it was visible, that they, who advised the Queen to write that letter, considered more their own humour, than her honour. However, two doubts still remained, even supposing the Convocation had a jurisdiction: The first was, Of whom the Court was to be composed, whether only of the Bishops, or what share the Lower-House had in this judiciary authority: The other was, By what Delegates, in case of an appeal, their sentence was to be examined: Were no Bishops to be in the Court of Delegates? Or was the sentence of the Archbishop and his twenty-one Suffragan Bishops, with the Clergy of the Province, to be judged by the Archbishop of York and his three Suffragan Bishops? These difficulties appearing to be so great, the Bishops resolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's licence, an undisputable authority: which was to examine and censure the book, and to see if his doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the first four General Councils, which is the measure set by law, to judge Hereby. They drew out some propositions from his book, which seemed plainly to be the reviving of *Arianism*; and censured them as such. These they sent down to the Lower-House, who, though they excepted to one proposition, yet censured the rest in the same manner. This the Archbishop (being still disabled by the gout) sent by one of the Bishops to the Queen for her assent, who promised to consider of it: But she did not send an answer till the Convocation came to an end; neither, at their next meeting the winter following, did any answer come from her, and therefore, two Bishops being sent to ask it, she could not tell what was become of the Archbishop's paper; so a new extract of the censure was again sent to her; but she did not think fit to send any answer, and *Woburn's* affair remained undecided, though he published a large work in four Volumes Octavo, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining the Canonicalness of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, preferring their authority not only to the *Epistles*, but even to the *Gospels*. But, in this last point, he has made no Profelytes, though he has used his utmost efforts to support it.

The Lower-House would not enter into the consideration of the representation, sent down to

them by the Bishops; so none was agreed on, 1711. to be presented to the Queen: But both were printed, and severe reflections were made, in several tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower-House, or rather by *Atterbury*. The Bishops went through all the matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a scheme of regulations on them all: But neither were these agreed to, by the Lower-House; for their spirits were so exasperated, that nothing sent by the Bishops could be agreeable to them.

The parish of *Greenwich* having petitioned A bill for the House of Commons for assistance in rebuilding their Church, a Committee was appointed to examine the petition, and an instruction was given them to consider what Churches were wanting within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*. Upon this, the Lower-House of Convocation sent a solemn message by their Prolocutor to the Commons, to thank them for this instance of their regard to the welfare of the Established Church, and to offer such lights, as they were able to afford in relation to the extreme want of Churches in *London* and *Westminster*. The Commons immediately resolved, That they would receive all such informations, as should be offered in this case, by the Lower-House of Convocation; and would have a particular regard to such applications, as should at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation assembled, according to the ancient usage, together with the Parliament. Pursuant to this resolution, quickened by a recommendation from the Queen (who had been addressed by the Convocation) they passed a bill for the building fifty new Churches, and gave the duty of one shilling a chaldron upon coals, from September 29, 1716, to September 29, 1719, for raising the sum of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds for that purpose. This duty had been reserved for building *St Paul's*, which was now finished. This was the least that could be expected from a House of Commons, chosen, in great measure, by the zeal and influence of the Clergy, especially, as it was apparent, that, in the Suburbs of *London*, there were above two hundred thousand people more than could possibly resort to the Churches already built. Soon after this, the Session of Parliament and Convocation both came to an end.

The Duke of *Marlborough* being continued The Duke in the command of the *British* forces in *Flanders* inclined many to hope, that a reconciliation was effected between him and the new Ministry. But this was so far from being the case, Hist. of Europe.

that there was no longer any confidence between him and those that managed affairs at Court; and consequently little was to be expected from the continuation of the war, when the chief Conductor of it was in so uneasy a situation (1). How-

(1) Dr *Hart*, the Duke of *Marlborough's* Attendant Chaplain, then in *Flanders*, and who was in his secrets, describes the Duke's situation in the following manner:

“That little more harmony was to be expected between two rivals in power, than between a falling and a rising Favourite. Some persons, says he, would still pretend to put a good face upon the matter, and do not question, from the Duke of *Marlborough's* past successes, that he will yet frighten our enemies into an honourable peace. But, I am afraid, he is not likely to

do so much at this time, when the enemy are encouraged to take heart afresh; the Allies are full of jealousies and fears, and himself extremely mortified. Things are not the same, any more than the usage he meets with. When he is uneasy in his thoughts, undetermined in the favour of his Sovereign, and vilely misrepresented to the people; when his want of interest at home makes it impossible for the Allies to depend upon the hopes he gives them; when he is without authority in the army, where it is made criminal to espouse his interest; and to fly in his face is the surest means

1711. However, to carry matters on the more smoothly, the Queen wrote a kind letter to the States about the Duke, whose conduct she declared herself to be intirely satisfied with; and assured them, that, according to their desires, she would order the Duke forthwith to go over to Holland. Accordingly, on the 18th of February, he set out from St James's, with a positive assurance, that the payment of the troops under his command would be as effectually taken care of by the new Ministers, as it had been by the old; and, embarking at Harwich the next day, arrived at the Hague on the 4th of March, N. S. to the great satisfaction of the States.

While all things were preparing on both sides for the opening of the campaign, many consultations were held on several weighty affairs, particularly in relation to the assembling a body of troops, to preserve the neutrality of the Empire, which was in imminent danger of being broke by the King of Sweden's refusing to come into the measures already agreed on for that purpose. After several Conferences it was resolved, that her Britannic Majesty and the States-General should employ in that service the eight Palatine battalions in their pay, and provide the other four, that would be still wanting to complete their quota's, where they might best be spared, without affecting the common cause.

There was, at this juncture, another affair of no small consequence in agitation at the Hague. For when the Allies expected to hear, that the King of Prussia's troops were on their march into the field, that Prince's Ministers declared, that, unless their Master had full satisfaction given him, as to the Arrears due to his forces, and the Succession of the late King William, as Prince of Orange, his troops should not march out of their winter-quarters. The Allies were somewhat surprized at this unexpected declaration; but, the Deputies of the States having had several Conferences with the Prussian Ministers, an agreement was concluded, containing in substance, "that the Arrears should be paid in four months time: That, notwithstanding the House of Dieren had been adjudged, by sentence of a court of Judicature, to the House of Nassau, the States consented, that his Prussian Majesty should continue to make use of it: And that the Council, who had administered the revenue of the succession of Orange, since the death of the late King, should be obliged speedily to give an account of the same." As soon as the Deputies had made this Declaration, the King of Prussia approved of the agreement, and his troops began their march for the Netherlands.

The Duke of Marlborough expected with great impatience the arrival of Prince Eugene, who was for some time detained at Vienna by the coming of a Turkish Aga, with a particular Commission from the Ottoman Port, to remove any jealousy, that might be entertained at the Imperial Court, from the warlike preparations, which the Turks were making at this time against

Muscovy and Poland. In the mean while the Duke was daily in Conference with the Deputies of the States, to concert the operations of the war; and, it being thought of the utmost importance to be in the field before the enemy, it was resolved, to cause detachments from all the garrisons to canton along the Scarpe, and between that river and the canal of Droway, whereby a great body might in a few hours be formed, and ready to march; which, with great diligence and secrecy, was put in execution, under the direction of Lieutenant-General Cadogan.

On the other hand, the French forces beginning about the middle of April to assemble near Cambray and Arras, the Duke set out from the Hague, and arrived in three days at Tournay, near which place the troops were incamped in several bodies. At a Council of war, it was resolved, that these troops should join, and form the army; which was done at Orchies, between Lille and Droway. The next day the Duke of Marlborough passed the Scarpe, and incamped between Droway and Boucbain, and found, that the enemy had assembled a numerous army behind the Samsel, in a most advantageous post, which was judged inaccessible. Nothing material happened till the 9th of May, when three thousand French, detached from Valenciennes and Condé, attacked a convoy of forty-five boats, laden with hay and oats, which set out for Tournay under a guard of two battalions commanded by Brigadier Chambrier. But, the garrison of St Amand advancing to the assistance of the guard, the enemy retired, having first set on fire twelve of the boats, with the loss of about an hundred men killed and wounded; and the Allies lost about the same number.

The Duke of Marlborough continued in his camp, where he expected the rest of the troops, which were to form his army, and the arrival of Prince Eugene. That Prince was obliged to stay some days at Frankfurt, to concert with the Elector of Mentz the necessary measures for the security of the empire, upon the unexpected death of the Emperor Joseph; after which he proceeded to the Court of the Elector Palatine, to regulate several matters with that Prince, who, as one of the Vicars of the Empire, was to have the chief administration thereof during the Interregnum. By this means Prince Eugene did not join the grand army till the 23d of May. The Duke and Prince were resolved to continue in their camp as long as possible, in hopes that the scarcity of forage would oblige the enemy to decamp; for, after the several attempts, that were made at the post of Arleux, which was taken and retaken, there was no likelihood to force their lines.

In the mean time the French hoping, that the Elector of Bavaria had many friends in the Empire, who would declare for him; and believing, that the Germans, being deprived of their General in chief, would hearken to a neutrality, if that Elector appeared in Germany at the head of a powerful army; resolved to send him

Unexpected demands of Prussia.

The Duke of Marlborough takes the field. Brodrick.

1711.

Some boats destroyed by the French.

means to advancement; when it is meritorious in his Officers to cabal against him; and the most factious will be thought the most deserving; With what heart can a man in these circumstances serve? Or, what success can be expected from him, when he is made to

depend upon professed enemies for his support? It is little, I think, we can hope for even from him hereafter, though that little be more than any body else could do.

Numb. LXVI. Vol. IV.

G g g

1711. him thither; and, to that end, re-inforced their army on the *Rhine* from their garrisons on the *Maase* and *Moselle*, and likewise from their army in the *Netherlands*. For *Villars* thought his lines so secure and impenetrable, that he boasted, they were the *Ne plus ultra* of the Duke of *Marlborough*. These lines began at *Bouchain*, on the *Scheld*, and were continued along the *Sanfet* and the *Scarpe* to *Arras*, and from thence along the *Upper Scarpe* and the river *Ugy* to the *Canche*, the opening between those rivers being intrenched and fortified with all possible care by a large ditch, defended with redoubts and other works.

Prince
Eugene
marches to
the Rhine.

The Duke
of Marl-
borough
forces
the French
lines.

The preparations of the enemy alarming the Empire, Prince *Eugene* received positive orders from *Vienna* to march with the Imperial and *Palatine* troops to the *Upper Rhine*, for securing *Germany*. Upon this the two armies decamped, the 14th of *June*, and repassed the *Scarpe*, Prince *Eugene* taking his way towards *Tournay*, and the Duke of *Marlborough* marching towards the plains of *Lens*, in sight of the *French*, who did not offer to insult his rear. The Duke continued there till the 20th of *July*, when he advanced towards *Aire*, to make the enemy believe, that he designed to besiege *St Omer*, or attack their lines on that side. This obliged *Villars* to re-inforce the garrison of that place, and to draw all his troops to defend his lines between the *Scarpe* and the *Canche*, which both armies believed the Duke designed to attack, because of the preparations he had made. The Duke, upon a view of the enemy's lines, finding it would be too hazardous to endeavour to force them, resolved upon a stratagem. To make the enemy believe, he really intended to attack them, he ordered twelve hundred men out, to make roads and bridges in the front, and advanced, with the whole army to *Rebreuve*, and from thence to *Villars-Brulin*, within two leagues of the lines. Here he set all his troops to work in making fascines, and gave out, that he intended to attack the lines the next morning. *Villars* was so fully persuaded of it, that he sent orders to a strong detachment, commanded by Count *d'Estain*, which had been sent upon a secret expedition, to halt at *Perenne*, and to the garrisons of *Ypres* and *St Omer*, to join his army, which he drew together behind the lines. The Duke, to amuse the enemy more effectually, went, the 4th of *August*, N. S. by break of day, with several of the General Officers and two thousand horse, to take a nearer view of the situation of the enemy's camp; but his real design, when he advanced from *Colé*, near *Aire*, was to endeavour to get within the enemy's lines, by attempting the passage of the *Sanfet* by *Arloux*, which he believed was unguarded, as indeed it happened to be. To this end he ordered *Cadogan* and *Hompesch* to repair, with all expedition, to *Douay*, and assemble some troops that were left there on purpose, which, with a detachment of that and the neighbouring garrisons of *Lille* and *St Amand*, made a body of three and twenty battalions and seventeen squadrons. Their farther orders were to march directly with their troops to *Arloux*, and endeavour to pass the *Sanfet*, while the Duke himself would advance with the whole army to support them. And, that nothing might retard this extraordinary march, Brigadier *Sutton* was sent beforehand with the artillery and pontoons to make

bridges over the *Scarpe* near *Vitry*, and over the canal of *Arloux*, near *Goulezin*. 1711.

These things were managed so privately, and the feint carried on so well, that the Confederate Generals themselves thought of nothing but attacking the lines the next morning. These amusements had so good an effect upon *Villars*, that he kept his troops under arms night and day, and reinforced them with all the strength he could possibly draw together, on that side, not leaving any number of troops in the posts he had upon the *Sanfet*.

The Confederate army, in the mean time, were expecting orders to march, which were not given till six in the evening. The march was to begin between eight and nine, as soon as it was dark enough to strike their tents, without being seen by the enemy; but, whether the march was to be to the right or left, was not known. They were only told, that the several columns, which the army was to march in, should find an officer at the head of each, at such an hour, who should lead them the way they were to take, when the time came. About nine the whole army, to their great surprize, were ordered to march by the left, in four columns, without beat of drum; and the Duke himself, with the horse of the left wing, led the van, and advanced with such extraordinary expedition, that, the next morning by five, he passed the *Scarpe* at *Vitry*. Here he received advice, that *Hompesch* had passed the *Sanfet* without opposition, and taken possession of the passes on that river, and on the *Scheld* at *Oisy*, the *French* having, some time before, withdrawn the detachments they had on that side. The Duke, upon this, hastened his march, left the enemy should get there before him; and at the same time dispatched orders to the grand army, to pursue their march with the utmost diligence. The Duke, with his van-guard of fifty squadrons, having passed the *Scarpe*, hastened towards *Arloux* and *Baré Bacbeaul*, where he arrived before eight of the clock, and the heads of the columns joined him there about ten, having marched above ten leagues without halting, a thing scarce to be paralleled in history.

Villars, though he had notice of this unexpected march of the Confederate army about eleven at night, was so possessed with the belief that the design was to attack his lines near *Avesnes le Comte*, that he waited till two the next morning for certain intelligence. Then he decamped with his whole army, and, putting himself at the head of the King's household, marched all night with such diligence, that he appeared with the head of his line about eleven o'clock, soon after the Duke of *Marlborough* had joined Count *Hompesch*, and passed with twenty squadrons through the defile of *Marquion*. But, when he saw the Duke was advancing with his horse to attack him, he retreated to the main body of his army, which was, by that time, advanced to the high road between *Arras* and *Cambray*. Mean while the Allies advanced with all possible diligence, and, having all passed, the army incamped upon the *Scheld* between *Oisy* and *Estrun*.

Thus the Confederate army entered the *French* lines, which they had so vainly boasted to be impenetrable; the boldest attempt, that had been made during the whole war: And the honour

1711. honour of it was the greater to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as his army was not only weakened by the detachment, which Prince *Eugene* had carried to the *Rhine*, but by the calling over five thousand of the best troops in his army for an expedition designed by sea; so that the enemy were superior to him in number. This raised his character beyond all that he had done formerly; the design was so well laid, and so happily executed, that, in all men's opinions, it passed for a master-piece of military skill, the honour of it falling intirely on the Duke of *Marlborough*, no other persons having any share, except in the execution.

The next day, *August 6*, whilst the Allies expected the enemy lying upon their arms, advice was brought to the Duke of *Marlborough*, that they were in motion towards the *Scheld*, in order to pass it at *Crevecœur*, and incamp between *Cambrai* and *Bouchain*, to prevent the siege of the latter. The Duke detached forty squadrons, with orders to fall upon their rear; but they found it impracticable, by reason of the morais that was between them: And, a Council of war being called, the Field-deputies of the *States-General* proposed to pursue the enemy, and hazard a battle, since this surprize had put them in no small disorder. The Duke of *Marlborough* was of a different opinion. He thought the attempt might be too hazardous: The army was much fatigued with so long a march, in which the cavalry had been eight and forty hours on horseback, alighting only twice, about an hour each time, to feed their horses. The *French* were fresh, having had a much nearer march within their lines, than the Confederates round them; and the Allies were not in a condition for action, till some time were allowed for refreshment. Besides, the Duke foresaw, in case of a misfortune, their being within the enemy's lines might be fatal.

The Duke having disapproved of the proposal made by the Deputies, it was expected he should make another. Accordingly he proposed the besieging of *Bouchain*, which he thought would oblige the *French* to endeavour to raise the siege; and that might give occasion to their engaging on more equal terms; or it would bring both a disreputation and a discouragement on their army, if a place of such importance should be taken in their sight. But both the *Dutch* Deputies and the General Officers thought the enterprize too bold, yet they submitted to his judgment. It seemed impracticable to take a place situated in morais well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in sight of a superior army; for the *French* lay within a mile of them. There was also great danger from the excursions, which the garrisons of *Valenciennes* and *Condé* might make, to cut off their provisions, which were to come from *Tournay*. All about the Duke endeavoured to divert him from so dangerous an undertaking, since a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages they waited for. All this he was sensible of; but he had laid the scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it. But, before this resolution was executed, the Duke dispatched Brigadier *Sutton* to *England* with the news, that he had without the loss of a man entered those lines, which had cost the enemy so much time and labour to fortify, and of the

strength of which they had so much boasted. The Field-deputies sent also an account of that affair to the *States-General*. The news was received in *Holland* with an universal joy, and no encomiums were too great for the conductor of the great design; but the satisfaction was not so general in *England*. When *Sutton* arrived at *Whitehall*, with an account of the Duke of *Marlborough's* passing the *French* lines, it gave his friends indeed the greater joy, because his enemies had given out, that nothing would be done this year in *Flanders*, because, as they pretended, he was resolved no affair should succeed under the present administration, if he could help it. But, his enemies, being disappointed, endeavoured to lessen the glory of the action, pretending, he had only removed his army from a plentiful to a starving camp. But this malicious suggestion was soon confuted, as well by the sequel of his success, as by the applause, all *Europe* gave to his conduct; while *Villars* was openly reflected on, both in his own army and at *Paris*.

Pursuant to the resolution taken in the Council of war, the siege of *Bouchain* was undertaken, the difficulty of which may be judged from the situation of the place. *Bouchain* is a fortified Town, standing at the confluence of the *Sanset* and the *Selle* into the *Scheld*. The *Sanset* parts the Upper Town from the Lower, forms an inundation between that and the *Selle*, and fills the ditches which surround the works between the Upper and Lower Towns. The *Selle* divides the Lower Town in two Parts, and, between the Lower Town and the *Scheld*, is a horn-work which covers two separate bastions, and which is cut in two by a ditch supplied by the *Scheld*. Notwithstanding these, and several other difficulties, the place was invested the 10th of *August*, N. S. by thirty battalions, and twelve squadrons, commanded by General *Fagel*. Marshal *Villars* tried to throw more men into the town by a narrow causeway (called the *Cow-path*) thro' the morais; but the Duke of *Marlborough* took his measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing, and drove the *French* from that advantageous post. He saw what the event of this siege might be; and therefore bestirred himself with unusual application, and was more fatigued in the course of this siege, than he had been at any time during the whole war. The trenches were vigorously carried on, and by the batteries and bombs the town was soon laid in ruins. *Villars* did all he could to raise the Siege, but to no purpose. When he saw that could not be done, he endeavoured to surprize *Doway*. To that end, he sent a detachment of ten thousand men under *Albergotti* (the late Governor of *Doway*) and thought fit to be there himself in person. They marched the 7th of *September* in the evening; and, about one in the morning, they were discovered by a patrol of the Confederate horse, who sent intelligence of it to Count *Hompelsh*; so that orders were immediately given to the Officers in the Out-posts to be upon their guard: But, in the mean time, the enemy advanced towards the gate of *St Eloy*, where they designed to scale the wall; and several of their boats, filled with soldiers, passed over the inundation to favour the attempt, and came so near the works, that, being challenged by the Centinels, they answered, *They were the Governor's fishermen*; which the garrison mistrusting, and, at the same time

1711.

The siege
of Bouchain.

1711. time, hearing some firing from the out-posts, they fired likewise upon the boats: So that the enemy finding themselves discovered, retired immediately. Those in the inundation left their boats behind, and made what haste they could to join their main body, which marched back, and repassed the *Sanfel*, with great precipitation, having lost a considerable number of their men by defection.

The town
surrenders.

Villars having failed in all his attempts to relieve *Bouchain*, the garrison, after twenty days from the opening of the trenches, capitulated, and could obtain no better terms, than to be made prisoners of war. The garrison, consisting at first of six thousand men, was reduced to less than three thousand. The Governor pretended, he was in a condition to have defended himself some days longer; but the soldiers, finding *Villars* did not attempt to relieve the place, obliged him to capitulate.

The success of this memorable siege, so difficult in all its circumstances, improved the bravery and resolution of the Confederate troops; so that they never expressed so much eagerness for coming to a fair engagement with the enemy. The Duke's stratagem in passing the lines without the loss of a man; the cutting off the communication of the enemy with *Bouchain*; the manner of the Duke's investing the town with an inferior army; his casting up lines, making regular forts, raising batteries, laying bridges over a river, making a morass passable, and providing for the security of his convoys, against a superior army on the one side, and the numerous garrisons of *Condé* and *Valenciennes* on the other, were enterprizes that shewed the great military skill of the Undertaker. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole history of the war, so the honour of it was acknowledged to belong entirely to the Duke of *Marlborough*; as the blame of a miscarriage in it must have fallen singly on him (1). *Villars's* conduct on this occasion was much censured, but by means of *Madam Maintenon* (whose favourite *Villars* was) it was approved by the King of *France*.

Whilst the works and breaches of *Bouchain* were repairing, the Duke of *Marlborough* sent the Earl of *Albemarle* to the *Hague*, to regulate the operations for the remaining part of the campaign with the *States*; and as he judged, the enemy might be troublesome in the winter, to the conquered places near them, without the reduction of *Quefnoy*, to obtain their concurrence for the siege of that place. But the *States*, considering how far the season was spent, and the difficulties which must attend such an enterprize in the sight of the enemy's army, especially in a country, where they had destroyed all the forage, they rejected the proposal. They agreed however, that most of their troops should be quartered in the frontier-towns, not only, that they might be ready to take the field early in the spring, but also to hinder the enemy from making any new lines during the

winter, and oblige them, at the same time, to continue their troops upon their frontiers, where they would find it very difficult to subsist them. The Duke, who had been acquainted with the negotiations, that were carrying on in *England*, by Monsieur *Mehner*, from the *French* Court, and the proposals he had given in to the Ministry from his Master, could not but perceive, that the *States* had this also for an inducement, to make no more sieges during the remainder of the campaign, in order to spare their troops till they saw what would be the result of the negotiations; though they did not think fit to insert it among their other arguments for putting an end to it. The Duke therefore set the forces at work to level the approaches, fill up the breaches, and put the town of *Bouchain* into a posture of defence; which was not finished till about three weeks after its surrender, through the badness of the weather, which very much incommoded both the *French* and the Allies, who continued incamped to see each other drawn off to their winter quarters. As soon as *Bouchain* was put in a good posture of defence, both the armies began to separate, having already greatly suffered by the continual rains, and the scarcity of forage.

This was the last service which the Duke of *Marlborough* ever performed in the field. The Allies were now in possession of the *Moselle*, almost to the inlet of the *Sambre*, and the *Scheld*, beyond *Tournay*, and of the *Lys*, so far as it is navigable. And besides the conquests of *Bavaria*, *Cologne*, and other countries in *Germany*, they had also reduced so much of *Guelerland*, as had formerly been left to *Spain* by the treaty of *Münster*; and likewise *Limburg*, *Brabant*, *Mechlin*, *Flanders*; and two thirds of *Hainault*, with their strong holds, the conquest of which was thought almost impracticable. By the taking of *Bouchain*, and the progress of the Confederate army on the *Scarpe* and the *Lys*, they were become masters of two rivers, which, by the means of the *Duile*, and its Canal, had been serviceable to the *French* for many years in their continual invasions of the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, of which they were now altogether deprived. All these important conquests the Allies had made during the course of this war under the conduct of the Duke of *Marlborough*, who having given the necessary orders for securing the navigation of the *Scarpe* to *Doway*, and covering the workmen employed in fortifying several posts on that river, and on the *Scheld*, left the army on the 27th of *October*, and, after some stay at the *Hague*, landed in *England*, on the 17th of *November*, O. S.

As the affair of *Spain* had been so much preferred from the throne, and so much insisted on all the last Session of Parliament, and as the Commons had given 1,500,000 *l.* for that service, (a sum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding session) it was expected matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of *Argyle* having been recalled from the service in *Flanders* (where he

Affairs in
Spain.
Burnet.
M. S.

(1) As *Villars* was lampooned in *France*, about his *Ne plus ultra*, and for suffering *Bouchain* to be taken in his sight: So, on the contrary, the Duke of *Marlborough* was libelled in *England* by some mercenary pens

for his successes. *Bouchain* was called a *Dout-Houff*, to lessen the glory of taking it, and the Passage of the *French* lines was represented as a Militia-Company's crossing a kennel.

(1) The

1711. he had acted in constant opposition to the Duke of Marlborough) was appointed to command the English forces in Spain, and great hopes were entertained, that, by his courage, activity, and conduct, the face of affairs there would be changed for the better: But all these hopes failed. After the surrender at Brihuega, there were, as hath been related, but three English regiments left, Lepel's dragoons, with Richards's and Du Bourgoy's regiment of foot, and these had almost been destroyed at the battle of Villa Viciosa. However, they were in great measure compleated again by the dragoons and foot that made their escape from their confinement. But there was no money to subsist them; and if the Catalans, in whose towns they were quartered, had not been so humane as they were, they must have been starved. There had been no remittances from England in above six months, till the beginning of February, when the Pay-master received bills for thirty-two thousand pounds only, though the establishment in Spain amounted yearly to one million one hundred thousand pounds and upwards. As this small sum bore no proportion to what subsistence was due, so it did not suffice to give any relief to those who were in want, and therefore they must have perished, had it not been for the good nature of the people of Catalonia.

During the winter, General Stanhope had been endeavouring to get an exchange of prisoners; but the Court of Madrid was so averse to it, and so unwilling the English should obtain their liberty while the war continued, that, instead of agreeing to it, Stanhope was removed from the City of Valladolid to a poor fisher-town in Asturia, and afterwards to Pan, the Capital of Bearn, in France, where he continued till all the prisoners on both sides were released.

Sir John Norris came with the fleet at the beginning of March from Port-Mabon to Barcelona, and a great Council of war was held at the palace, in King Charles's presence, about the situation of affairs, and the operations of the next campaign. Soon after, Major-General Webbham arrived at Barcelona, and superseded Lepel in the command of the forces. He was followed by a few regiments of foot from Ireland, and two from Gibraltar, that were re-implaced by some that came from that Kingdom.

The Duke of Argyle was expected with great impatience, by whose presence it was hoped (says our Author*) all our wants, which were very great, would be supplied: For no money had been returned, except the inconsiderable sum before-mentioned. Some bills indeed were drawn by a Banker of London upon our English Merchants, but these were protested. The Duke of Argyle (who, in his way to Spain, came, the 4th of April, to the Hague, and went on his journey without visiting the Duke of Marlborough) staid some time at Genoa, expecting the remittances he was promised before he left England, but none came, which made him very uneasy. However, he came away with two men of war, and landed at Barcelona the 29th of

May, and had his first audience of King Charles as Ambassador and Plenipotentiary the next day. The Duke employed all his time in putting the British troops into the best condition he could; but still no remittances came. The enemy had marched out of their quarters some time before; and were advancing towards the Urgel; so it was thought high time for our army to be in motion, to oppose their progress. As no money came, the Duke was obliged to borrow ten thousand pounds on his own credit, which was but of little service.

Vendosme's army was in so ill a condition, that Staremberg, if he had been supported, promised himself great advantages. He marched towards the enemy with the Spanish and the Germans, and the Duke of Argyle with the English. The considerable pass of Prato del Rey was the scene of action this campaign; it was regularly and warmly attacked by the Duke of Vendosme, and as vigorously defended by our Generals. At last, the enemy was obliged to retire, and leave us in possession of the pass. The Duke of Argyle was soon after seized with a violent fever, and obliged to return to Barcelona, where it was a long time before he was perfectly recovered. In the beginning of June, Sir John Jennings, with a fleet, arrived before Barcelona, and superseded Sir John Norris, who sailed back to England.

The Duke of Vendosme ordered the castles of Venasque, Arens, and Cardona to be invested, but without success. The siege of Cardona was obstinately persisted in. This castle stands upon a high hill near the mountains. The garrison being soon reduced to great extremities, Staremberg ordered a convoy of provisions to be got ready, and five hundred grenadiers, supported by some regiments, to see it safe into the castle. The command of the grenadiers fell upon Colonel Edward Stanhope, who attacked part of a French Brigade that was posted in the way to the gate of the castle, and, having routed them, saw all the provisions delivered into the place. After which, the Colonel drew his grenadiers upon a rising ground on the side of the castle, to refresh them, and going too near the eminence, under which the enemy had retired, a soldier shot him through the body, of which wound he soon after died (1). By the help of this convoy, the garrison held out till the end of December, when Staremberg sent some bodies to raise the siege, who succeeded so well in their attempt, that they killed two thousand of the Besiegers, and forced their camp; so that they not only raised the siege, but made themselves masters of the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and baggage: and the Duke of Vendosme's army was so diminished, that, if Staremberg had received the assistance, which he expected from England, he would have penetrated far into Spain. But nothing was done, after all the zeal expressed by the Parliament and Ministry, for retrieving matters on that side. The Duke of Argyle wrote over heavy complaints that he was not supported, by the failing of the remittances he had expected.

(1) The famous town of Mancissa, to which he was carried before he expired, out of respect to his name, suffered his body to be interred in the Hospital No. 66, Vol. IV.

burying-ground, a favour allowed to no other Protestant Officer during the seven years our Author was in Spain. M. S.

1711. expected. Notwithstanding these complaints, when he afterwards came over, he was very silent, and seemed in a good understanding with the Ministers.

The election of King Charles to be Emperor. Burnet.

The Emperor's death, as it immediately opened to King Charles the Succession to the hereditary Dominions, so a disposition appeared unanimously, among all the Electors, to chuse him Emperor. However, he staid in Barcelona till September, and then leaving his Queen there, to support his affairs in Spain, he sailed over to Italy. He staid some weeks at Milan, where the Duke of Savoy came to him; and it was said, that all matters in debate were adjusted between them. It was hoped, this campaign would have produced something in those parts advantageous to the common cause, upon the agreement made before the Emperor Joseph's death, who, a few days before he was taken ill, granted to the Duke of Savoy the possession of the fiefs in Montserrat. And Mr St John, when he moved in the House of Commons for the Subsidies to the Duke of Savoy, said, all our hopes of success this year lay in that quarter, for in Flanders we could do nothing. The Duke indeed took the field, forced his way into Savoy, and penetrated as far as the Rhine; but, upon what views it was not then known, he stopped his course, and, after a short campaign, repassed the mountains.

The election of the Emperor came on at Frankfurt, where some electors came in person, others sent their Deputies; some weeks were spent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive Deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the Ban of the Empire; nor were they pleased with the interposition of the Pope's Nuncio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they persisted in refusing to admit them. Frankfurt lay so near the frontier of the Empire, that it was apprehended, the French might have made an attempt that way; for they drew some detachments from their army in Flanders, to increase their forces on the Rhine, as has been related. This it was that obliged the Court of Vienna to send orders to Prince Eugene to march with a detachment from Flanders towards the Rhine. He came in good time to secure the electors at Frankfurt; who being now safe, from the fear of any insult, went on slowly in all that they thought fit to propose, previous to an election; and concluded unanimously to chuse Charles, who was now declared Emperor by the name of Charles the Sixth: He went from Milan to Inspruck, and from thence to Frankfurt, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign.

The King of Prussia presses the settling the Succession of King William. Hist. of Europe.

The endeavours used to adjust the disputes about the Succession of the late King William were rendered unsuccessful by a fatal accident. An accommodation was attempted in the beginning of the spring, and the King of Prussia repairing to the Hague soon after, to press the conclusion of that affair, the Prince of Nassau-Frieseland, the other party, was earnestly desired by him to come thither also. The Prince complied, though not without some reluctance to leave the Confederate army in the middle of the campaign. But, upon the 14th of June, N. S. being come to Moerdike in his way to the Hague, and be-

ing obliged to ferry over the *Ames*, by reason of the fatigue of his journey, and the rain, which fell in great abundance, he chose to continue in his coach with Mr Hilken, his Master of Horse, and Colonel of his Guards. A sudden tempestuous wind arose, with which, and the disturbance of the water occasioned by it, the horses were so frightened, that they immediately leaped overboard, and dragged the coach into the *Ames*; so that the Prince and his Companion were soon drowned, notwithstanding all the endeavours of one of his servants, who lost his life in attempting to save his Master's. The death of this Prince, who was eminent for his bravery, and great qualities, was universally lamented by the States, and the Inhabitants of the United-Provinces, and, particularly, by the army, who had been eye-witnesses of his conduct and resolution in the memorable sieges of *Lisle*, *Douay*, and *Mons*, the battle of *Oudenarde*, and chiefly in that of *Blaregnies*.

The war between the Turks and the Czar came to a quick end. The Czar advanced with his army so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from his provisions. An engagement followed, in which both sides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the Czar found he was reduced to great extremities, for he proposed, in order to a peace, to surrender *Azoph*, with some other places, and demanded, that the King of Sweden might be sent home to his own country. The Grand Vizier was glad to obtain so speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the King of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the *Muscovites*, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money. The King of Sweden, being highly offended at this, charged the Grand Vizier with neglecting the great advantages he had over the Czar, since he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed so far at the *Porte*, that upon it the Grand Vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year; for the Czar delayed the rendering *Azoph*, and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending, that the King of Sweden was not sent home, according to agreement; yet, to prevent a new war, all the places were at length given up.

Towards the end of this year the Danes and Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, resolving to besiege *Stralsund*; but every thing necessary for a siege came so slowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a considerable body of men in the isle of *Rugen*. At last the Besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raise the siege, and to retire from that neighbourhood in the beginning of January. They fate down next before *Wismar*; but that attempt likewise miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of Denmark very contemptible, who thus obstinately carried on a war, at a time, that the plague swept away a third part of the people of *Copenhagen*, with as little conduct as success.

No action happened at sea this year, for the French fitted out no fleet. All they did this French summer was the sending a Squadron of fourteen or fifteen men of war under the command of *Du Guay Trouin* in America, where they already had another squadron, commanded by *Du Casse*.
Du

1711.

The Prince of Nassau drowned.

Affairs in Turkey, Burnet.

and in Pomerania.

expedition to Brazil.

1711. *Du Guay's expedition* was for some time kept secret; but, at last it was known, that, having entered the Bay of Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, he obliged the Portuguese to run ashore, and set on fire their men of war in that Port; after which he made himself master of the town of *St Sebastian*; and, having kept possession of it two months, sailed from thence the 13th of November, carrying away six hundred ten thousand Crusadoes, besides a great quantity of sugar, and other rich plunder, which they valued at seven millions of livres, and pretended, that the whole loss sustained by the Portuguese amounted to five and twenty millions. On the other hand, the French made this year some unsuccessful attempts on the *Leeward Islands*; and, about the same time, Commodore Littleton took a Spanish Galleon, and another ship of twenty-six guns, richly laden, in the *West Indies*.

The Canada expedition. Hist. of Europe.

An expedition was designed by sea for taking *Quebec* and *Placentia* in North America. This design was formed by Colonel *Nicholson*, who had taken possession of *Newa Scotia*, put a garrison into *Port Royal*, and called it *Annapolis*. The four Indian Chiefs, whom the Colonel had brought over with him in the spring of the year 1710, had also promoted it by representing the dangers our settlements on the Continent of America were threatened with from that quarter. Indeed, the driving the French out of those parts would have driven them also out of the *Newfoundland* trade entirely, and been a very great security to *New-England* and *New-York*. To execute this design, troops were sent for from *Flanders*, and, with others in *England*, put on board transports under the command of Brigadier *Hill*, brother to Mrs *Malsbam*, the new favourite, consisting of about five thousand men (1). A strong squadron of men of war under Sir *Hovenden Walker* was ordered to convoy the transport fleet (2). They all sailed from *Plymouth* the 4th of May, and arrived at *Boston* in *New-England* the fourth of June. General *Hill* and Admiral *Walker* going ashore, a Council of war was held, in which it was resolved to land the troops, the provisions which they expected to be furnished with at *Boston* not being in any readiness. The fleet upon their arrival here consisted of twelve men of war, forty transport ships, and six store-ships, with all manner of warlike stores, and a fine train of artillery, with forty horses for the use of the same, commanded by Colonel *King*, with proper officers. On the 20th of July, the British forces returned on board their respective ships, and were joined by two regiments of *New-England* and *New-York*, commanded by Colonel *Veitch* and Colonel *Walton*. On the 30th of July, the fleet sailed for the river of *Canada*, and Colonel *Nicholson* set out from *Boston* for *New-York*, from whence he proceeded to *Albany*, where the forces of *New-York*, *Connecticut*, and *New-Jersey*, about one thousand *Palatines*, and about one thousand *Indians* of the five nations, under the *Cassiques*, who had been in *England*, rendezvoused to the number of about four thousand men, commanded by Colonel *Ingoldsbey*,

Colonel *Schuyler*, and Colonel *Whiting*, who marched towards *Canada* the 28th of August. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the river *Canada*, on the 14th of the same month, and on the 18th (says Sir *Hovenden Walker* *) the wind blowing fresh at North-West, we put into *Gaipe Bay*, where we staid till the 20th, being afraid of losing company with the transports, that might be blown to the leeward; but, having got all of them together, we proceeded up part of the river of *Canada*, which is an hundred and thirty leagues long to *Quebec*, from the mouth of it. On the 21st it proved foggy, and continued so all night, and the day following, with little wind till the afternoon, when, in an extreme thick fog, it began to blow hard at East and East-South-East. We found ourselves then in a dangerous circumstance, having neither soundings, nor sight of land, to steer any course, or any anchorage within sixty leagues, and that not safe: So that the Pilots on board this ship, being the best in the fleet, were of opinion, that the Admiral should make a signal to bring to; which he did with our heads to the Southward, judging, by that, we might escape danger, and be driven by the stream in the mid-channel: But quite contrary, as we were with the wind Easterly, and our heads to the Southward, in two hours we found ourselves upon the North-shore among rocks and islands, where the whole fleet had like to have been lost. The men of war escaped, though with extremity hazard; but eight transports were cast away, with about eight hundred men, officers, soldiers, and seamen; and, had not the Admiral made the signal, as he did, it is very likely, that our loss would have been much greater. After this disaster, we continued thereabouts two or three days, seeing what men and other things we could get from the shore: After which it was determined by a consultation of sea-officers, to return back to some bay or harbour, where the fleet might safely ride till a further resolution should be taken. Accordingly, on the 14th of September, we arrived in the Spanish river Bay, and the General and Admiral called a Council of war of land and sea-officers, who considering we had but ten weeks provision for the fleet and army, and that the navigation in these parts of the world being so bad and dangerous, that, at this time of the year, we could not depend upon a supply of provisions from *New-England*, it was unanimously agreed to return home, without making further attempts elsewhere.

This account of the expedition to *Canada* was brought to *England* by Colonel *Clayton*, who arrived not many days before Sir *Hovenden Walker*, who came to *Portsmouth* with the fleet, and the remainder of the transports, the 9th of October. Six days after, the *Edgar* of seventy guns was blown up, with above four hundred men, besides a great many persons who were come on board to see their friends.

The ill success of this expedition was a great mortification to the new Ministry, it being their first undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed.

Remarks on this expedition. Burnet. Hare.

(1) The regiments of *Kirk*, *Hill*, *Clayton*, *Wadnisi*, *Seymour*, *Desjannay*, and a battalion of marines commanded by Colonel *Charles Churchill*.

(2) The *Edgar*, *Manmouth*, *Devonshire*, *Humber*,

Swiftsure, *Kingston*, *Sunderland*, *Mountague*, and *Dunkirk*. Those were to be reinforced by other ships in the *West-Indies*.

1711.

cuted in every step. It was the more liable to censure, because, at the very time, that the old Ministry were charged with entering on designs, which had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no Supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Session was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas what the former Ministry had done, this way, was upon emergencies, and successes after the end of the Session. Besides, the Parliament had just then declared it to be their sense, That to enlarge the service, or increase the charge beyond the bounds prescribed, and the Supplies granted, was illegal, and an invasion of their rights. The new Ministry did another thing to keep the design secret, which was to victual the fleet greatly short of what was necessary, leaving them to take in a fresh supply in *New-England*, which they would not beforehand give direction for (though the event shewed it was very necessary) for fear that also should occasion a discovery. This, in some measure, preserved the secrecy, but destroyed the design; for, though they had a very fortunate passage to *New-England*, much better than the fleet could

ordinarily expect, yet they were so long detained there, that the proper season, it was said, was over, before any considerable quantity of provisions could be procured; and the whole was so short of what they wanted, that, when they failed in the design against *Quebec*, they were not able to succeed in the under-plot against *Placentia*, in which otherwise they apprehended no difficulty (1).

The Duke of *Ormond* held a Session of Parliament this summer at *Dublin*, where he was received with great acclamations. It is observable, that, during the Session, the Duke, Chancellor *Phipps*, and the majority of the Peers, did, on all occasions, visibly favour and countenance the *High-Party*, if not the friends to the Pretender, whilst the Commons strenuously asserted the *Revolution-Principles*, and shewed their firm adherence to the *Protestant Succession*. Of this there were several instances*, but none more remarkable than the dispute between the two Houses, relating to the application of the Commons in 1709 to the Queen, for five thousand pounds to build a library for *Trinity-College* (2). After the Session was over, Chancellor *Phipps* (who

A Session of Parliament in Ireland. Hint of Europe.

* See *Annals of Anne, X.* 164.

(1) To all this may be added a gross imposition upon the public, in the fitting out of this expedition, which the Lord-Treasurer *Harley* himself owns, in his *brief account of public affairs*, laid before her Majesty in June 1714, where he observes as follows: 'On the 4th of June 1711, three days after the Treasurer was sworn, he was surprized with a demand of twenty-eight thousand thirty-six pounds and five shillings for arms and merchandize, said to be sent to *Canada*. When the Treasurer scrupled this, Mr Secretary *St John* and Mr *Moore* came to him with much passion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the Secretary of State signed the Queen's positive pleasure to have that money paid; and, accordingly, her Majesty signed a warrant, June 21, and the Treasurer not being able then, with all his precaution, to discover further light, the money was paid July the 4th, 1711. Since the return from that expedition, the secret is discovered, and the Treasurer's suspicion justified; for the public was cheated of above twenty thousand pounds. There is reason to be more particular upon his head, because it is one of the things never to be forgiven the Treasurer; and Lord-Chancellor *Harcourt* told him more to that purpose, that no Government was worth serving, that would not let them make those advantages, and get such jobs. The Treasurer was forced to use all his skill and credit to keep the House of Commons from examining this affair last Parliament.

(2) This application was made by the Commons, 'because (as they said) the College had censured *Forbes* for aspersing the memory of King *William*, and for their steady adherence to the late Revolution, and for the encouragement of good Literature, and sound *Revolution-Principles*.' The Duke of *Ormond*, in his speech, having taken notice that the Queen had complied with this application, the Lords, in their address to the Queen among other things, said, 'Your Majesty has also extended your royal favour to the College of *Dublin*, and at such a juncture, as must testify to the world, that what your Majesty bestowed was not given to promote those principles upon which it was at first applied for.' The Commons incensed at these words came to the following resolutions: 'That the Lords, in this address, have highly infringed the rights, privileges, and liberties of the Commons, misrepresented her Majesty's gracious condescension to their humble application, and have unjustly insinuated (to the dishonour of this House) that the principles, for encouragement of which the application was made, were such, as her Majesty disapproved. That to in-

sinuate, that the House of Commons, in their resolution, intended any other than the late happy Revolution brought about by King *William III* of glorious Memory, is false, scandalous, and malicious, highly and most unjustly reflecting on the loyalty, integrity, and honour of this House, and a great breach of the privileges thereof.' And, in their address to the Queen on this occasion, they inserted the following paragraphs:

'Being therefore most sensibly touched at heart, that our principles and good intentions should be thus injuriously represented, and out of a deep concern, lest the address of the Lords should have made any impression on her Majesty, to the disadvantage of her most dutiful Commons, they took this opportunity to lay before her Majesty these their humble and sincere assurances, that the principles, upon which they had applied to her Majesty for her bounty to the College of *Dublin*, in their address of the first of June 1709, were such, as they should never be ashamed to own, they being no other than those, to which they owed the preservation of their religion, lives, liberties, and properties, and more especially, that inestimable blessing of her Majesty's happy Reign over them. That the sound Revolution-Principles, mentioned in their address, neither had, nor can have, in the true construction of the words, any other meaning, than what related to the late happy Revolution; and that they had the utmost abhorrence and detestation of all principles, that tend to any other Revolution, or to weaken her Majesty's Parliamentary Right.'

The Commons, hearing the Lords intended to vindicate their address, voted, 'That whoever shall, by speaking, writing, or printing, arraign or condemn the principles of our late happy Revolution in 1688, is an enemy to our most gracious Queen, to our Constitution in Church and State, to the *Hanover Succession*, and a friend to the Pretender.' The next day, the Lords agreed on an address to the Queen, wherein they complained of the high indignities offered to them by the Commons, in these terms: 'How far the Commons have made good their professions to your Majesty of unanimity; how far they have pursued that temper recommended to them by your Majesty, we shall not determine: Yet, surely, had those professions been sincere, they would not (without any Conference demanded, or any opportunity given to us to explain ourselves, if we had been mistaken) have used us in a manner wholly unknown to former Parliaments, and in language more indecent, more opprobrious, than was given by another House of Commons, when they voted the House of Lords useless. However, your Majesty

Majesty

1711. had been publicly thanked by the Clergy, for his defence of the Church at Dr Sacheverell's trial, and for patronizing the Clergy on all occasions) and General Ingham were appointed as Lords-Judices in the Duke of Ormond's absence, who returned to England the latter end of November.

The friends of the Pretender show themselves openly in Scotland. Hist. of Europe. Medal given by the Duchess of Gordon. Whilst the Commons of Ireland were strenuously asserting the Revolution-Principles, the opposite spirit of Jacobitism discovered itself in Scotland, encouraged very probably by the late numerous addresses in England, asserting the sole Hereditary Right. Upon this presumption, the Dukes of Gordon, a Roman Catholic, sent about the latter end of June to Mr Robert Bennet, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a silver medal, with a head on the right side, and this legend, *Cujus est ?* and on the reverse the British Islands, with this motto, *Reddite* †, as a present to the Faculty. This medal was first left in the hands of one of their servants, the Dean being cautious either to accept it, or place it in the Repository of Rarities, before he had consulted some of the members of the Faculty, to whom he showed the medal, formally telling them, That her Grace the Duchess of Gordon sent, as a present to them, the medal of King James the Eighth, whom they and the English called the Pretender; and he hoped, Thanks were to be returned to her Grace. Mr Alexander Stevenson answered, That the medal should be returned to her Grace, for the receiving it was throwing dirt on the face of the Government. He was seconded by Mr Robert Alexander of Black-House, who said, That the receiving of such a medal was owing a right contrary to her Majesty's. Mr Robert Frazer answered, 'That Oliver Cromwell's medal, who deserved to be hanged, and the arms of the Commonwealth of England, had been received; and why not this?' Upon this Mr Duncan Forbes, said, *It was time enough to receive the medal, when the Pretender was hanged: To whom adhered Mr Joseph Hume, of Ninchale; Mr Hugh Dalrymple, son to the President; Mr James Ferguson, son to Sir John Ferguson of Kirkcubright; and Sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, the Queen's Solicitor.* Then Mr Dundas of Arncliffe rose up, and made the following speech:

Dean of Faculty,

"Whatever these gentlemen may say of their loyalty, I think they affront the Queen, whom they pretend to honour, in disgracing her Brother, who is not only a Prince of the blood, but the first thereof; and, if blood can give any right, he is our undoubted Sovereign. I think too they call her Majesty's title in question, which is not our business to determine. Medals are the documents of history, to which all historians refer; and therefore, though I should give King William's stamp, with the Devil at his right ear, I see not how it could be refused, seeing an hundred years hence it would prove, that such a coin had been in England. But, Dean of Faculty, what needs further speeches? None oppose the receiving the medal, and returning thanks to her Grace, but a few pitiful scoundrel vermin, and musbrooms, not worthy our notice. Let us therefore proceed to name some of our number, to return our hearty thanks to the Duchess of Gordon." The Dean of the Faculty put it to the vote, and it was carried by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve (there being seventy-five members present) that thanks should be returned to her Grace by Mr Dundas and Mr Horne of Westball. Dundas asking, *In what terms he should return thanks?* The Dean, in the name of the whole society, answered, That they would approve whatsoever Mr Dundas and Mr Horne thought convenient. Three days after Dundas returned her 'the most hearty thanks of the Faculty for all her favours, particularly in presenting them with a medal of their Sovereign Lord the King; hoping, and being confident, that her Grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second medal, struck upon the Restoration of the King, and Royal Family, and the finishing Rebellion, usurping Tyranny, and Whiggery.' It was observed on this occasion, that the medal was not new; for the public had an account of its being dispersed in the Netherlands about a year before; and it was then the general opinion, that it was struck upon the hopes given by the Jacobites in England to their correspondents in

Majesty might justly approve the conduct of the College of Dublin in the late Revolution, we did, and do still humbly conceive, that your Majesty did not extend your bounty to them, to promote (in general) Revolution-Principles, principles, which, as explained by the pamphlets and libels publicly avowed by men of factious and seditious tempers, and particularly, by a sermon preached on the 30th of January, dedicated to this very House of Commons, without censure or animadversion, do, in a great measure, maintain and justify the execrable murder of King Charles I, your Royal Grandfather of blessed memory, and on which may be founded any rebellion against your Majesty or your Successors. Nor have the Commons, in our apprehension, vindicated themselves or their vote, by saying, *That the sound Revolution-Principles, mentioned in their address, neither bad, nor can have, in the true construction of the words, any other meaning than what related to the late happy Revolution.* For, however they may take upon themselves best to know their own meaning, yet we think it hard to deny us the right of judging, as well as they, of the true construction of the words; and we do take the liberty to say, That,

No. 66. VOL. IV.

the Commons having, in that vote, maintained the steady adherence of the Provost and Fellows of the College to the late Revolution, as one consideration of their application for the five thousand pounds since granted by your Majesty, the subsequent motive mentioned in that vote, viz. *for the encouragement of sound Revolution-Principles*, cannot, in good reason or grammar, be referred to the late Revolution, since adherence to the late Revolution was a distinct motive of itself; and it is the known nature of principles, to be as well the rule and guide of future as of past actions.

Moreover, the House of Lords, at the solicitation of the Bishops, did, the same day, agree to a representation and address against the Dissenters, wherein they suggested, 'That they had been enabled to propagate their Schism, and undermine the Church, by the misapplying her Majesty's bounty to them of twelve hundred pounds a year: And, therefore, they submitted it to her, whether she would put a stop to these growing evils, by withdrawing that bounty from them.' But the Queen did not think fit to do so.

1711. in France, that the British Nation was ready to declare for the Pretender; to which the distractions occasioned by Dr Sacheverell's sermon, and trial, and the asserting the Doctrines of Hereditary Right, and of absolute Passive Obedience, entirely opposite both to the late Revolution, and Protestant Succession, gave some air of probability. Nor was this medal scarce, but rather common; and, as for its intrinsic value, it did not exceed half a Crown; so that it could not be worth either the Dukes's while to present it, or the Faculty's to receive it, on the account of its being either new, or scarce, or valuable. And, if the Advocates designed it only as a curiosity, they might have easily procured it, and placed it among their collection, without formality and noise. But the Dukes's presenting it, and some of the Advocates receiving it with solemnity, and endeavouring to make it the act of the Faculty, by returning thanks to the Dukes in the name of the whole society, with so much ostentation, was certainly a publick and treasonable affront to her Majesty, a tacit arraignment of her title, and a striking at the settlement in the House of Hanover. Nor is it to be doubted, that the design of the Jacobites was to give reputation to their cause, by engaging so many Gentlemen of the Long-Robe to espouse it, as the readiest way to bring the common people into their measures; for, as these are generally led by example, they would be apt to conclude, that there could be no danger in following the pattern set them by those, who, of all men, ought best to understand the laws and constitution of their country. The timing of this transaction was likewise judged very remarkable; for it was soon after the assembly of the Kirk of Scotland had publicly declared themselves for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover; and their sense being justly taken for that of the bulk of the Protestants in Scotland, whom they represent in an ecclesiastical capacity, it seemed, the Jacobite party there thought it necessary to balance them by the sense of the Ministers of law and justice in that country. This happened also immediately after her Majesty had declared in her speech at the close of the last Session of Parliament, "That it was needless for her to repeat the assurances of her earnest concern for the Succession of the House of Hanover." From whence it may be concluded, that, the Jacobites being sensible of the injury this declaration had done their cause, they might think, that the only way to retrieve it was by procuring for many Lawyers to declare

for them. And, in the last place, this was done at a time, when the armies were in the field, and the Pretender reported to be gone from St Germain's, in order to embark in some port of France on the ocean; which might raise a well-grounded suspicion, that this was designed to favour a second invasion; the rather, because Dundas, in his compliment to the Dukes of Gordon, did not scruple to insinuate a speedy Restoration of the King, and the Royal Family.

Sir David Dalrymple, the Lord Advocate, gave The Faculty's account of this proceeding to the Duke of Queensberry, who dying about this time, the information was laid before the Queen by one of the other Secretaries; and the case was so flagrant, that there was no avoiding to send the Lord Advocate orders to enquire into it. Upon which the Faculty thought fit to disown Dundas, Horne, and the other Advocate, in their address concerning the medal, as done by a party at an occasional meeting, and not by general consent, declaring by a solemn act their affection to the Queen and her Government, and the Protestant Succession, and their detestation of all practices tending to give any encouragement to the Pretender.

It was for some time matter of doubt, whether the Government would be satisfied with this act of the Faculty. But the Court thought fit to make no further Inquiry into that affair. This lenity imboldened Dundas to write a vindication more treasonable, if possible, than their proceedings about the medal: But, before the publication, the Printer carried the copy of it to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who communicated it to Sir James Stuart, and he took care, that the Queen and Council should be informed of it: Upon which the paper was intirely suppressed. And Monsieur de Kreyenberg, Resident from the Elector of Hanover, having, by express orders, presented a memorial, for the prosecution of Dundas and his associates: The Government thought proper to remove Sir David Dalrymple from his office of Lord Advocate, on pretence he had been too remiss in prosecuting the Scots Medallists, and reappointed Sir James Stuart in that post, on account of his zeal in suppressing of Dundas's vindication. Though this gave some satisfaction to the friends of the Protestant Succession, yet it is observable, that Sir David Dalrymple was so far from being an enemy to it, that (as his particular acquaintance affirmed) he would have prosecuted the Medallists with greater severity than any whatever, had he not received secret instructions from a great man at Court not to stir in the affair (1).

All

(1) Nor were the Jacobites less busy in England; for, while these things passed in Scotland, they were very industrious in dispersing clandestinely a printed paper, intitled, *An oath to an Invader, and abjuring the Invader, dissected and examined*; containing eleven queries, levelled against the Revolution and the oath of Abjuration, now administered in Great-Britain, which was printed at the end of that paper. About that time, likewise, a news-paper took notice of a paragraph inserted in a written postscript to the *Post-Boy*, of the 5th of July 1711, sent to Dick's Coffee-house in Dublin, and (as may well be supposed) to many other places, which was as follows: "We are informed, that Mr White, alias Lesley, is gone to Switzerland, in order, if he can, to convert a certain young Gentleman, and bring him over from Popery to Protestantism. If he succeed, it is hoped,

"that there will be no experiment tried hereafter to run the hazard of making use of a Come-over: For those sort of Gentlemen ought no more to be trusted, than a staunch Whig should, although he swears, that he shall be for the Church and Monarchy; except those, who have been sensible of their errors, and, since their conversion, have merited the esteem of all honest men." This paragraph was founded upon a report, that the Pretender was, about that time, preparing to go for Switzerland; but he only went to the French army in Dauphine, and having staid there a few days, and conferred with the Duke of Berwick and the other Generals, he took a journey through Provence, Languedoc, and Guienne, the three finest Provinces of France, and so returned to his residence at St Germain's.

1711. All this while the Ministers in *England* used Titles and all possible means to strengthen themselves, and weaken their enemies, by advancing to honours and employments, such persons as they thought inclined to carry on their new measures. The Lord *Raby* was created Viscount and Earl of *Stratford*. He was the surviving head of the family of *Wentworth-Woodhouse*, in *Yorkshire*, but by a dispute between his Father, and the late Earl of *Stratford*, cut off from the estate. He was recalled from his long Embassy in *Prussia*, and sent Ambassador to *Holland*. The Lord *Dartmouth* was made Viscount *Lewisbam*, and Earl of *Dartmouth*; the Lord *Ferrers*, Earl *Ferrers*; Sir *Simon Harcourt*, Baron of *Stanton-Harcourt*; the Earl of *Orrey*, Baron *Boyle of Marston*; the Duke of *Hamilton*, Duke of *Brandon*, but, a caveat being entered against that patent, a stop was put to it for the present.

The Earl of *Winchelsea* was placed at the head of the Board of Trade; Earl *Paulet* was made Steward of the Household, in the room of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was made President of the Council upon the death of the Earl of *Rochester*. Sir *George Byng* was declared Admiral of the White. Alderman *Cass*, was elected one of the Sheriffs of *London*, who, in the time of the Assassination-Plot, harboured Sir *John Freind*, in his house, where he was apprehended. The Lord *Clermont*, and his brother, Captain *Middleton*, sons to the Earl of *Middleton*, who were taken aboard the *Salisbury*, in the intended Invasion of *Scotland*, were admitted to bail after three years imprisonment.

In July the Duke of *Newcastle* died, whose death is said to be occasioned by a fall from his horse as he was hunting. He was the richest subject that had been in *England* for some ages, and had an estate of above forty thousand pounds a year, which he was much set upon increasing. The Office of Privy-Seal being vacant by his death, it was resolved, to give it to the Earl of *Jersey*. As this Earl had some correspondence in *Paris* and *St Germain's*, the conduct of the private Negotiation of peace was trusted to him, by the Lord-Treasurer *Harley*, who therefore made him Privy-Seal, but the Earl died suddenly the very day that office was given him. Upon his decease it was conferred on Dr *Robinson*, Bishop of *Bristol*, who was designed to be the Plenipotentiary in the Treaty that was now projecting. There having been a warm competition between the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Mar* for the place of Secretary of State for *Norib-Britain*, vacant by the death of the Duke of *Queenberry*, it was thought fit to suppress that place.

In the mean time those at the helm carried on the Negotiation of peace, which they had clandestinely entered into with some agents of *France*, even before the old Ministers were removed. To this purpose Mr *St John*, and, as some affirmed, Mr *Harley* himself, had several private meetings with the *Sieur Gaultier*, an obscure French Priest, who, for some time, was protected by Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Minister, and suffered to say mass in his chapel, and who being afterwards employed in *London* by Count *Tallard*, to receive and forward his letters between *Paris* and *Nottingham*, began to be taken notice of, and assumed the title of Abbot. It was the opinion of many, that, when the Lord-Treasurer *Harley* formed the *South-Sea*

project, he had verbal assurances given him, that *France* and *Spain* would grant to that Company, either some settlement, or, at least, a free trade in the *Spanish West-Indies*, provided a peace was concluded, by which King *Philip* should remain in possession of the Monarchy of *Spain*. These assurances were sufficient to engage the Treasurer, who saw the load, that the carrying on the war must bring upon him, and therefore he resolved to strike up a peace as soon as possible.

On the other hand, the emissaries of *France* gave out every where, that a secret Negotiation of peace was on foot: And the French Court was not wanting to cherish and improve the eager dispositions towards a peace, which they found in the new British Ministers. Accordingly *Torcy* transmitted into *England* some propositions, signed by himself, April 22d. N. S. with a remarkable preamble, importing, 'That, as it was not doubted but the (French) King was in a condition to maintain the war with glory, so it would not be esteemed a sign of weakness, that his Majesty broke the silence he had kept since the separation of the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*; and that, before the opening of the campaign, he gave still new proofs of the desire, that he had always preserved, to procure the re-establishment of the repose of *Europe*. But that, after the experience he had made of the sentiments of those, who now governed the Republick of *Holland*, and of their endeavours to render the Negotiations fruitless, he was willing to address to the English nation the propositions he thought fit to make to end the war; and that, with this view, the King offered to treat of peace on the basis of the following conditions: 1. That the English should have real securities to exercise their commerce in *Spain*, to the *Indies*, and in the ports of the *Mediterranean*. 2. That a Barrier should be formed in the Low-Countries for the security of the Republick of *Holland*, and to the good liking of the *Dutch*. 3. That reasonable means should be sought out to satisfy the Allies of *England* and *Holland*. 4. That as the good estate of the affairs of the King of *Spain* furnished new expedients to end the differences touching that Monarchy, endeavours should be used to surmount the difficulties raised on this occasion. 5. That the Conferences to treat of peace should be immediately opened; and that the King's Plenipotentiaries should either treat with those of *England* and *Holland* alone, or jointly with those of their Allies, at the choice of *England*. 6. And that his Majesty proposed, the Cities of Apr. 27. *Aix la Chapelle* and *Liege* for the place of Treaty, O. S. referring it to *England* to chuse one of those two Cities.' These propositions Mr Secretary *St John* transmitted to the Lord *Raby*, the Queen's Ambassador at the *Hague*, with orders to communicate them to the Pensionary, and to assure that Minister, 'that the Queen was resolved in making peace, as in making war, to act in perfect concert with the States; and desired, that the secret might be kept among as few as possible. He confessed, that the terms of the several propositions were very general; that there was an air of complaisance shewn to *England*, and the contrary to *Holland*, which might be of ill consequence, but could be of none, as long as the Queen and States took care to understand each other, and to act with as little reserve as became two powers so nearly allied in interest; and he

1711.

Negotiations of peace. Hist. of Europe. Sep. of the Secr. Committee. Burnet.

1711. he desired the Pensionary to be assured, that this rule should on the part of *England* be inviolably observed.' In answer to these orders, the Lord *Raby*, acquainted Mr *St John*, 'That the Pensionary had, with those of the *States*, who had been formerly employed in the Negotiations of peace, considered *Torcy's* propositions, and the obliging manner, in which her Majesty was pleased to communicate them: That they thanked her Majesty for her confidence in them; and assured her, that their's was reciprocal, and that, as her Majesty had promised, she would make no step towards a peace, but in concert with them, they desired she might be assured of the same on their part, and that they would make no step in that, or any other kind of Negotiation, which regarded the mutual interest of both nations, but in communication and concert with her Majesty. That they urged the necessity of an intire confidence one with the other at this critical juncture; and declared themselves weary of the war, which they endeavoured to conceal from the enemy, lest he should make his advantage by it; and that they were ready to join in any measures, which her Majesty should think proper, to obtain a good peace: But that they looked upon these propositions as yet in the same manner as the Secretary did, to be very dark and general, and designed to create jealousies between her Majesty, that Republick, and the Allies: But they depended upon her Majesty's justice and prudence, to prevent any such ill effect; and hoped she would make the *French* explain more particularly the several points contained in them.' But, notwithstanding these mutual assurances, there was not the least communication to the *States* of the Negotiations, which were carrying on for above five months together, betwixt *England* and *France*, till after the special Preliminaries, and the seven general ones were signed and sent to them. In the mean time the Lord *Raby*, not being as yet let into the secret, freely declared in a letter, 'That he thought it advisable and necessary to go open with the *States* in this matter of the propositions; and in another, acquainted the Secretary, that all the letters from *France* agreed, that all the hopes the *French* had, was to sow jealousies among the Allies.' And in a third repeats his advice, 'That we must act cautiously with the *States*, that they might have no reason to accuse us for taking the least measures without them.' But it was not long before Mr *St John* prepared him to have other sentiments of the manner of carrying on this Negotiation, and in a letter acquainted him, 'That it was her Majesty's pleasure, he should make all possible haste to come over, since her service might better dispense with his absence, at this point of time, than it would perhaps do at another; and since they must now expect to have very soon upon the tapis many intrigues, concerning which the Queen thought it expedient, that he should con-

fer with the Ministers in *England*; her Majesty designed, upon his arrival, to give him the promotion in Peerage, which he had desired.' The Secretary then frankly told him, 'That *Great-Britain* had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle our affairs, without tearing or rending.' The Lord *Raby* took the hint, and assured Mr *St John*, that he would venture any thing, and undertake any thing to serve the Queen: That the Secretary might venture boldly to trust him with the real intentions, and be assured, that he would not make further use of them, than according to his instructions. He told the Secretary likewise, that if the thing was actually gone no further than it appeared, and *France* had not yet explained; and he had a mind, that he should come over for the Queen's service, he was ready to come in a yacht, frigate, packet-boat, or any way; and concluded, in short, that the Secretary might dispose of him as he pleased, for all his desire was to serve her Majesty to her satisfaction, and he should never grudge any danger and pains.' This voluntary and frank declaration, he desired in a particular manner, might, with his humble compliments, be communicated to the Duke of *Shrovesbury* and Mr *Harley*.

All transactions betwixt *England* and *France* during this time, except two or three papers, are intirely suppressed, which, in the Earl of *Strafford's Instructions of October* the 1st, 1711, are said to have been carried on by papers sent backward and forward, and much time spent therein. However, the *English* Ministers sent over privately to *France* one of their agents, Mr *Prior*; but though the subject and success of his clandestine Negotiations were for some time kept secret, yet his journey could not. For having first gone into *Kent*, and thence into *Suffolk* to give a visit to his friend Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, and so into *France*; upon his return from thence, about the beginning of *August* in a small vessel, that set him ashore at *Deal*, going under a borrowed name, and not producing his pass, he was discovered, and stopped by the Custom-House Officers, till he was released by orders from above. This adventure being noised abroad, Count *Gallas*, the Imperial Minister, thought it his duty to expostulate about it with the Earl of *Oxford*, who told him, 'That he had no reason to be alarmed, for the Queen would never make a peace derogatory from her engagements with her Allies.' On the other hand, in order to palliate the clandestine Negotiation between *Great-Britain* and *France*, which was no longer a mystery, and to feel the pulse of the Nation about a peace, the agents of the *British* Ministers published a pamphlet, intitled, *A new journey to Paris: Together with some secret transactions between the French King and an English Gentleman* (1). This account, under the fictitious name of Mr *Du Baudrier*, was sup-

(1) The Author of this piece acquaints his friend, 'That about two months before the *French* King, resolving once more to give peace to *Europe*, offered the Court of *England*, to send a Minister as far as *Boulogne*, who should be there met by some persons from *England*, to treat the overtures of a peace. That upon notice, that this was agreed to, the King dispatched a

person, who went by the name of Monsieur *de la Basside*, to *Boulogne*, where he took lodgings at one Mr *des Marais*, a Silk-merchant, married to an *English* woman, who formerly waited on the Ladies of the Earls of *Portland* and *Yersey*, when Ambassadors there in the time of King *William*. That, on the 14th of *July*, N. S. a person, who was afterwards known to be

1711. posed by some to be written by *Daniel De Foe*, and by others ascribed to *Jonathan Swift*, who had for some years before attached himself to the Whig-party, but, being disappointed in his hopes of preferment, and particularly of being Chaplain to the Earl of *Wharton*, when he was made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, went over to the Tories upon the change of the Ministry in 1710, and with Mr *Prior*, Dr *Freind*, Mr *Oldisworth*, and some others, was employed in writing a weekly paper, called the *Examiner*, in defence of the new Ministry. Mr *Prior* was instructed to communicate to the Court of *France* some private propositions dated July the 1st, importing in substance, 'That *Great-Britain* would make no peace, but what should be to the satisfaction of all her Allies, according to their agreements and treaties: That the trade of *Holland* should be restored, and the *Dutch* have a barrier, as well as the Emperor, and Duke of *Savoy*, for their security. That care should be taken to keep the balance in *Italy*; and that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never be united. In relation to *Great-Britain*, that our commerce should be settled to the satisfaction of the *British* subjects: The Government to be acknowledged in *France*, as now settled in *Great-Britain*: *Dunkirk* to be demolished: The *Assiento* to be enjoyed by *Great-Britain*, after the peace, as the *French* had it at present: *Newfoundland* to be entirely given up to the *English*; but the trade of *Hudson's Bay* to be continued in the hands of the *French* and *English*; and all things in *America* to remain in the state they should be found in at the conclusion of the peace. That all advantages of trade, granted to the *French* by the *Spaniards* should be equally granted to the *British* Subjects: And, in the last place, that the secret should be inviolably kept, till allowed to be divulged by the mutual consent of both parties concerned.'

With these propositions Mr *Prior* went to *France* in the beginning of July; had a power signed by the Queen; was ordered to return immediately, if the *French* started any difficulties, and was particularly directed to see, if they had full powers from *Spain*. The *French*, not finding him sufficiently impowered to treat, were cautious of disclosing their thoughts to him; for, upon his arrival in *France*, *Torcy*, in a letter to Mr *St John*, told him, 'That he saw with great pleasure Mr *Prior* return, after an interval of so many years: That he could have wished, he had had greater liberty to employ those talents, which he was persuaded he would have made a good use of; but that he hoped Monsieur *Mefnager* would supply what he could not do.' Accordingly, *Mefnager*, Deputy of the Council of Commerce in *France*, accompanied by another Gentleman (said to be the *Abbé du Bois*) attended Mr *Prior* into *England*, and (being vested with full powers to treat, conclude, and sign with such Ministers, as should be authorized in due form, not by *Britain* only, but by any of the Princes and Estates then in war with *France*) he had frequent conferences with the Queen's Ministers, particularly the Lord-Treasurer, Mr *St John*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Dartmouth*. At one of their meetings, which was held at Mr *Prior*'s House, by order of the Lords of the Committee of Council, and unknown to the Queen, then at *Windſor*, *Mefnager* delivered to these four *British* Ministers the *French* King's answer to the demands last sent over by *England*; which, according to Mr *St John*'s Letter to the Queen of the 20th of September, complied with every article, except the eighth, relating to North America. He added, 'They found, however, that they should be able to compound this point in the manner, which her Majesty, some time before, resolved to pass it

be Mr *Prior*, coming directly to the door, and inquiring for Monsieur de la *Bastide* (the name and place having been before concerted) was immediately shewn to Monsieur —, where they were shut up for three hours without any refreshment, though Mr *Prior* had rid post from *Calais* that day, in a great deal of rain. That, the next morning, the author of this account, being recommended to Mr *Prior* by Monsieur des *Morais*, was admitted to wait on him in the capacity both of a Secretary and Valet de *Chambre*; after which, he learned further particulars of Mr *Prior*'s journey to *Boulogne*. That it was reported, that, some time before the peace of *Ryswick*, King *William* did dispatch this very Gentleman to *Paris* upon the same account, for which he now came. That having received his instructions from the *English* Court, under pretence of taking a short journey of pleasure, and visiting Sir *Thomas Hammer* in the County of *Suffolk*, he left his house on Sunday night, the 11th of July, N. S. taking none of his servants with him. That Mr *M—*, who had already prepared a bark on the coast of *Dever*, took Mr *Prior* disguised in his chariot. That they lay, on Monday night, the 12th of July, at the Earl of *Jersey*'s house in *Kent*; arrived early, the next day, at *Dover*; drove directly to the shore; and Mr *Prior*, having got aboard the vessel, arrived at *Calais* about eleven at night; was entertained that night by the Governor with great respect, and set out pretty late next morning for *Boulogne*, where, for four days, he had twolong conferences every day with Monsieur de la *Bastide*, from ten to one at noon, and from six till nine in the evening. That, on the third morning, the Writer of this account

was ordered to attend early; observed Mr *Prior* to have a pleasant countenance; and was commanded to be ready at an hour's warning for a journey to *England*; but, upon the fourth evening, all this was changed. That, on the 18th, Mr *Prior* set out with Mr de la *Bastide*, in the latter's chaise, for *Paris*, where they arrived, Tuesday the 20th, and Mr de la *Bastide* conducted Mr *Prior* to a private lodging, in the *Rue St Louis*, prepared for his reception, where the author had orders to say, that the Gentleman, to whom he belonged, was called Monsieur *Matthews*; but afterwards, at *Verſailles*, he overheard, that his real name was Mr *Prior*. That Mr de la *Bastide* would have had Mr *Matthews* to have gone with him next morning to *Verſailles*, but could not prevail with him to comply. That Mr de la *Bastide* returned the same evening, from *Verſailles*, and, after an hour's warm conference, went with Mr *Prior* in a chariot and six horses to *Verſailles*, where they arrived about eleven at night, and alighted at a Vineyard adjoining to *Madam de Maintenon*'s gardens, whereof Mr de la *Bastide* had the key. That the clock struck two before they came out; and then the coachman drove away to a small house at the end of the town, where Mr de la *Bastide* left Mr *Prior* with his attendant, who observed him to be very thoughtful. That, the next morning, Thursday the 22d, about ten o'clock, Mr de la *Bastide* came; and the house being small, and the Writer's apartment divided from Mr *Prior*'s only by a thin wainscot, he could easily hear what they said, when they raised their voice. That, after some time, he could hear Monsieur de la *Bastide* say with warmth, 'Bon Dieu, &c. Good God! Were ever such de-

K k k

mands

1711. it in, provided *France* gave her satisfaction upon the seventh article, as she had now entirely done. That the propositions to be sent to *Holland*, as the foundation of a *General Treaty*, they had likewise received from him; and that, which was thought most liable to exception, had been very much mended. That, my Lord-Treasurer having, however, proposed some further alterations, in order to make the whole more palatable abroad, and Monsieur *Mefnager* seemingly inclined to agree to them, the Lords of the Council were to consider of them the next morning. That, this being the present situation of the *Treaty*, all her servants were unanimously of opinion, that a warrant and full powers should that night be transmitted to her Majesty, in order to pass the Great-Seal the next morning: And that Mr *Prior* should be added to those empowered to sign; because he, having personally treated with Monsieur *de Torcy*, was the best witness they could produce of the sense, in which the general preliminary engagements were entered into. Besides which, as he was the best versed in matters of Trade of all her Majesty's Ministers trusted in this secret, if she thought fit to employ him in the future *Treaty of Commerce*, it would be of consequence, that he had been a party concerned in that Convention, which must be the rule of that *Treaty*. He concluded, "That the rest of the Plenipotentiaries were all those, who had the honour to sit in her Majesty's Cabinet-Council;" namely, the Earl of *Oxford*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Bishop of *Bristol*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Earl *Pawlet*, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, and Mr Secretary *St John*. But, though the warrant, antedated three days, was signed by the Queen, directing the Lord-Keeper to affix the Great-Seal to an instrument thereto annexed, meaning the full powers; yet most of those, who

so readily concurred in treating with the Minister of *France*, declined becoming parties, when the *Treaty* was to be concluded; and to the special Preliminaries between *Great-Britain* and *France*, signed by *Mefnager*, on the 27th of September, were accepted and signed only by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr Secretary *St John*, by virtue of a warrant directed to them two only, and signed by the Queen. And it is observable, that neither this, nor any one paper of powers and instructions, throughout this whole affair was countersigned by any one Minister, but the Queen's name exposed to cover all, in case this clandestine Negotiation should at last prove abortive, and be afterwards inquired into: And, the English Ministry having every where extolled the great advantages that were granted to *Great-Britain*, *France* made a proper use of it, and declared, "That those articles were an eventual or conditional *Treaty* only; and that the French King would not be obliged to make them good, but in case of the signing of a general peace." In this sense *Mefnager* signed them; and by this means the Queen was brought into this dilemma, either to go on through all adventures in the measures of *France*, or they had it in their power, by divulging the secret, and exposing such a notorious breach of national faith, to make what advantage they thought fit among the Allies; who, from this time, must think themselves disengaged from the Queen, if they could find their own account in separate measures. The same day, that the special Preliminaries were thus accepted, another set of General Preliminary Articles on the Part of *France* were signed by *Mefnager*; as was also a separate article in favour of the Duke of *Savoy*, "whereby the French King promised to restore to that Prince the territories, which belonged to him at the beginning of the present war; and to consent,

1711.

Sept. 17

"mands made of a great Monarch, unless you were at the gates of the Metropolis? For the love of God, Monsieur *Prior*, relax something, if your instructions will permit you, else I shall despair of any good success in our Negotiation. Is it not enough, that our King will abandon his Grandson, but he must lend his own arm to pull him out of the Throne? Why did you not open yourself to me at *Boulogne*? Why are you more inexorable here at *Verailles*? You have risen in your demands, by seeing Madam *Maintenon*'s desire for a peace. As able as you are to continue the war, consider which is to be most preferred, the good of your Country, or the particular advantage of your General; for he will be the only gainer among your subjects." That Mr *Prior* spoke so softly, he could not be well understood; but, upon parting, the Writer heard him say, "If you insist still on those difficulties, my next audience will be that of leave." That, three hours after, Mr *de la Basside* returned with a countenance more composed, and dined with Mr *Prior*, who entertained him with much pleasantry; and, among other things, said, "that Monsieur, (meaning the King) if he were a private man, would be the most agreeable person in the world. Did you mind how obligingly he inquired, whether our famous Chevalier *Newton* was still living? He told me, my good friends, poor *Despreaux*, was dead since I was in *France*, and asked me after Queen *Anne*'s health." Which confirmed the Relator in his opinion, that Mr *Prior* had an audience the night before of the King. That, about ten that evening, Mr *de la Basside* came to take Mr *Prior* to go to the same place they were at before, where they staid about two hours. That, be-

ing returned, Mr *Prior* appeared somewhat disaffected; and, when he came into his chamber, he threw off his hat in some passion, folded his arms, and walked up and down the room for above an hour, extremely pensive. That, on Friday, the 23d, Mr *de la Basside* staid the afternoon with Mr *Prior*, and, about eight o'clock, they went to the rendezvous; and, in an hour and a half's time, Mr *Prior*, with Mr *de la Basside*, another Gentleman and a Lady, came into the walk. That, as Mr *Prior* was taking his leave of those persons, the lady said, "Monsieur songez vous, &c. Consider this night on what we have said to you." And that the Gentleman seconded her, saying, "Ouy, ouy, Monsieur, songez vous en pour la dernier fois: Ay, ay, Sir, consider for the last time." To which Monsieur *Matthews* answered briskly in going out, "Sire, tout ou rien; Sir, all or none, as I have had the honour to tell your Majesty before." That, on Saturday the 24th, Mr *de la Basside* came to Mr *Prior* with a smiling countenance, embraced him with much joy, and told him, "Courage, Monsieur, no travelling to day; Madam *Maintenon* will have me once more conduct you to her." That, about ten o'clock at night, they went forth, and returned about one in the morning; and Mr *Prior* having taken his leave of Mr *de la Basside*, set out in a chaise for *Calais*, where he arrived on Wednesday the 28th, in the evening; and, the next morning, the writer of this account took his leave of Mr *Prior*, who thanked him in the civilest manner, and very nobly made him a present of fifty pistoles. And that the same day, July the 29th, N. S. Mr *Prior* having put to sea with a fair wind, it was supposed, in a few hours, he landed in *England*.

1711.

1711. consent, that there be also yielded to him such other places in *Italy*, as should be found agreeable to the sense of the treaties between him and his Allies.¹ From this a perfect confidence was established between the two Ministries of *England* and *France*; and, in the letters written in the month of *October*, a mutual sincerity was recommended and engaged for, and, that a perfect unanimity should be maintained for accomplishing the work. The Earl of *Strafford's* Instructions, in order to his immediate return into *Holland*, were now preparing, and dated *October 1*, O. S. and as an early proof of the confidence, which Mr *St John* reposed in the *French* Minister, he acquainted *Torcy* by his letter of *October 2*, O. S. that the Earl of *Strafford* was going for *Holland*, and said, *Your Minister*, (meaning *Mefnager*, who was then going back to *France*, and carried this letter) is fully informed in what the Earl of *Strafford* is to propose to the States. Such intelligence of the Queen's Counsels, which Mr *St John* confessed he had given to the Ministers of the Queen's enemies, seems very extraordinary; especially when it is considered, that the Earl of *Strafford* was sent over to preside the opening the general Conferences, with assurances of the greatest friendship and concern for the interests of the States on the part of the Queen, and by her authority to procure from *France* just satisfaction for all her Allies; and, in his instructions, was likewise directed to propose to the States a new scheme for carrying on the war, and to acquaint them with such resolutions, as the Queen had taken concerning it. In short, every article in his instructions was a specimen of the sincerity, with which the *English* Ministers intended to treat the Allies. He was instructed, that it must be the most careful endeavour and fixed principle of all the Confederates to hold fast together; and this immediately after a separate Treaty had been signed by *Great-Britain*; and, if the Ministers of *Holland* should express any uneasiness at their apprehensions of any such private agreement, he was ordered by evasive answers to avoid giving them satisfaction concerning it.

In the mean time *Mefnager* and his companion took their leave of the *British* Ministers, in order to return to *France*, extremely satisfied with their reception here, the Queen having honoured *Mefnager* with a private conversation in her closet, and, at his request, granted to Marshal *Tallard* (who was supposed to have laid the foundation of this Negotiation) the favour of going to *France* for four months upon his parole, which ended in his enlargement, without ransom (1).

The seven preliminary articles published. Five days after *Mefnager's* departure, the Ministers thought fit to communicate the preliminary articles, he had signed to Count *Gallas*, the Emperor's Minister, who treated them with

much scorn, and caused an *English* translation of them to be published, on the 13th of *October*, in the *Daily Courant*, as follows:

Preliminary articles on the part of France, for effecting a general peace,

The King being willing to contribute all that is in his power, to the re-establishing of the general peace, his Majesty declares,

I. That he will acknowledge the Queen of *Great-Britain* in that quality, as also the Succession of that Crown, according to the present settlement.

II. That he will freely, and *bonâ fide*, consent to the taking all just and reasonable measures, for hindering that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may ever be united on the head of the same Prince; his Majesty being persuaded, that this excess of power would be contrary to the good and quiet of *Europe*.

III. The King's intention is, that all the parties engaged in the present war, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable satisfaction in the Treaty of peace, which shall be made: That Commerce may be re-established and maintained for the future, to the advantage of *Great-Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations, who have been accustomed to exercise Commerce.

IV. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the observation of the peace, when it shall be concluded, and the object, the King proposes to himself, being to secure the frontiers of his Kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring States, he promises to agree, by the Treaty which shall be made, that the *Dutch* shall be put in possession of the fortified places, which shall be mentioned, in the *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a barrier; which may secure the quiet of the Republic of *Holland* against any enterprize from the part of *France*.

V. The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient barrier should be formed for the Empire, and for the House of *Austria*.

VI. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the King very great sums, as well to purchase it, as to fortify it; and that it is further necessary to be at very considerable expence for razing the works, his Majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolished, immediately after the conclusion of the peace, on condition, that, for the fortifications of that place, a proper equivalent, that may content him, be given him: And, as *England* cannot furnish that equivalent, the discussion of it shall be referred to the Conferences to be held for the Negotiation of the peace.

VII. When the Conferences for the Negotiation of the peace shall be formed, all the pretensions

(1) It was confidently reported, that *Mefnager*, by the encouragement he received from Mr *St John*, spoke to the Queen in favour of the Chevalier *de St George*, whom he called her Brother; that, her Majesty seemed not displeased with the discourse; and that before he left *England*, he obtained, by means of Mrs *Mansham*, a verbal promise, that private instructions should be sent to the *British* Plenipotentiaries, not to insist on the *French* King's giving up the interest of the Chevalier intirely. Moreover, a letter from a good hand

in *Paris*, dated *November 19*, N. S. imported, That, upon *Mefnager's* return thither, he was very sanguine, and affected publicly to affirm, that the peace was as good as concluded; and that, in particular, he laid great emphasis on the advantages granted in favour of the Prince of *Wales*; which to some people appeared very unlikely, especially when they compared the weight of such an affair with the abilities of Monsieur *Mefnager*, who was never accounted a great genius. *Boyer*.

(1) It

1711. tensions of the Princes and States, engaged in the present war, shall be therein discussed *bonâ fide*, and amicably: And nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them, to the satisfaction of all the parties.*

Done at London,
Sept. 2. 1711.

MESNAGER.

Soon after, Count Gallas received a message from Mr Secretary *St John* in the Queen's name, that he should come no more to Court, his behaviour of late not being agreeable to her Majesty, but, that whatever should for the future be presented to her from his Imperial Majesty by the hands of another Minister, should be very well received.* He was further told, he might go away when he thought fit. This proceeding was severe and unusual; for the common method, when a provocation was given by a public Minister, was to complain of him, to his Master, and to desire him to be recalled. It was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was surmized was, that *Gaultier* betrayed him, and discovered his secret correspondence, and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our Court; for which *Gaultier* was said to be rewarded with an Abbey in France (1).

The seven preliminaries were no sooner made public, than they were severely animadverted upon in several pamphlets, and defended in others; and being communicated to the *States-General* by the Earl of *Stratford*, who arrived at the *Hague* on the 10th of October, extremely alarmed the *States*, as not being a sufficient foundation, upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded; they dreaded the fatal consequences of opening the general Conferences, before the articles offered by France were explained, and especially before they knew at all what they were to trust to for their own Barrier, and for their Commerce. These considerations made them, for some time, decline granting the Passports to the French Plenipotentiaries; and, in order to prevail with the Queen to have some regard to her Allies, and particularly in the two great articles of their Barrier and Commerce, they sent over Monsieur *Buys*, as Envoy Extraordinary, to intercede with her to alter her resolutions; and they made the same representations to the Earl of *Stratford*, but all to no purpose. For as Mr *St*

John declared, in his letter to that Earl, of the 9th of October, "Certain it is, that her Majesty has so far determined upon her measures, that those will deceive themselves, who may imagine by delay or other artifices to break them." And again, November the 2d, to the same Earl, "The Queen will not finally concert a plan for the prosecution of the war with the *States*, until they join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of peace." And the Earl acquaints Mr *St John*, November the 15th, "That he had now told them, her Majesty's order to him was to declare, that she would look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions." In these circumstances the Dutch at last complied to grant the passports, and agreed to open the general Conferences at the time fixed by the Queen, January the 1st, 1711-12; and, pursuant to this resolution of the *States*, upon the pressing instances of the Queen, passports for the French Plenipotentiaries were sent to *Buys*, and delivered to Mr *St John*; and *Utrecht* was agreed upon to be the place for the general Conferences; at which the Bishop of *Bristol* Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Stratford*, were appointed Plenipotentiaries, whose instructions were settled and signed on the 23d of December, 1711. By these instructions the Plenipotentiaries were ordered, "That, if it should be thought proper to begin by the disposition of the Spanish Monarchy, they were to insist, that the security and reasonable satisfaction the Allies expected, and which his most Christian Majesty had promised, could not be obtained, if Spain and the *West-Indies* be allotted to any branch of the House of *Bourbon*." So that hitherto the Queen thought fit to declare in all public acts, that Spain and the *West-Indies* ought by no means to be left in the possession of the House of *Bourbon*, although in the special preliminaries, signed by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr *St John*, on the 27th of September preceding, the King of France did expressly promise to make good the 6th article for himself and for the King of Spain, pursuant to the powers, which were then in his hands.

Upon the receipt of the Preliminaries signed by Monsieur *Mesnager*, which Count *Gallas* transmitted to the new Emperor at *Milan*, his Imperial Majesty wrote a circular letter to the Electors, and other Princes of the Empire, exhorting

(1) It is hard to express, how greatly the generality of people, and even some friends of the Ministry, were surprized at the publication of these Preliminaries, which they looked upon as captious, insidious, and insufficient to ground a Treaty upon; whereas they had been made to expect such glorious and advantageous terms for all the Allies, that the peace would be lasting, safe, and honourable. Hereupon, to calm the minds of the people, an addition of six other Preliminary articles were the same day made public in the *Post-Boy*, which were said to be agreed to by France, though they were not yet signed, nor communicated to the Ministers of the Allies.

These were in substance:

1. That the Kingdoms of *Naples*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the Duchy of *Milan*, with the Fortresses of *Tuscany*, which belonged to the Crown of Spain, and all *Flanders*, should remain for ever to the House of *Austria*.

2. That King *Philip* should have all Spain, with the Islands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, and the *West-Indies*.

3. That, for the security of the English and Dutch trade at all times with Spain, King *Philip* will consent, that the city of *Cadiz* shall be always garrisoned by the English, with full liberty to the South-Sea Company, to establish themselves on the continent of that country, according to the act of Parliament.

4. That the fortifications of *Dunkirk* shall be demolished, and the harbour ruined.

5. That the Dutch may name Commissioners, to treat with the French Commissioners about regulating the necessary Barriers.

6. That satisfaction and security shall be given to the rest of the Allies at the general Congress.

With such fictions, it was thought proper to satisfy the people.

1711.

1711. horting them to *perſiſt in the engagements of the grand Alliance*; and at the ſame time he wrote another letter to the *States* to the ſame effect, but, with this additional deſire, “ That they would join counſels with him to induce the Queen of Great-Britain to reject thoſe propoſitions, and to continue the war; or, if a Negotiation with the enemy could not be avoided, that it might be on condition, that the preceding preliminaries, propoſed moſt of them by the enemy himſelf, might remain fixed, and without alteration: And that ſhe would not truſt the immortal glory ſhe had gained, and the certain welfare of her people, to the infidelity of the French promiſes.” Before this letter reached the *Hague*, Count de *Goes*, the Imperial Plenipotentiary there, preſented a memorial to the *States*, about the current report, “ That the Queen of Great-Britain had accepted the ſeven articles propoſed by France, judging them ſufficient for proceeding to a general Congreſs of peace; and preſſed their High Mightineſſes to conſent thereto, and to grant their paſſports for the Ambaſſadors of France. Wherefore he thought it his duty to aſk of their High Mightineſſes, Whether this report were true? And in caſe it was, to deſire them not to come to any reſolution, but in conjunction with his Imperial Majeſty, or his Miniſters, conformable to the ſixth article of the Grand Alliance.” The *States* returned a civil answer both to this memorial, and to the Emperor’s repreſentations; but the letter, which the Emperor wrote at the ſame time to the Queen of Great-Britain, and which was delivered by *Monſieur Hoffman*, did not meet with the like favourable return.

Many mercenary pens were ſet on work, to juſtify the proceedings of the new Miniſtry, and to deſame the Allies, more particularly the *Dutch*: This was done with much art, but with no regard to Truth, in a pamphlet intitled *The Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Miniſtry*: To which very full answers were written, detecting the thread of falſhood that ran through the work (1). It was now ſaid, *England* was ſo exhausted, that it was impoſſible to carry on the war: And, when King *Charles* was choſen Emperor, it was alſo ſaid, he would be too great

and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if *Spain* were joined to the Emperor, and to the Hereditary Dominions: It was alſo zealouſly, though moſt falſly, inſufed into the minds of the people, that our Allies, moſt particularly the *Dutch*, had impoſed on us, and failed us on many occaſions. The *Jacobites* did, with the greater joy, entertain this proſpect of peace, becauſe the *Dauphin* had, in a viſit to *St Germain*, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender’s affairs.

Our Court denied this; and ſent the Earl *Rivers* to *Hanover*, to aſſure the Elector, that the Queen would take eſpecial care, to have the Succeſſion to the Crown ſecured to his family, by the Treaty that was to be opened: This made little Impreſſion on that Elector; for he ſaw clearly, that, if *Spain* and the *West Indies* were left to King *Philip*, the French would ſoon become the ſuperior power to all the reſt of *Europe*; that France would keep *Spain* in ſubjection, and, by the wealth they would fetch from the *Indies*, they would give law to all about them, and ſet what King they pleaſed on the Throne of *England*. Earl *Rivers* ſtaid a few days there, and brought an answer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reaſon, that it might be ſifted; therefore his Miniſter the Baron de *Boibmar*, who The Elec- came over with the Duke of *Marlborough* on tor of Ha- the 18th of November, was ordered to deliver nover’s to Mr *St John* a long memorial, repreſenting memorial. the neceſſity of preſerving a perfect union be- Nov. 20. tween the Allies, while the peace ſhould be treat- O. S. ing; of their giving each other a mutual guaranty upon what ſhould therein be concluded; as alſo the pernicious conſequences, if *Spain* and the *Indies* were left to the Duke of *Anjou* (2). This memorial, a few days after it was delivered, was publiſhed in the *Daily Courant* of December the 5th, and received with great applauſe by all the well-wiſhers to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, who highly commended the Elector of *Hanover* for his reaſonable interpoſition in an affair, which ſo nearly concerned him. But, on the other hand, as it directly condemned the preſent ſcheme of peace, it gave no ſmall offence to the Miniſtry, whole agents openly exclaimed againſt it, ſuggeſting,

1711.

Many li-
bels a-
gainſt the
Allies.

(1) On the 23d of *October*, being the firſt day of the Term, fourteen Bookſellers, Printers, or Publiſhers, who had been lately taken up and committed to the cuſtody of State-Meſſengers, by warrants from Mr Secretary *St John*, for printing and publiſhing pamphlets, libels, and ballads, ſome of which were indeed ſevere invectives againſt the Miniſtry, and others repreſented as ſuch, appeared at the bar of the Court of *Queen’s Bench*, where Mr *Nicholas Lechmere*, Counſel for Mr *Darby*, and Mr *Hurt*, two of the Printers, pleaded with great zeal againſt the ſeverity of committing people, without telling them their crimes; urging, That at this rate the Office of a Secretary of State would become a Spaniſh Inquiſition. But, at the requeſt of Attorney-General, all the ſaid Perſons were continued on their Recognizances till the laſt day of Term. Mr *Darby* and Mr *Hurt* were proteſtated on account of a tranſlation of a memorable paſſage in *Tacitus* about *Cecilius Baſſus*’s deceiving the Emperor *Nero*, with the promiſe of an imenſe but imaginary treaſure, which was inſerted in a paper called the *Obſervator*, and was deſigned as a reflection on the *South-Sea* project. Others were proteſtated on more criminal accounts, viz. for publiſhing ſeditious ballads, Numb. LXVII. Vol. IV.

called, *A Welcome to the Medal, Credit-reſtored, Mat’s Peace*, &c. Notwithſtanding theſe proteſtations, the pens of both parties were ſtill buſy, the one in exploding, and the other in vindicating, the preſent Negotiations of peace.

(2) It concludes thus: There is ground to hope, that, by remaining firmly united, the Allies may ſoon oblige France (with the bleſſing of God) to agree to reaſonable conditions; the extreme indigence that Crown is in, and the need ſhe has of peace, being very certain, and confirmed from all parts. The Almighty has bleſſed the arms of the Queen and of her Allies, with ſo many triumphs over their powerful enemy, to the end they may ſecure themſelves by a ſafe and advantageous peace, from all they have to fear from him; and it cannot be his pleaſure, that an enemy ſo exhausted, and vanquiſhed, as he has been on all occaſions, ſhould at laſt carry his deſigns by this war, and get out of it by a peace glorious to him, to the ruin of the victorious Allies, and to the deſtruction of the Liberty of all *Europe*; in acquiring by this peace the power of giving a King to *Spain*, of impoſing one upon *Great-Britain*, and of making the validity of the election of the Head of the Empire depend on his approbation.

1711. gesting, that it was very impolite in his Electoral Highness, at this juncture, to intermeddle in the affairs of *Great-Britain*, and seem to espouse a party. Others pretended, that this memorial had more the air of an original in *English*, than of a translation from the *French*; and so concluded, it was contrived in *London* by the leading men of the Whig party, in concert with Baron *Bolmar*, who was persuaded to present it: But this was altogether groundless, for the memorial was drawn up in form at *Hanover*, by Monsieur *Robelton*, according to the Elector's orders and directions. Nay, some were so bold, as in a printed *Letter from a supposed Whig Gentleman in the country, to a friend in town*, to question the genuineness of that memorial, and to laugh at it as a barefaced imposture; with other scandalous reflections on his Electoral Highness, and his Envoy. As for the *British* Ministers, they had no manner of regard to that representation; nor would the Queen perhaps ever have seen it, had it not been shewn to her in print by the Duke of *Somerset*, before it was laid before her by the Secretary of State; which could not be agreeable either to her, or to Mr *St John*, who expostulated with the Baron *de Bolmar* about publishing his memorial.

The Parliament prorogued to the 7th of Decemb. Burnet. Hist. of Europe.

The Parliament having been prorogued to the 27th of November, a Council was held on the 20th at *St James's*, whether it should be further prorogued, or only adjourned for a few days; and it was at last carried for a prorogation till the 7th of December. It seems, the *Dutch*, before they gave their consent to the opening of a Congress, were desirous to see first how the Parliament was inclined, but the Earl of *Strafford*, perceiving their design, told them plainly, that, till they agreed to treat, the Session would not be opened, so they complied: Another reason, for proroguing the Parliament so late in the year, was the discovery of a Coalition of some

1711. eminent Peers of the High-Church Party, with those of the contrary side, and of their having concerted a Representation to be laid before the Queen against a peace on the foot of the proposals made by *France*; which, it was thought, might be prevented, it not by other means, at least by the coming up of the *Scotch* Peers, not above three or four of whom were yet arrived in *London* (1).

In the mean time, pains were taken on many persons who were supposed to be concerned in the intended representation. The Lord-Treasurer *Harley* endeavoured to engage the Earl of *Nottingham* in the Court-measures, against which *Perce* he had openly declared. And the Queen, at the same time, closeted the Dukes of *Grafton* and *St Albans*, the Earls of *Dorset* and *Scarborough*, the Lords *Sommers*, *Cowper*, and particularly the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, upon his coming over, spoke plainly to the Queen against the steps that were already made: But he found her so possessed, that what he said made no impression; so he desired to be excused from coming to Council, since he must oppose the present proceedings. All the rest likewise remained firm in their opinion, to the great disappointment of the new Ministry (2). It was therefore proposed at first in a Council, on the 5th of December, to cause both Houses to adjourn for a few days, during which fresh endeavours might be used to defeat the design lately formed against the present scheme; but some Members of the Privy-Council having represented the fears and jealousies, which such an adjournment, after so many prorogations, might create in the minds of the people; and on the other hand, the Ministry, either hoping, with the assistance of their *Scots* friends, to have a majority in the House of Lords, or, at least, being secure of it in that of the Commons, it was, after a long debate, finally resolved, that the

(1) What happened, some days before, afforded yet more matter of discourse and speculation. Upon information, that the effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender, were to be carried in procession, and (according to the custom of the *London* Mob) burnt on the 17th of November, the Anniversary of Queen *Elizabeth's* Inauguration, the Earl of *Dartmouth* issued out his warrant, pursuant to which, on the 16th, at twelve at night, some of the Queen's Messengers, sustained by a detachment of the Foot-guards, seized those three figures, with several others of Cardinals, Jesuits, and Friars, all finely dressed, and carried them from an empty house in *Drury-Lane*, where they had been lodged, to the Earl of *Dartmouth's* Office in the *Cock pit*. And the Trained-Bands of *London* and *Westminster* were immediately assembled, and continued under arms three days together. At the same time endeavours were used to render obnoxious an illustrious society of Noblemen and Gentlemen, called the *Kit-Cat-Club*, who, for many years, had distinguished themselves by their zeal for the Protestant Succession. For which purpose, the mercenary Writer of the *Post-Boy*, of the 22d of November, was directed to charge them with "a conspiracy to raise a mob to confront the best of Queens, and her Ministry, pull down the houses of several honest, worthy, loyal, true *English* Gentlemen, having had money distributed amongst them some time before for that purpose by G. G. S. S. W. H. M. [i. e. *Grafton*, *Gedolphin*, *Dr Garth*, *Somerset*, *Sunderland*, *Sommers*, *Wharton*, *Hallifax*, and *Montague*.] an insatiable junto, cum multis aliis, who made the

"subscription, and gave out, that her Majesty was very ill, if not dead, in order to have acted the treasons with greater freedom." Whereas the Lords and Gentlemen, who were at the expense of these effigies, had no other design, than to have them carried in procession, and afterwards burnt with the like solemnity, as was remarkably practised on the 17th of November, 1679, when the Nation was justly alarmed with a popish Plot, and a popish Successor.

(2) Among others (says Bishop *Burnet*, Vol. II. p. 582.) the Queen spoke to myself; she said, she hoped Bishops would not be against peace: I said, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by *France* gave no hopes of such an one; and the trusting to the King of *France's* Faith, after all that had passed, would seem a strange thing. She said, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of *France's* word, but we ought to suspend our opinions, till she acquainted us, with the whole matter. I asked leave to speak my mind plainly; which she granted: I said, any treaty, by which *Spain* and the *Holland* were left to King *Philip*, made in a little while deliver up all *Europe* into the hands of *France*; and, if any such Peace should be made, she was betrayed, and we would all be ruined; in less than three years time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in *Smithfield*: I pursued this long, till I saw she grew uneasy; so I withdrew.

1711. the Parliament should sit on the day, to which they were last prorogued. Accordingly, a Committee of the Council having met the 6th of December, to consider of the Queen's speech, her Majesty went the next day in a sedan to the House of Peers, and spake to both Houses to this effect:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's Speech.

"I Have called you together, as soon as the publick affairs would permit; and I am glad I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those, who delight in war, both place and time are appointed, for opening the Treaty of a general peace.

"Our Allies, especially the *States-General*, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have, by ready their concurrence, expressed their intire confidence in me; and I have no reason to doubt, but that my own subjects are assured of my particular care of them.

"My chief concern is, that the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Nations, may be continued to you, by securing the Succession to the Crown, as it is limited by Parliament to the House of *Hanover*.

"I shall endeavour, that after a war, which has cost so much blood and treasure, you may find your interest in trade and commerce improved and enlarged by a peace, with all other advantages, which a tender and affectionate Sovereign can procure for a dutiful and loyal People.

"The Princes and States, which have been engaged with us in this war, being by treaties intitled to have their several interests secured at a peace, I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable satisfaction, but I shall unite with them in the strictest engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general peace secure and lasting.

"The best way to have this treaty effectual, will be to make early provision for the campaign. Therefore, I must ask of you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, the necessary Supplies for the next year's war; and I do most earnestly recommend to you, to make such dispatch therein, as may convince our enemies, that, if we cannot obtain a good peace, we are prepared to carry on the war with vigour.

"Whatever you give, will still be in your power to apply; and I doubt not, but, in a little time after the opening of the treaty, we shall be able to judge of its event.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"As I have had your chearful assistance for the carrying on this long and chargeable war, so I assure myself, that no true Protestant, or good Subject, will envy *Britain* or Me the glory and satisfaction of ending the same by a just and honourable peace for Us and all our Allies.

"Such a peace will give new life to our foreign trade; and I shall do my utmost to improve that happy opportunity to encourage our home-manufactures, which will tend to

"the easing my subjects in that excessive charge they now lie under in maintaining the poor, and to correct and redress such abuses, as may have crept into any part of the Administration during so long a war.

"I cannot conclude, without earnestly recommending to you all unanimity; and that you will carefully avoid every thing, which may give occasion to the enemy to think us a people divided amongst ourselves, and consequently prevent our obtaining that good peace, of which we have such reasonable hopes, and so near a view.

"I pray God direct your consultations to this end, that, being delivered from the hardships of war, you may become a happy and a flourishing people."

This speech gave occasion to many reflections. The arts of those, who delighted in war, seemed to be levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Preliminaries concerted at the *Hague*; and her saying, that the *Allies* expressed their intire confidence in her, amazed all those, who knew, that neither the Emperor, nor the Empire, had agreed to the Congress, but were opposing it with great vehemence; and that even the *States-General* were far from being cordial or easy in the steps they had made.

As soon as the Queen had ended her speech, she retired into a room, and, having taken off her robes, came back *Incognito* to the House of Peers, both to hear the debates, and, by her presence, to moderate any heats, that might arise; which however, was by some observed to be unusual on the day the Sovereign opens a Session of Parliament.

The Earl of *Ferrers* having made a motion for an address of thanks to the Queen for her speech, the Earl of *Nottingham* rose up, and very copiously set forth the insufficiency and captiousness of the late Preliminaries; made a lively representation of the danger of treating upon so precarious a foundation; urged the express engagements, which *Great-Britain* had entered into with the Allies, to restore the intire monarchy of *Spain* to the House of *Austria*; and the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour, till those engagements were made good: adding, 'That, though he had a numerous family, he would readily contribute half his income towards it, rather than acquiesce in a peace, which he thought unsafe and dishonourable to his Country and all *Europe*.' He concluded with offering a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks, 'to represent to her Majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of the House, that no peace could be safe or honourable to *Great-Britain*, or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were allotted to any branch of the House of *Bourbon*.' The Lord *Guernsey*, brother to the Earl of *Nottingham*, said, 'That such a clause was foreign to an address of thanks: That, in all probability, few of the Members of the House were prepared to speak to it; but that it might be debated at a more convenient time, when, according to custom, the House should take into consideration the State of the Nation.' He was seconded by the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and another Peer; and the Lord *Treasurer* added, 'That, according to the rules and orders of the House, this was not the proper time to debate such a motion.' Upon this the Earl of *Wharton* appealed to the House, whether

1711.

Reflections on it.
Barnet.

Debate about a clause offered by the Earl of Nottingham.
Pr. H. L.

1711. ther there were any such order? And, the Duke of Buckingham, the most versed in the knowledge of Parliamentary proceedings, having overruled the Treasurer's objection, the Earl of Wharton proceeded; spoke with great zeal against the Preliminary Articles offered by France; and insisted upon the necessity of inserting in the address the clause offered by the Earl of Nottingham. He was supported by the Earl of Sunderland, who answered the objection raised by some Peers of the opposite side, namely, that they were not prepared to speak to that motion: "What, my Lords, said he, is it possible, that any Member of this illustrious House should be unprepared to debate an affair, which, for these ten years past, has been the principal subject-matter of our consultations? Do not we sit in the same House? And, Are we not the same Peers, who have constantly been of opinion, and have often represented to her Majesty, that no safe and honourable peace can be made, unless Spain and the *West-Indies* be recovered from the House of Bourbon? It is true, I see some new faces among us: But even that Lord, who sits on the Wool-pack [meaning the Lord Treasurer] may well remember, that, in the late reign, four Lords were impeached for having made a Partition-Treaty." The Earl of Anglesey, (who, with the Duke of Ormond, was just come into the House, having that morning travelled above thirty miles in their return from Ireland) represented "the necessity of easing the Nation of the burden of this expensive war, and said, they ought to leave it to her Majesty's wisdom to conclude a peace, when she thought it convenient for the good her subjects:" adding, "That we might have enjoyed that blessing soon after the battle of Ramillies, if the same had not been put off by some persons, whose interest it was to prolong the war." The Duke of Marlborough, who could not but perceive, that this suggestion was levelled against him, made a long and pathetic speech, wherein, among other things, he said, "He thought himself happy, in having an opportunity given him of vindicating himself on so material a point, which his enemies had so loudly, and so unjustly, laid to his charge, before a person [meaning the Queen, and making a bow towards the place where her Majesty was] who knowing the integrity of his heart, and the uprightness of his conduct, would not fail doing him justice. That he referred himself to the Queen, whether, whilst he had the honour to serve her Majesty, as General and Plenipotentiary, he had not constantly informed Her, and her Council, of all the proposals of peace, that had been made; and, had not desired instructions for his conduct on that subject? That he could declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of her Majesty, of that illustrious assembly, and of that Supreme Being, who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, he must soon appear, to give an account of his actions, that he ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and that he was always very far from any design of prolonging the war for his own private advantage, as his enemies had most falsely insinuated. That his advanced age, and the many fatigues he had

undergone, made him earnestly wish for retirement and repose, to think of eternity the remainder of his days; the rather, because he had not the least motive to desire the continuance of the war, having been so generously rewarded, and had honours and riches heaped upon him, far beyond his desert and expectation, both by her Majesty and her Parliaments. That he thought himself bound to this public acknowledgment to her Majesty and his Country, that he should always be ready to serve them, if he could but crawl along, to obtain an honourable and lasting peace: But that at the same time, he must take the liberty to declare, that he could, by no means, give into the measures, that had lately been taken to enter into a Negotiation of peace with France, upon the foot of the seven preliminary articles; for he was of the same opinion with the rest of the Allies, that the safety and liberties of Europe would be in imminent danger, if Spain and the *West-Indies* were left to the House of Bourbon; which, with all humility, and as he thought himself in duty bound, he had declared to her Majesty, whom he had the honour to wait on, after his return from Holland: And, therefore, he was for inserting in the address the clause offered by the Earl of Nottingham." This speech, delivered with a most hearty concern, had the greater weight, as it was supported by the Lord Cowper, the Bishop of Sarum, the Lord Halifax, and some other Peers. On the other hand, the Lord North and Grey and some other officious Courtiers said, that, since peace and war belonged, as prerogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in those matters, until it was asked: But this was rejected with indignation, since it was a constant practice, in all Sessions of Parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end specified in the writ, by which a Parliament was summoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were upon the present Session; and this was a post-night: So it was fit they should come to a present resolution, in a matter of such importance. This debate (in which the Dukes of *Strettonbury* and *Buckingham* were observed to say little or nothing) having lasted till near seven in the evening, the question was put, whether the Earl of Nottingham's advice should be part of the address; and, the previous question being first put, it was carried by the single vote of that Earl; but the mean question was carried by sixty-two against fifty-four: So this point was gained, though by a small majority.

It was expected, that the Court-party would the next day have the majority, by means of the proxies which eight *Scot* Peers had sent to the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Mar. Wherefore, when the address of the Lords was reported to the House, by the Committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be contested over again, pretending, that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they should agree to the draught, prepared by the Committee: But that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the very words, in which the vote had passed; and it was a standing rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into question, da-

1711.

The clause is agreed to by the Lords.

1711. ring that Session. This was so sacred a rule, that many of those, who voted with the Court the day before, expressed their indignation against it, as subverting the very Constitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a division was called for, but, the majority appearing so evidently against the motion, it was yielded, without counting the House. Three days after, the Lords waited on the Queen with their address, which was as follows:

the Lords cc
address, r. H. L. **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, do, with hearts full of gratitude and loyalty to your sacred Majesty, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble and hearty thanks and acknowledgments for your Majesty's most tender and affectionate care for all your people, expressed in your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne, and for imparting to us your Majesty's desires of ending this present war, by a peace advantageous to your Subjects, and just and honourable for your Majesty and all your Allies; as also for your Majesty's expressing so particular a regard for the interest of the *States-General*, as inseparable from your own; and that your Majesty is graciously pleased to assure us, it is your chief concern, that the Protestant Religion, and the laws and liberties of these nations, may be continued to your people, by securing the Succession to the Crown, as it is limited by Parliament to the House of *Hanover*; and that your Majesty is pleased to shew so just a resolution to procure a satisfaction for all the Allies, being by treaties intitled to have their several interests secured at a peace, and to unite with them in the strictest engagements, in order to render the peace secure and lasting. And we do beg leave to represent it to your Majesty, as the humble opinion and advice of this House, that no peace can be safe or honourable to *Great-Britain* or *Europe*, if *Spain* and the *West-Indies* are to be allotted to any part of the House of *Bourbon*.

To which the Queen returned this answer:

My Lords,

"I take the thanks you give me kindly. I should be very sorry any one could think I would not do my utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West-Indies* from the House of *Bourbon* (1)."

The Lords returned her thanks for this answer: For they understood, by the doing her utmost, was meant the continuing the war. The Court was much troubled to see the House of Lords so backward, and both sides studied to fortify themselves, by bringing up their friends or by getting their proxies.

The House of Commons were more complaisant than that of the Lords, for a clause being offered to be inserted in their address of thanks, importing, "That the House did not doubt, but care would be taken, that *Spain* and the *West-Indies* should not be left in the hands of any branch of the House of *Bourbon*, which might endanger the safety of her Majesty's Person and Government, the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and the Liberties of *Europe*;" after a long debate, this clause was rejected by a majority of two hundred and thirty-two voices against one hundred and six; and so the Commons, in their address, not only expressed their satisfaction in what her Majesty had been pleased to declare of the just and honourable peace, which she had in view; but, at the same time, assured her, that they would use their utmost endeavours to disappoint, as well the arts and designs of those, who, for private views, might delight in war, as the hopes the enemies might have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any division among them. The Queen returned for answer, "That this very dutiful address was what she expected from the zeal and loyalty of such an House of Commons: That she returned them her hearty thanks for the confidence they had in her; and entirely relied upon their assurances: And that they might depend upon her affection and care for their interests."

While things passed smoothly in the House of Commons, the proceedings in the House of Peers made a great noise, and kept the contending parties in suspense: The Duke of *Hamilton*, one of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*, having been created a Peer of *Great-Britain*, by the title of Duke of *Brandon*, notwithstanding a caveat entered against his patent, and now claiming a place in that quality in the House of Peers, many Lords, who apprehended no small danger to the Constitution, from the admitting into their House a greater number of *Scots* Peers, than were agreed to by the act of Union, resolved to oppose his claim. When that affair was brought into the House, it was espoused by the Court with great zeal, and the Queen came to hear the debates. Lawyers were heard for the Patent: It was said, the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear. All the subjects of the united Kingdom had likewise a capacity of receiving Honour. The Commons of *Scotland* had it unquestionably; and it seemed a strange assertion, that the Peers of that Nation should be the only persons incapable of receiving honour. By the act of Union the Peers of *Scotland* were, by virtue of that Treaty, to have a representation of sixteen for their whole body: These words, by virtue of that Treaty, seemed to insinuate, that, by Creation or Succession, they might be made capable. And in the debate, that followed in the House, the *Scots* Lords, who had been of the Treaty of Union, affirmed, that these words were put in on that design. And, upon this, they appealed to the *English* Lords: This

1711.

The same clause rejected by the Commons.

Pr. H. C.

Duke Hamilton's patent examined. Pr. H. L. Burnet.

Dec. 20.

WAS

(1) The same day the address was presented, several Court Lords entered their protests against it; 1. Because the nature of it was altered, there being no precedent for inserting a clause of advice in an address of thanks. 2. Because they looked upon it No. 67. VOL. IV.

"as an invasion of the Royal Prerogative, in so sudden a manner to declare their opinion in a matter of such importance to the Crown, as the making of peace and war."

1711. was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the House of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of *Queensberry* upon his being created Duke of *Dover*, but had so far affirmed his being a Peer of *Great Britain*, that upon that account they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the sixteen Peers of *Scotland*. But, in opposition to all this, it was replied, that the prerogative could not operate, when it was barred by an act of Parliament: The act of Union had made all the Peers of *Scotland* Peers of *Great Britain*, as to all intents, except the voting in the House of Lords, or sitting in judgment on a Peer: And, as to their voting, that was vested in their representatives, by whom they voted. The Queen might give them what titles she pleased; but this incapacity of voting, otherwise than by these sixteen, being settled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them. They had indeed admitted the Duke of *Queensberry* to sit among them as Duke of *Dover*; but that matter was never brought into debate, and so was passed over in silence; and he was mentioned in their books, upon occasion of his voting in the choice of the sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there said, that he, claiming to be Duke of *Dover*, could not vote as a *Scots* Peer. The *Scots* Lords, in arguing for the Patent, infilled with great vehemence, not without intimations of the dismal effects, that might follow, if it should go in the negative. The Court exerted their whole strength to support the Patent. This heighten'd the zeal of those who opposed it; for they apprehended, that, considering the dignity and the antiquity of the *Scots* Peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourse to this, as a sure expedient to have a constant ma-

jority in the House of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the Prerogative, as to the creation of new Peers; yet these were generally men of estates, who could not be kept in a constant dependence, as some of the *Scots* Lords might be. The debate lasted till near eight o'clock in the evening, when the question was put, Whether the twelve Judges should be consulted with? Which being carried in the negative by fourteen votes, proxies included, another question was put, Whether *Scots* Peers, created Peers of *Great Britain* since the Union, had a right to sit in that House? Which was also carried in the negative by a majority of fifty-seven voices against fifty-two (1). The Queen and the Ministers seemed to be much concerned at this, and the *Scots* were enraged at it. They met together, and signed a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the Union, and a mark of disgrace put on the whole Peerage of *Scotland*, adding solemn promises of maintaining her Prerogative, either in an united or separate state. This made the Ministers resolve on another method to let the Peers, and indeed the whole world see, that they would have that House kept in a constant dependence on the Court, by creating such a number of Peers at once, as should give them an unquestionable majority.

In the mean time an affair of no less importance was brought into the House of Peers. The *Occasional Conformity Bill*, having miscarried three times, lay dormant for seven years, till it was at this time revived by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who told those, with whom he now joined, that he was but one man come over to them, unless he could carry a bill to that purpose: But, if they would give way to that, he hoped he should be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded

(1) On this occasion was entered the following protest:

Dissentient,

1. Because, as we apprehend, by this resolution, the prerogative of the Crown in granting patents of honours, with all privileges depending thereon, to the Peers of *Great Britain*, who were Peers of *Scotland* at the time of the Union, as well as the right of the Duke of *Brandon* to sit and vote in Parliament, are taken away; and this prerogative of the Crown, and right of the Duke, depending upon the construction of an act of Parliament, though Counsel, by order of the House, were heard at the bar, and all the Judges were ordered to attend at the same time, yet the opinion of the Judges was not permitted to be asked touching the construction of the said act of Parliament.

2. Because the prerogative of the Crown, as we conceive in granting patents of honour, with the privileges depending thereon, ought not, in the construction of any act of Parliament, to be taken away, unless there be plain and express words to that purpose in the said act: And we conceive, there are no such plain and express words to that purpose in the act of Union.

3. Because by this resolution all the Peers of *Great Britain*, who were Peers of *Scotland* at the time of the Union, are supposed to be incapable of receiving of any patent of honour from the Crown, by virtue whereof they may be intitled to the privileges of sitting and voting in Parliament, and sitting on the trial of Peers; which, we conceive, is repugnant to the fourth article of the Union, which declares the privi-

leges and advantages, which do or may belong to the subjects of either Kingdom, except where it is otherwise expressly agreed in those articles, in which, we apprehend, there is no such provision.

4. Because the Duke of *Queensberry*, in all respects in the same case, as the Duke of *Hamilton*, was introduced, sat, and voted in this House, in matters of the highest importance, in two several Parliaments, as Duke of *Dover*, by virtue of a patent passed since the Union; and, in consequence of such sitting and voting, his vote in the election of Peers of *Scotland* was rejected; and, as a further consequence thereof, the Marquis of *Lathian* was removed from his seat in this House, which he had an undeniable title to, if the Duke of *Queensberry's* patent, as Duke of *Dover*, had not given him a title to sit and vote in this House.

5. Because, by this resolution, the Peers of *Scotland* are reduced to a worse condition in some respects, than the meanest or most criminal subjects.

6. Because we conceive this resolution may be construed, to be a violation of the treaty between the two Nations.

Finchley,
Ormond,
Baimering,
Clarendon,
Oxford and Mortimer,
Boyle,
Kilgus,
Rivers,
Bluntgrey,
Hundgrave,

Pault,
Harcourt,
O. S. Hume,
Mar,
Landon,
Osborne,
Ryfelbery,
Illy,
Orkney.

(1) The

1711. ed this the more easily, because they knew, that the Court had offered to the Highmen in the House of Commons, to carry any bill, they should desire in that matter. The Earl of *Nottingham* promised to draw it with all possible temper. It was thus prepared, that all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the Common-Council-men in Corporations, who should be at any Meeting for divine worship (where there were above ten persons more than the family) in which the Common Prayer was not used, or where the Queen and Princess *Sophia* were not prayed for, should, upon conviction, forfeit their place of trust, or profit, the witnesses making oath within ten days, and the prosecution being within three months after the offence; and such persons were to continue incapable of any employment, till they should depose, that for a whole year together they had been at no Conventicle. The bill likewise enacted, that the Toleration should remain inviolable in all time to come; and that, if any person should be brought into trouble for not having observed the rules that were prescribed by the act, that first granted the Toleration, all such prosecution should cease, upon their taking the oath prescribed by that act: And a Teacher in any one County was by the bill qualified to serve in any licensed Meeting in any part of *England*; and, by another clause, all who were concerned in the practice of the Law in *Scotland*, were required to take the *Abjuration* in the month of *June* next. This bill was brought into the House of Lords on the 15th of *December*, and, no opposition being made to it, they passed it in three days, and sent it down to the Commons, who read it immediately the first time, and gave it a second reading the next day; and on the 20th of *December*, a petition being offered to the House in behalf of the *Dutch* and *French* Protestant Churches, praying, they might be excepted from the restraints laid by this bill upon *English* Dissenting Congregations: The petition was rejected. After which the Commons in a Committee of the whole House (which that morning was very thin) made several amendments to the bill, particularly the addition of a penalty on the offender of forty pounds, which was to be given to the informer. These amendments being immediately reported and agreed to, the bill was sent back to the Peers, who the same day sent down a message to the Commons, to acquaint them, they had agreed to these amendments (1). Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had formerly been so much contested, and was so often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both Houses in

so silent a manner, without the least opposition. 1711. Some of the Dissenters complained much, that they were thus forsaken by their Friends, to whom they had trusted; and the Court had agents among them, to inflame their resentments, since they were sacrificed by those, on whom they depended. All the excuse, that the Whigs made for their easiness in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go towards quieting the fears of those, who seemed to think, that the Church was still in danger, till that act passed, and thereby to engage these to concur with them in those important matters, that might come before them (2).

On the 22d of *December*, the Queen being The Commons indisposed, the Lord-Keeper and the Lord-President, and other Lords, were commissioned *Journal to the 14th of January* to pass the land-tax-bill for four shillings in the pound, which was ready for the Royal assent, with the bill against Occasional Conformity. After which, the Commons adjourned to the 14th of *January*, which was a long recess at so critical a time.

Before the Lords adjourned, a motion was The Lords made by the Duke of *Devonshire*, for leave to address bring in a bill, to give the Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, as Duke of *Cambridge*, the precedence of all Peers; which was granted, and so was likely to meet with no opposition. The Earl of *Nottingham* moved next, that, before their recess, they should make an address to the Queen, desiring, 'That her Majesty would be pleased to give instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, to consult with the Ministers of the Allies in *Holland*, before the opening of the Congress, that they might concert the necessary measures to preserve a strict union amongst them all, the better to obtain the great end proposed by her Majesty, for procuring to them all just and reasonable satisfaction, and for rendering the peace more secure and lasting, which could only be effected by a general guaranty of the terms of the peace to all the Allies, and of the Protestant Succession to these Kingdoms, as settled by Act of Parliament.' All the opposition, which the Court made to this, was to shew, that it was needless, since it was already ordered; and the Lord-Treasurer said, that the Lords might, in order to their satisfaction, send to examine their instructions. To this it was answered, that the offering such an address would satisfy the Plenipotentiaries, in executing their instructions. The Court moved, these words might be put into the address, *in case her Majesty had not already given such orders*; which being agreed to, the address was presented on the 27th of *December*, and

(1) The Dissenters (says *Boyer*) being justly alarmed at this bill, did, the same morning, make application to the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord High-Treasurer, humbly beseeching his Lordship to use his powerful interest to prevent the passing of it: But though his Lordship, with most of his Family, had, for the greatest part of his life, joined in Communion with the Presbyterians; yet, on this occasion, he thought fit to sacrifice his religious principles to his political views; and so the Dissenters were left in the lurch.

(2) Dr *Calamy*, in his *Historical Additions*, says, on this occasion: Thus, after fifty years exclusion from the public Churches, by the act of Uniformity, during the one half of which they were exposed to great ri-

gours and severities, though, during the other half, they have had more liberty, are the poor Dissenters excluded the service of the State. So far are we from any hopes of a coalition, which has been so often talked of, that nothing will do but an entire submission. *Conscience truly scrupulous* may indeed still have their liberty: But they, that would be capable of any places of profit and trust, must quit the Meetings after *March 25, 1712*; and they, that in all times and changes adhered to the true interest of their Country, must be publicly branded. Perhaps, the time may come, when persons may have other thoughts of this matter, than while in the heat of action.

(1) The

1711. and the Lords adjourned no longer than to the 2d of January, which, as well as the address, was no small surprize to the Queen and her Ministers.

The Duke of Marlborough turned out of all his employments, on pretences of bribery.
Pr. II. C. Burnet.

During the recess it was, that the Duke of Marlborough was discharged from all his employments. In order to this, all the methods, that malice and envy could invent, were used to make him appear criminal. But the discoveries made by the Commissioners for examining the public accounts were made the immediate cause of his disgrace. Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing bread to the army in Flanders, made a present yearly to the Duke of Marlborough of between five and six thousand pounds. The General of the States, it seems, had the like present, as a perquisite to support his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence. The Queen ordered ten thousand pounds a year more to the Duke of Marlborough for the same service. King William had also agreed, that two and a half per Cent. should be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to fifteen thousand pounds. This the Queen had by a warrant appointed the Duke of Marlborough to receive, on the same account.

The Duke having heard, while he was beyond sea, that the Commissioners had discovered the present made him by the Jew, sent them a letter on the 10th of November, N. S. from the Hague, wherein he owned the whole matter to be true, and added, he had applied these sums to

the procuring good intelligence, to which, next 1711. to the blessing of God on the bravery of the troops, their constant successes were owing. This did not satisfy the Commissioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army of their not being constantly supplied with good bread, yet they saw here was matter to raise a clamour against the Duke, which they chiefly aimed at. Accordingly the Commissioners reported these things to the House of Commons on the 21st of December, the day before their recess (which report was referred to the 17th of January) and the next day, pursuant to an order of the House, Mr Shippen, one of the Commissioners, laid before them: First, the deposition of Sir Solomon de Medina, Knight, proving great sums of money taken by his Grace, John Duke of Marlborough, Adam Cardanuel, Esquire, his Grace's Secretary, and others, on account of the contracts for supplying bread and bread-waggons to her Majesty's forces in the Low-Countries. Secondly, Captain William Preston's deposition about forage in North-Britain. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough's letter, which he had writ in vindication of himself to the Commissioners, was, by his order or contrivance, published in the *Daily Courant* of the 27th of December. This letter having made an impression in his favour on the minds of many persons, the report of the Commissioners was, by way of answer, printed at large two days after (1), and the next day, the 30th of December,

(1) The substance of the report, and the Duke's letter, were as follow: * That it appeared by the deposition of Sir Solomon de Medina, the present Contractor, and by the accounts of Antonio Alvarez Macharo, who had been Contractor before him, that from the year 1702, to the year 1711, both included, the Duke of Marlborough had received, upon account of the contracts for bread and bread-waggons, the sum of six hundred and sixty-four thousand, eight hundred and fifty-one guilders, and eight stivers, which amounted to sixty-three thousand, three hundred and nine pounds, three shillings, and seven pence. That, some time after this evidence was given, they received, by the hands of James Cragg, Esq; a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, desiring the Commissioners, That, when they made their report, they would lay some facts before the Parliament in a true light. That they thought they could not better do him justice, than in his own words:

Gentlemen,

Hague, Novemb. 10, 1711.

* Having been informed, upon my arrival here yesterday, that Sir Solomon Medina, had acquainted you with my having received several sums of money from him. That it may make the less impression upon you, I would lose no time in letting you know, that this is no more than what has always been allowed as a perquisite to the General or Commander in chief of the army in the Low-Countries, both before the Revolution and since; and I do assure you, at the same time, that whatever sums I have received, on that account, have constantly been applied for the service of the public, in keeping secret correspondence, and getting intelligence of the enemies motions and designs; and it has fallen so short, that I take leave to acquaint you with another article, that has been applied to the same use, and which arises from her Majesty's warrant, whereof the inclosed is a copy, though this does not properly relate to the public accounts, being a free-gift from the foreign troops. You will have observed, by the several establishments, that, before the late King's death, when the Parliament voted forty thousand men for the

quota of England in the Low-Countries, twenty-one thousand six hundred and twelve were to be foreigners, and the rest English; for the last they gave ten thousand pounds a year for intelligence, and other contingencies, without account; but his Majesty being sensible, by the experience of the last war, that this sum would not any way answer that service, and being unwilling to apply for any more to the Parliament, he was pleased to order, that the foreign troops should contribute two and a half per Cent. towards it; and, I being then his Ambassador and Commander in chief abroad, he directed me to propose it to them, with an assurance, that they should have no other stoppage made from their pay: This they readily agreed to, and her Majesty was afterwards pleased to confirm it by her warrant, upon my acquainting her with the use it was intended for; and it has accordingly been applied from time to time for intelligence and secret service, with such success, that, next to the blessing of God on the bravery of our troops, we may, in a great measure, attribute most of the advantages of the war in this Country to the timely and good advices procured with the help of this money. And now, Gentlemen, as I have laid the whole matter very fairly before you, and that I hope you will allow, I have served my Queen and Country with that zeal and faithfulness which becomes an honest man, the favour, I am to intreat of you, is, that, when you make your report to the Parliament, you will lay this part before them in its true light, so as that they may see this necessary and important part of the war has been provided for and carried on without any other expence to the public than the ten thousand pounds a year; and I flatter myself, that, when the accounts of the army in Flanders come under your consideration, you will be sensible the service on this side has been carried on with all the economy and good husbandry that was possible. I am.

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

MARLBOROUGH.

* Right

1711. *ber*, the Queen declared in Council, 'that, being informed, an information against the Duke of Marlborough was laid before the House of Commons, by the Commissioners of the public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might take an impartial examination.' This declaration was entered in the Council-books, and the day following it was notified to the Duke, by a letter under her own hand, 'that her intention was to refuse all the employments, she had intrusted him with; complaining, at the same time, of the treatment she had met with.' This appears from the Duke's answer, which he sent by the Countess of Sunderland, one of his daughters:

Madam,

'I am very sensible of the honour your Majesty does me, in dismissing me from your service by a letter of your own hand; though I find by it, that my enemies have been able to prevail with your Majesty to do it in the manner, that is most injurious to me. And, if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of your Majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismissal to a false and malicious insinuation contrived by themselves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer; which, they must needs be conscious, would fully detect the falsehood and malice of their aspersions, and not leave them that

handle for bringing your Majesty to such extremities against me.

But I am much more concerned at an expression in your Majesty's letter, which seems to complain of the treatment you had met with. I know not how to understand that word, nor what construction to make of it. I know I have always endeavoured to serve your Majesty faithfully and zealously through a great many undeserved mortifications. But if your Majesty does intend by that expression, to find fault with my not coming to the Cabinet-Council, I am very free to acknowledge, that my duty to your Majesty and my Country would not give me leave to join in the counsel of a man, who, in my opinion, puts your Majesty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind, that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your Majesty, there being in that Court a root of enmity irreconcilable to your Majesty's Government, and the Religion of these Kingdoms. I wish your Majesty may never find the want of so faithful a servant, as I have always endeavoured to approve myself to you. I am, with the greatest duty and submission,

Madam,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,

and obedient subject,

MARLBOROUGH.

The

Anne, R.

'Right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas, pursuant to the direction you have received in that behalf, you have agreed, with the persons authorized to treat with you, for the taking into our service a certain number of foreign troops, to act in conjunction with the forces of our Allies, that there be reserved two and a half per Cent. out of all monies payable to, and for the said troops, as well for their pay and entertainment, as on any other account, towards defraying such extraordinary contingent expences relating to them, as cannot otherwise be provided for. Now, we do hereby approve and confirm all such agreements as you have, or may hereafter make, for reserving the said two and a half per Cent. accordingly; and do likewise hereby authorize and direct the Pay-master General of our forces for the time being, or his Deputy, to make the said deduction of two and a half per Cent. pursuant thereunto, out of all monies he shall be directed to issue, for the use of the foreign troops in our pay, and thereupon to pay over the same, from time to time, according to such warrants, and in such proportions as you shall direct, for which this shall be to you, and to all others whom it may concern, a sufficient warrant and direction.

Given at our Court at St James's, this sixth day of July, 1702, and in the first year of our Reign.

By Her Majesty's Command,

C. HEDGES.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, John Earl of Marlborough, our Ambassador-Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States-General of the United-Provinces, and Captain-General of our land-forces.

That on this letter and warrant they observed, 'That, so far as they had been capable of being in-

No. 67. VOL. IV.

formed, the great sums, annually paid to the Duke on account of the contracts for bread, could never be esteemed legal or warrantable perquisites: Nor did they find, that any other English General in the *Levo-Countries*, or elsewhere, ever claimed or received such perquisites: And, if any instance should be produced, they apprehended it would be no justification of it, because the public, or the troops, must necessarily suffer, in proportion to every such perquisite; and how agreeable this practice was to that economy, with which the service in *Flanders* was said to be carried on, remained yet to be explained. That the great caution and secrecy, with which this money was constantly received, gave reason to suspect, that it was not thought a justifiable perquisite; for Mr Cardonnel, the Duke's Secretary, and Auditor of the bread-account, had declared on oath, that he never knew or heard of any such perquisite, till the late rumour of Sir Solomon de Medina's evidence before the Commissioners. That, by the contracts for bread and bread-waggons, the General appeared to be the sole check on the Contractors, he was to take care, that the terms of these contracts were duly performed; he was to judge of all deductions to be made from allowance to the Contractors; And whether in such circumstance he could receive any gratuity or perquisite from the Contractors, without a breach of his trust, they did not presume to determine. That the General might with equal reason claim a perquisite for every other Contractor relating to the army, as for those of the bread and bread-waggons; but, his Grace being silent as to this, the Commissioners ought to suppose he had not received any such allowance. As to the deduction of two and a half per Cent. from the foreign troops, the Commissioners observed: 'That the warrant for it had been kept dormant for nine years, and the deduction concealed so long from the knowledge of Parliament; for which his Grace had not assigned sufficient reasons. That the calling it a *Free Gift* was inconsistent with the words of the warrant, which expresses an agreement, and with that part of his Grace's letter, which took notice, that

N n

be

1711. The removal of the Duke of *Marlborough* was thought very extraordinary, after such long and eminent services; and was so little expected, that those, who looked for precedents, could find none since the disgrace of *Belisarius*, in *Justinian's* time. The only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being considered as the head of those, who opposed the peace, on which the Court seemed to set their hearts.

A resolution to remove the Duke of Somerset, put off.

The Duke of *Somerset* continuing to oppose the schemes of the new Ministers, it was also resolved, in a consultation about the middle of *December*, to remove him. But the great friendship between the Queen and his duchess (who was Groom of the Stole, and first Lady of the Bed chamber) prevented that resolution from being then put in practice (1). The Duke was not removed till the 26th of *January*, and, though endeavours were used to the contrary, his Duchesses was by the Queen continued in her places, which she offered to resign.

The Duke of *Marlborough's* disgrace was attended with other removes, and made way for several promotions. The Duke of *Ormond*, with the first regiment of foot-guards, was appointed Commander in chief of all the forces in *Great-Britain*, and soon after, upon the Elector of *Hanover's* refusal to command the Queen's forces in *Flanders*, Captain-General of all her forces at home and abroad. The Earl *Rivers* was made Master-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the Royal regiment of horse-guards. The Duke of *Beaufort* was appointed Captain of the Band of Pensioners, and Brigadier *Hill*

Lieutenant of the *Tower*, in the room of Lieutenant-General *Cadogan*. The Countess of *Sunderland* and the Lady *Railton*, two of the Duke of *Marlborough's* daughters, resigned their places of Ladies of the Bed-chamber.

The Ministers, finding the majority of the House of Lords could not be brought to favour their designs, resolved to make an experiment, which none of our Princes had ventured on in former times. A resolution was taken up very suddenly of making twelve Peers all at once, which was accordingly done on the last day of *December*, by calling up by writ to the House of Lords *James Lord Compton*, eldest son to the Earl of *Northampton*, and *Charles Lord Bruce*, eldest son to the Earl of *Ailesbury*; and creating by patent ten new Peers of *Great-Britain*; *George Hay*, or Lord *Dapplin*, of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Lord-Treasurer's son-in-law, *Baron Hay*, of *Bedwarden*, in the County of *Hereford*; the Lord Viscount *Windor*, of *Ireland*, *Baron Montjoy*, of the Isle of *Wight*, in the County of *Southampton*; *Henry Paget*, son to the Lord *Paget*, *Baron Burton*, of *Burton*, in the County of *Stafford*; *Sir Thomas Mansel*, *Baron Mansel*, of *Margam*, in the County of *Glamorgan*; *Sir Thomas Willoughby*, *Baron Middleton*, of *Middleton*, in the County of *Warwick*; *Sir Thomas Trevor*, *Baron Trevor*, of *Brombam*, in the County of *Bedford*; *George Granville*, *Baron Lansdowne*, of *Bideford*, in the County of *Devon*; *Samuel Masham*, *Baron Masham*, of *Oates*, in the County of *Essex*; *Thomas Foley*, *Baron Foley*, of *Kidderminster*, in the County

Twelve new Peers made. Barnet.

he, being Ambassador and General, stipulated for this very stoppage by the late King's order. That therefore they were of opinion, that a deduction, so made, was public money, and ought to be accounted for in the same manner as other public money. That the ten thousand pounds granted yearly for the Contingencies of the army was at first intended by Parliament for the service of forty thousand men, without distinction; and was so far from having always been thought exempt from account, as the Duke had suggested, that in a Privy-Seal, dated *March 5, 1706*, there was a clause to release and discharge the Duke of *Marlborough* from a sum of seven thousand, four hundred and ninety nine pounds, nineteen shillings and ten pence, part of this money; which shewed, he would otherwise have been accountable for it. But that they no where met with any mention of this deduction of two and a half per Cent. and therefore presumed, the reason, why it had never been brought to an account, was, what his Grace suggested, that he never considered it as public Money. In the next place, the Commissioners submitted it to the House, whether the warrant, produced to justify this deduction was legal, and duly counter-signed? Or, whether, admitting it to be so, either the stoppage, or the payment, had been regularly made? That the warrant directed, that it should be stopped in the hands of the Pay-master, or his Deputy, and issued thence by the Duke's order only. But this method did not appear, by the Pay-master's accounts, to have been at all pursued; so far otherwise, that the payments to the foreign troops were always made complete, and their receipts always taken in full, without any notice of a deduction. That when any part of the ten thousand pounds, Contingent-Money, was drawn out of the Pay-master's hands, for any secret service, the General's warrant, and his Secretary's receipts, were the Pay-master's vouchers. But that *Mr Cardonnell*, as he declared on oath, never gave any receipt for any part of that two and a half per Cent. nor did *Mr Bridges*, as he also declared on oath, ever give any warrant for that

purpose, or know any thing, as Pay-master-general, of this deduction. That, if *Mr Sweet*, at *Amsterdam*, had taken upon himself to transact the disposition of this two and a half per Cent. with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Commissioners were of opinion, that he ought to have transmitted constant accounts of it to *Mr Bridges*, whose agent he only was; and not to have negotiated to large sums of public money in so clandestine a manner. That, by the warrant, this deduction was referred for the defraying extraordinary contingent expenses of the troops, from whom it was stopped: And, if the whole had been employed in secret correspondence and intelligence, there must have been some neglect of the other services, for which it was originally designed: And such a disposition, being in no sort authorized by the warrant, was a misapplication of it. Besides, the Commissioners apprehended, that the article for secret service, to which this deduction was pretended to have been applied, was always included in the ten thousand pounds above-mentioned, for the contingencies of the army; and, if so, the whole remained to be accounted for; which, on a computation made from the whole sum of eleven millions, two hundred ninety four thousand, six hundred and fifty nine pounds, four shillings, and a penny half-penny, paid by *Great-Britain*, to, and for all the foreign forces, since the 23d day of *December, 1701*, amounted to two hundred eighty two thousand three hundred sixty six pounds, nine shillings, and sevenpence. And on a computation made from the sum of seven millions, one hundred and seven thousand, eight hundred seventy-three pounds, eighteen shillings, and eleven pence half-penny, paid to, and for the foreign forces since the time aforesaid (exclusive of *Italy, Spain, and Portugal*) amounted to one hundred, and seventy seven thousand, six hundred ninety five pounds, seventeen shillings, and three farthings.

(1) However, to shew their repentment to the Duke for opposing their measures, a pamphlet (said to be penned by Lord-Keeper *Marbourn*, and called, *Advice*

1711. County of *Worcester*; and *Allen Batburs*, Baron *Batburs*, of *Batbursden*, in the County of *Bedford*. Sir *Miles Wharton* had been offered a Peerage; but he thought it looked like the serving a turn, and that, whereas Peers used to be made for services, which they had done, he should be made for services to be done by him; and therefore excused himself from accepting it; and the favourite's husband, Mr *Masbam*, was put in his room. And whereas formerly *Jesseries* had the vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief-Justice, which had not been practised for some ages; yet the precedent set by him was followed, and *Trevor*, Chief-Justice of the *Common Pleas*, was now advanced to be a Peer. This creation of Peers was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; so that there was no ground in law to oppose the receiving the new Lords into the House; nor was it possible to raise in the antient Peers a sense of the indignity, which was now put upon their House; since the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in absolute submission and obedience.

1711-12. On the second of *January* the twelve new Peers were introduced into the House of Lords without any opposition; and, the Court-party having by this reinforcement, and by the coming up of the *Scots* Lords, got the majority, the

House acquiesced in the Queen's fullen answer to their late address, importing, 'That her Majesty thought her speech to both Houses would have given satisfaction to every body; and, that she had given instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, according to the desires of that address.' This done, the Lord-Keeper delivered to the House a message from the Queen, 'That, having matters of great importance to communicate to both Houses of Parliament, she desired the Lords to adjourn immediately to the 14th, the same day, to which the Commons had adjourned themselves.' This occasioned a very warm debate. It was said, that the Queen could not send a message to any one House to adjourn; when the like message was not sent to both Houses: That the pleasure of the Prince in convening, dissolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both Houses, but never to any one House, unless the same intimation was made at the same time to the other. That the consequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one House to adjourn, while the other was left still to sit; and this might end in a total disjointing of the Constitution. The resolution however was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the odds were thirteen; but that was, because one of the Peers,

who

to the *October Club*) was published, wherein he and his Duchefs are both abused and insulted. It is there said, 'It would have been a master-piece of prudence, in this case, to have made a friend of an enemy: But, whether it were ever attempted, is now too late to inquire. All accommodation was rendered desperate, by an unlucky proceeding some months ago at *Windsor*, which was a declaration of war too frank and generous, for that situation of affairs, and, I am told, was not approved by a certain great Minister*. It was obvious to suppose, that in a particular, where the honour and interest of a husband were so closely united with those of a wife, he might be sure of her utmost endeavours for his protection, though she never loved nor esteemed him. The danger of losing power, favour, profit, and a shelter from domestic tyranny, were strong incitements to stir up a working brain, early practised in all the arts of intriguing.'

This pamphlet is lately reprinted in Vol. VII. of *Swift's Miscellanies*, to which is prefixed a preface, setting forth: 'That about the year, when her late Majesty, of blessed memory, thought proper to change her Ministry, and brought in Mr *Harley*, Mr *St John*, Sir *Simon Harcourt*, and some others, the first of these being made an Earl, and Lord-Treasurer, he was soon after blamed by his friends, for not making a general sweep of all the Whigs, as the latter did of their adversaries upon her Majesty's death, when they came into power. At that time a great number of Parliament-men, amounting to above two hundred, grew so warm upon the slowness of the Treasurer in this part, that they formed themselves into a body, under the name of the *October Club*, and had many Meetings, to consult upon some methods, that might spur on those in power, so that they might make a quicker dispatch, in removing all of the Whig leaven from the employments they still possessed. To prevent the ill consequences of this discontent among so many worthy Members, the rest of the Ministry joined with the Treasurer, partly to pacify, and partly to divide those, who were in greater haste than moderate men thought convenient. It was well known, that the supposed Author † met a considerable number of this Club in a public house, where he convinced them very plainly of the Treasurer's sincerity, with many of those

very reasons, which are urged in the following discourse, besides some others, which were not so proper to appear at that time in print. The Treasurer alledged in his defence, that such a treatment would not consist with prudence, because there were many employments to be bestowed, which required skill and practice: That several Gentlemen, who possessed them, had been long versed, very loyal to her Majesty, had never been violent Party-men, and were ready to fall into all honest measures for the service of their Queen and Country. But however, as offices became vacant, he would humbly recommend to her Majesty such Gentlemen, whose principles, with regard both to Church and State, his friends would approve of, and he would be ready to accept their recommendations. Thus, the Earl proceeded in procuring employments for those, who deserved them by their honesty, and abilities to execute them. However, the Gentlemen of this Club still continued uneasy, that no quicker progress was made in removals, until those, who were least violent, began to soften a little, or, by dividing them, the whole affair dropped. During this difficulty, we have been assured, that the following discourse was very seasonably published with great success, shewing the difficulties, that the Earl of *Oxford* lay under, and his real desire, that all persons in employment should be true loyal Churchmen, zealous for her Majesty's honour and safety, as well as for the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, if the Queen should happen to die without issue.'

The principal Members of the *October Club*, who met at the *Bell-Tavern* in *Westminster*, were these:

<i>John Aslaby,</i>	<i>Sir Justinian Isham,</i>
<i>Francis Annesley,</i>	<i>George Lockhart,</i>
<i>William Bromley,</i>	<i>Sir Roger Mofyn,</i>
<i>Robert Byerley,</i>	<i>Sir John Packington,</i>
<i>Henry Campion,</i>	<i>Francis Sobel,</i>
<i>Charles Caesar,</i>	<i>William Shippen,</i>
<i>Sir Robert Davers,</i>	<i>Sir Thomas Thorold,</i>
<i>Charles Eversfield,</i>	<i>John Trevanion,</i>
<i>Ralph Freeman,</i>	<i>Sir William Whitlocke,</i>
<i>Sir Thomas Hanmer,</i>	<i>Sir William Windham.</i>
<i>John Hungerford,</i>	

(1) This

† Harcourt.

1711-12. who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for (1).

The Court having received no news of the opening the Congress, Councils were held on *Saturday* and *Sunday* the 12th and 13th of *January*, in which it was debated, Whether the Parliament should sit, or be desired further to adjourn themselves? And, it being carried for the adjournment, a message was on the 14th sent to both Houses, importing, "That her Majesty fully determined to have been personally present in Parliament that day; but, being prevented by a sudden return of her gout, her Majesty, in hopes she might, by the blessing of God, be able to speak to both her Houses of Parliament on *Thursday* next, the 17th of this instant *January*, desired them to adjourn to that day." Both houses readily complied with this message; but, before the same was delivered by Mr *St John* to the Commons, they ordered their Speaker to issue out writs, for the electing nine Members in the room of those called up to the House of Peers.

Prince Eugene comes to England. Burnet. Hist. of Europe.

At this time Prince *Eugene of Savoy* was sent by the Emperor to *England*, to try, if it was possible to engage our Court to go on with the war, offering a new scheme, by which his Imperial Majesty took a much larger share of it on himself, than the late Emperor would bear. The Prince having resolved to embark for *England*, notwithstanding the endeavours used at the *Hague* to keep him on the other side of the water, he applied to the Earl of *Strafford*, who wrote the following letter to Captain *Desborough*, Commander of the *Fubbs* Yacht:

S I R,

The Earl of *Strafford's* letter to the Captain of the *Fubbs* Yacht Jan. 3. N. S.

"Prince *Eugene* having desired my orders to you to carry him over, you know, I do not pretend to command any of her Majesty's Yachts, without her special command. You know your orders, and how far they authorize you to carry over the Prince. You know the respect and consideration due to the Prince, and his great merit; therefore, it is needless for me to tell you what respect and consideration you ought to shew him. I can assure you, I have a particular respect and esteem for him; and I shall always be glad to do the

"Prince, all the service that lies in my power. 1711-12.
"I am

Your most humble Servant,
STRAFFORD.

Though this letter rather implied a tacit prohibition than a positive order, yet, the Captain being left to his own discretion, he thought it his duty, as he could not but esteem it an honour, to carry over so great a man as Prince *Eugene*, who, on the 8th of *January*, N. S. embarked at the *Brill* (with his Nephew, the Chevalier *de Savoye*, Son to the Count de *Solifons*, Count de la *Corfana*, and Count *Cornelius* of *Nassau*) and on the 1st of *January*, O. S. arrived at *London*, where being informed, that he could not easily get all the necessary carriages for his attendants, he was persuaded to go up the *Temes*. The next day he received, on board the Yacht, near the *Bury* of the *Nore*, an account of the Duke of *Mariborough's* being removed from all his employments, at which he was extremely concerned. Upon advice, that he was coming up by water, the Government sent down Mr *Drummond*, a broken Merchant or Stock-Jobber, a creature of the Lord-Treasurer, and Mr *Brinsden*, an Occultist, a private agent to Mr *St John*, to attend, or rather to be spies, upon the Prince. *Brinsden* being detained at *Greenwich* by an accidental sprain of his foot, *Drummond* only waited on the Prince with a barge, which carried him from *Gravesend* to *Whitehall*; from whence he went in an Hackney-Coach to *Leicester-House*, which Count *Gallas*, before his departure, had prepared for his reception. Immediately, upon his arrival, the Prince caused it to be notified to the Treasurer, the Secretaries of State, and the foreign Ministers; and some of these waited upon him the same evening; as did the Duke of *Mariborough*, to whom the Prince shewed a distinguished respect, and with whom he afterwards passed most of his time, notwithstanding the caution, which Mr *Drummond* had given him, either from himself, or from those, who sent him, *That he left he saw the Duke of Mariborough, the better: To which the Prince answered, 'That, as the Ministry might depend upon it, he would not cabal against them; so he hoped they did not expect, he should forbear his usual familiarity with his good friend the Duke of Mariborough.'*

(1) This message for adjourning seems only to have been sent to try the strength of both parties, Mr Secretary *St John* having been heard to say in the Court of Requests, as soon as the debate was over, 'That, if those twelve had not been enough, they would have given them [the *Whigs*] another dozen.' However, very strong reflections were made, both in print and in most conversations, on that step, many not scrupling to say, 'That, tho' the Queen had an undoubted right to create as many Peers as she pleased, yet her Ministers might be called to an account for advising her to abuse that right. That peace and war were also the prerogatives of the Crown; and yet the engaging in a ruinous war, or making a treacherous peace, are things, which no Minister ever did, and escaped uncensured or unpunished. That the creating twelve Peers to serve a turn, was, in effect, making a House of Peers a property to the Court, and taking away a negative upon the Crown; which would render our liberties precarious. That it could not be denied, that the new-made Peers were men of noble fortunes; and that some of them had shewn a commendable zeal for the present establishment; but who would secure

us, that hereafter such a number should not be made of men of a quite different character? And, in short, that this was a precedent, which might be made use of to inflame the Nation, and to introduce a Popish Pretender, or the Popish Religion. That if in the Reign of such a Queen this abuse of the prerogative was so much exclaimed against, how much greater would the cry have been, had it been in a suspicious Reign? Whereas now they have an unexceptionable instance to produce, to silence any clamour or noise. That it was impossible for men, who owed so much to her Majesty for her share in the late Revolution, to oppose a prerogative, that had never been disputed, because never used in that manner: But had any Prince, who had merited less of his Country, begun such a thing, it would, no doubt, have been opposed, and perhaps denied him.' But, after all, the severest reflection upon the twelve new Peers was made by the Earl of *Wharton*, who, the same day they were introduced, when the question about adjourning was going to be put, asked one of them, *Whether they voted by their Foreman?* Thereby computing them to a petty jury. *Bjor.*

1711-12. *Marlborough*.¹ On the 6th of *January* the Prince received a compliment from the Treasurer, which he instantly returned by the Baron de *Hobendorf*. The same morning, after a visit from Mr Secretary *St John*, Count *Maffei*, Monsieur *Hoffman*, and some other foreign Ministers, the Duke of *Montague*, the Earl of *Herford*, the Generals, *Lumley*, *Webb*, *Palmer*, *Harvey*, and several other persons of distinction, waited upon him. The same afternoon he sent a Gentleman with a compliment to the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Ormond*, Earl *Pawlet*, and some other Officers of State; and about seven o'clock in the evening went to *St James's-House*, where he was introduced by Mr *St John*, to a private audience of the Queen, at which none were present but the Treasurer and Mr Secretary. After a short complement, which her Majesty answered very graciously, he delivered to her a letter from the Emperor, which he desired her to peruse, because it contained the substance of his errand. After reading the letter, the Queen told the Prince, 'That she was sorry the state of her health did not permit her to speak with his Highness as often as otherwise she should be glad to do; but that she had ordered those two Gentlemen (*there present*) to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper.' In the mean time people were variously affected by his coming to *England* at this critical juncture. All the Whigs, as well as some Tories, who began to be jealous, that a peace would be concluded upon dishonourable terms, were very glad of his arrival, hoping, that, by the proposals he was said to bring from the Emperor, he would prevail, if not to break off the present Negotiation, at least to engage *Great-Britain* to make early preparations to carry on the war, as the most effectual means to obtain a safe and honourable peace. Upon this con-

sideration, and the great fame of his actions, multitudes of people crowded to see him, and with loud acclamations attended him wherever he went. On the other hand, the friends of *France*, and of the Pretender, who were equally desirous of a peace, upon any conditions, being apprehensive, that he would blast their expectations, could not forbear shewing their discontent; and a rude rabble committed some disorders in *Leicester-Fields*, the second night after his arrival. A more flagrant instance of the malice of that party was seen on the 8th of *January* in the *Post-Boy*, where an advertisement was inserted, infamously reflecting on the Countess of *Soissons*, the Prince's Mother; which scandalous affront the Prince overlooked with his usual magnanimity; and by his discreet carriage convinced all, that he was not come to meddle with intestine divisions, but rather to endeavour to bring the leading men of both parties to such a temper, as might conduce to remove any difficulties, that might obstruct the carrying on the common cause. This endeared him to every body, and gained him more respect, than was ever shewn in *England* to any foreign Prince, so that, for two whole months, the Nobility and Gentry of both parties vied with one another, who should entertain him (1).

By this time, the Parliament being met at *Westminster*, a message from the Queen was delivered to both Houses. That to the Commons was as follows:

'I Her Majesty not having recovered strength enough, since the return of the gout, to be present that day in person; and being unwilling, that the public business should receive any delay, thinks fit to communicate to them the substance of what she intended to have spoke.

II. At

(1) The persons, who distinguished themselves by this generous emulation, were the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Ormond*, *Buckingham*, *Montague*, *Schomberg*, *Devonshire*, *Shrewsbury*, *Richmond*, and *Grafton*; the Earls *Pawlet*, *Sunderland*, *Portland*, *Oxford*, *Rivers*, *Wharton*, *Berkeley*, *Stair*, and *Orkney*; the Lords *Lexington*, *Ashburnham*, *Hallifax*, and *North* and *Grey*; Sir *Thomas Hanmer*; the honourable Mr *Henry Boyle*; Mr Secretary *St John*; General *Palmer*; the foreign Ministers then in *London*; Dr *Garth* and Dr *Radcliffe*, two of the most eminent Physicians. It was then currently reported, that, when the Prince dined with the Lord-Treasurer, the latter, among other compliments, told his Highness, 'That he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest Captain of this age.' To which the Prince replied, 'That, if he were, he was obliged to his Lordship for it;' alluding to the Earl's being the author of the Duke of *Marlborough's* disgrace, which rid him of a competitor in military glory. It was observed the Prince was not entertained by the Lord *Dartmouth*.

On the 14th of *January*, Sir *Alexander Cairnes*, Bart. and Sir *Theodore Janssen*, two of the most eminent Merchants of the City of *London*, who had contributed most to the Loan made some years before to the Emperor, upon the security of his revenues in *Silesia*, for the use of the Prince of *Savoy*, waited upon him with a compliment from that Company. The Prince gave them a very kind reception, and told them, 'He was very much obliged to them, since the raising of the siege of *Turin*, and the successes that followed, were, under God, chiefly owing to the seasonable supply he received from *England*.' Those Gen-

No. 67. Vol. IV.

tlemen answered, 'That, when they made that Loan, they had not so much in view the improvement of their money, as the honour of being serviceable to the common cause, and of having an opportunity to shew their respect for a Prince of so great a reputation; and as they accounted themselves particularly obliged to his Highness's integrity for the punctual payment of their interest and principal; so, if, in the course of this war, his Highness should have occasion for any greater sums, their Company would readily advance them upon his Highness's single security.' They concluded with desiring him to accept of a small entertainment, which their Company designed to give him in the City, and to fix a day, when it should best suit with his convenience; which he promised to do. The Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen, having notice of this invitation, and designing likewise to shew their respect to the Prince, it was proposed amongst them, on the 15th of *January*, that, since most of their Court were concerned in the *Silesian* Company, they ought, for greater magnificence sake, to make but one united entertainment. The motion was approved; but one of the Court having suggested, 'That they would do well to know, how the Queen would take such an invitation to Prince *Eugene*;' it was thought proper to send two Aldermen to the Earl of *Dartmouth*, to know the Queen's pleasure; but, there being, it seems, some want of formality in the message, his Lordship wrote the following letter to the Lord-Mayor:

My Lord,

Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1711-12.

"Two of the Court of Aldermen having brought a verbal message to be delivered to her Majesty, which
O o o " was,

1711-12.

II. At the opening of this Session, her Majesty acquainted the Parliament, that both time and place were appointed for the meeting of the Plenipotentiaries of all the Confederates, to treat with those of the enemy concerning a general peace; and also expressed the care, which she intended to take of all her Allies, and the strict union, in which she proposed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guaranty and support it, when obtained.

III. Her Majesty can now tell them, that her Plenipotentiaries are arrived at *Utrecht*, and have begun, in pursuance of their instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*.

IV. You may depend on her Majesty's communicating to her Parliament the terms of peace, before the same shall be concluded.

V. The world will now see, how groundless those reports are, which have been spread abroad by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least colour given.

VI. Her Majesty's Ministers have directions to propose, that a day may be fixed for the finishing, as was done for the commencement of this treaty; and, in the mean time, all the preparations are hastening for an early campaign.

VII. The zeal, which this House has already expressed, was a sure pledge, that they will proceed in giving the necessary dispatch to the Supplies.

VIII. Her Majesty finds it necessary to observe, how great licence is taken in publishing false and scandalous libels, such as are a reproach to any Government. This evil seems to be grown too strong for the laws now in force; it is therefore recommend to you to find a remedy equal to the mischief.

The message, the Queen sent to the House of Lords, was exactly the same with that sent to the Commons; except only, that instead of the seventh paragraph, about the Supply, her Majesty took notice of the affair relating to the *Scotch* Peers, in the following words: 'There is one thing in which her Majesty's subjects of the North part of this Kingdom are extremely concerned: The distinction such of them who were Peers of *Scotland* before the Union must lie under, if the prerogative of the Crown is strictly barred against them alone. This is a matter which sensibly affects her Majesty, and she therefore lays it before this House, earnestly desiring their advice and concurrence in finding out the

best method of settling this affair, to the satisfaction of the whole Kingdom.'

The House of Lords agreed to an address, *The Lords* thanking her Majesty for communicating these things to them, and for the promises she had made them, repeating the very words in which they were made. It was moved to add the words, *most dutifully of thanks.* *Pr. H. L.* *Pr. H. C.* conform to her Alliance; but it was said, that the Queen assured them of that, and therefore the repeating these words would seem to intimate a distrust, so that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, the House expressed in what sense they understood them, by adding these words: *Which are of so great concern to the Safety and Commerce of your Majesty's Kingdoms.* The Commons made an address to the same purpose, in which they only named *Spain* and *West-Indies*.

The Duke of *Devonshire*, pursuant to the motion he had made before the recess, having prepared a bill for giving precedence to the Duke of *Cambridge*, the Lord-Treasurer was resolved to prevent him, and offered *January 17* a bill, giving precedence to the whole Electoral Family, as the children and nephews of the Crown; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of *Devonshire* would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquiesced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the House. On this occasion, the Court seemed, even to an affectation, to shew a particular zeal in promoting this bill; for it passed through both Houses in two days. Notwithstanding this haste, the Court did not seem to design any such bill, till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it. The act was sent over to *Hanover*, by *Mr Thomas Harley*, in order to raise favourable thoughts there of the Ministry. But that Court saw through these thin disguises, which were contradicted by the open countenance to those who were no well-wishers to the Protestant Succession, and the discouragement to its best friends. The Lords entered upon the consideration of the paragraph in the Queen's message, relating to the Peers of *Scotland*. The Court proposed that an expedient might be found that the Peers of *Scotland* should not sit among them by Election, but by Descent, in case the rest of the Peers of that nation should consent to it. A debate followed concerning the articles of the Union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was said, that by the Union no private right could be taken away, but by the consent of the persons concerned; therefore no alteration could be

" was, that the Lord-Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and several Citizens of the best rank, desired to treat Prince *Eugene*, and ordered them to attend me, to know the Queen's pleasure; and being asked by the Lords of the Council, whether they had their message in writing, answered, that they had no order or message in writing, but that they came upon a minute taken at the Court of Aldermen, of which they had no copy: They were thereupon told, That the Queen had commanded the Lords to acquaint them, That her Majesty would return no answer to any message, which is not brought to her with the same respect, as has always been paid by

" the City of *London* to her Predecessors. To prevent any mistake in repeating what was said to them, I send your Lordship this account; and am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant,

DARTMOUTH.

Upon the receipt of this letter, the Court of Aldermen did not think fit to make any further steps in that matter, to the great disappointment and mortification of most of the Citizens.

(1) This

1711-12 be made in the right of the Peers of Scotland, unless they consented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in case they should consent to it; or whether the first rise to any such alteration ought not to be given, by a previous desire. This was not so subject to an ill management; the Court studied to have a subsequent consent received as sufficient; but a previous desire was insisted, as visibly fairer and juster.

The Scots
Lords are
promised
satisfaction.
Burnet.

The Scotch Lords, feeling no redress to their complaint, but that the Peers adhered to their late judgment, seemed resolved to come no more to sit in the House of Lords; but the Court was sensible, that their strength, in that House, consisted chiefly in them and the new Peers; for which reason pains were taken, and secret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved so effectual, that after a few days absence they came back, and continued, during the Session, to sit in the House. They gave out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the satisfaction of the Peers of Scotland; but, nothing of that appearing, it was concluded, that the satisfaction was private and personal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the household and of salaries and pensions, was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the Civil-List, though it exceeded the Establishment very much, was applied to other payments, which the Ministers durst not own. And, though secret practice on Members had been for a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed with an extraordinary profusion.

Mr. Wal-
pole's case
and cen-
sure.
Ibid.

The House of Commons entered on the observations of the Commissioners for taking the publick accounts, which had been laid before them on the 21st of December; and they began with what related to Mr Walpole, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the House. The charge against him was thus: Mr Walpole, as Secretary of War, had contracted with some persons for forage to the horse that lay in Scotland. He, finding the Contractors made some gain by it, named a friend of his own to be joined with them, that he might have a share of the gain: But the others were unwilling the secret of their management should be known; so, instead of admitting him, offered him five hundred guineas for his share, which he accepted, and the money was remitted. But the Contractors, not knowing how to direct to him, addressed their bill to Mr Walpole, who endorsed it, and the person concerned received the money; this was found out, and Walpole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own use, for making

the contract. Both the persons that remitted 1711-12, the money, and he who received it, were examined, and affirmed, that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the House insisted upon his having endorsed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but sent him to the Tower, and expelled him the House. Not content with this, when Mr Walpole was afterwards chosen again for Lynn Regis, the Commons, upon a petition against his election, resolved, 'That Robert Walpole, Esq; having been, this Session of Parliament, committed a prisoner to the Tower of London, and expelled this House, for an high breach of trust in the execution of his Office, and notorious corruption, when Secretary of War, was, and is incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament (1).

The next attack was on the Duke of Marlborough. On the 24th of January, his affair was debated. The money received from Sir Solomon Medina was said to be a fraud, and the deduction out of the pay of the foreign troops was said to be public money, and to be accounted for. The debate held long. It appeared, that, during the former war, King William had fifty thousand pounds a year for contingencies; which were often reckoned to have cost much more. The contingency was that service, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence. The Duke of Marlborough had only ten thousand pounds, for the contingencies; which, with all the other items joined together, amounted but to thirty thousand pounds, a sum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured so good intelligence, that he was never surprized, and no party he sent out was ever intercepted or cut off. By means of this intelligence, all his designs were so well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them; and by many instances the exactness of his intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by witnesses, and by formal attestations from Holland, that, ever since the year 1672, the Jews had made the like present to the General of the States army; and it was understood as a perquisite belonging to that command. No bargain was made with the Jews for the English troops, that made by the States being applied to them; so that it appeared, that the making such a present to the General was customary; but that was denied. So it was resolved at last by two hundred and seventy voices against a hundred and sixty-five, 'That the taking several sums of money annually, by the Duke of Marlborough, from the Contractors for furnishing the bread and bread-waggons for the army in the Low-Countries was unwar-

The censur
put on the
Duke of
Marlbo-
rough.
Pr. H. C.
Burnet.

(1) This proceeding against him was examined in the *Postscript* to the second edition of Mr Walpole's *Case* in a letter from a *Tory Member of Parliament* to his friend in the country. The author of this piece considers, 'Whether Mr Walpole was, at the time of his election, incapable of being elected a Member to serve in Parliament; and, if he was capable, how far a second expulsion was just and reasonable?' And then shews, that such an incapacity cannot arise either from the tenour and words of the writ, nor from Mr Walpole's being a prisoner in the Tower, nor from his having been expelled the House. And, upon the whole,

he declares, that if Mr Walpole 'was to be tried by the law of the land, or by the law and usage of Parliament, or by any known rules of reason and justice, there was no foundation to declare, that he was incapable of being elected a Member to serve in the present Parliament: And that it will be thought an hardship of the first impression, that for a slight offence, proved by no direct evidence, vindicated by positive evidence upon oath, a Gentleman should be censured in the strongest terms, imprisoned, and expelled the House, and afterwards expelled again.'

(1) Among

1711-12. unwarrantable and illegal? After which, tho' the Duke had the Queen's warrant to receive it, they also voted, that the two and a half *per Cent.* deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops was unwarrantable, and to be accounted for. These resolutions being laid before the Queen, she answered, 'I have a great regard for whatever is presented to me by my Commons, and will do my part to redress what you complain of.' To colour this censure, the Commons voted 'that the two and a half *per Cent.* which had, or ought to have been made from the pay for foreign forces, be continued for the year 1712, and applied for the service of the war.' And it is observable, that though some of the foreign Princes, who had troops in the Queen's pay, did some time after order their Ministers in London to represent, 'that the two and a half *per Cent.* was their own money, but they were willing to allow it as a free gift to the Duke of Ormond, as they had done to the Duke of Marlborough;' which representation seemed to be a full justification of the latter: The Queen however was prevailed upon to send an order to the Attorney-General to prosecute the Duke, for the fifteen thousand pounds, which was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, for the receiving whereof he had her own warrant.

The Court espoused these resolutions of the Commons with great zeal, and paid well for the great majority by which they were carried. Upon this, many virulent Writers (whether set on to it, or officiously studying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of malice against the Duke of Marlborough: They compared him to *Cataline*, to *Craſſus*, to *Antony*, and studied to represent him as a robber of the Nation, and as a public enemy. This gave indignation to all, who had a sense of gratitude, or a regard to justice. In one of these scurrilous papers, penned on design to raise the rabble against him, a period began thus, *He was perhaps once fortunate.* This passage being mentioned* to Prince *Eugene*, he pleasantly said, it was the greatest commendation could be given him, since he was always successful: So this implied, that in one single instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other successes were owing to his conduct. It was answered, that single instance must then be, his escaping out of the hands of the party, who took him as he was going down the *Maese* in a boat (1).

Secret inquiries were made, in order to the laying more load on the Duke of Marlborough, and to see whether poſts in the army, or in the

guards were sold by him; but nothing could be found: He had suffered a practice to go on, that had begun in the late King's time, of letting Officers sell their Commissions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himself: Few thought that he had been so clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which now his enemies were confident, that some discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the endeavours used, to search into those matters, producing nothing, raised the reputation of his incorrupt Administration, more than all his well-wishers could have expected.

In this whole transaction was seen a new scene of ingratitude acted in a most imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the Nation owed more than it had ever done in any age to any subject, or perhaps to any person whatever, was, for some months, pursued with so much malice. He bore all with silence and patience, appearing always calm and cheerful: And, though he prepared a full vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, till the Nation should return to its senses, and be capable of examining those matters in a more impartial manner.

Another affair of a more public nature was now taken into consideration by the Commons, namely, the *Barrier Treaty* with the *States*. Both Houses had, in the year 1709, agreed in an address to the Queen, that the Protestant Succession might be secured by a guaranty in the treaty of peace; and this was settled at the *Hague* to be one of the preliminaries. But, when an end was put to the Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*, the Lord *Townshend* was ordered to set on a treaty with the *States* to that effect. They entertained it very readily; but at the same time proposed, that *England* should enter into a guaranty with them, to maintain their Barrier, which consisted of some places, which they were to garrison, the Sovereignty of which was still in the Crown of *Spain*; and of other places, which had not belonged to that Crown at the death of King *Charles* the second, but had been taken in the progress of the war; for, by their agreements with *Great-Britain*, they bore the charge of the sieges, and so the places taken were to belong to them. These were chiefly *Lisle*, *Tournay*, *Menin*, and *Doway*, and were to be kept still by them. But as for those places, which, from the time of the treaty of the *Pyrenees* belonged to the *Spaniards*, they had been so ill-looked after by the *Spanish* Governors of *Flanders*, who were more intent upon enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent Court at *Brussels*, than on preserving the country, that neither were the

Many li-
bels a-
gainst the
Duke of
Marlbo-
rough.
Burnet.

* By Bar-
net.

His inno-
cence ap-
peared
evidently.
Burnet.

(1) Among the libels against the Duke was published, by either *Prior* or *Swift*, *A Fable of the Widow and her Cat*, the last Stanza of which is as follows:

IX. So flagrant is thy insolence,
So vile thy breach of trust is,
That longer with thee to dispense,
Were want of power, or want of sense:
Here, Towzer, — Do him justice.

It is no wonder the Duke of Marlborough was thus used, since the Earl of Nottingham himself did not escape for opposing the Negotiations of peace. It was not only said, that he did so, because he was refused the Privy-Seal, but the following advertisement was in-

serted in the *Post-Boy*, of December 6, viz. 'Whereas a very tall, thin, swarthy complexioned man, between sixty and seventy years of age, wearing a brown coat, with little sleeves, and long pockets, has lately withdrawn himself from his friends, being seduced by wicked persons to follow ill courses: These are to give notice, That whoever shall discover him, shall have ten shillings reward; or, if he will voluntarily return, he shall be kindly received by his friends, who will not reproach him for past follies, provided he give good assurances, that, for the future, he will firmly adhere to the Church of *England*, in which he was so carefully educated by his honest parents.' There were also lampoons, and other libels, both in verse and prose, published against the same Peer.

(1) Dr:

1711-12. the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furnished, nor the soldiers paid; so that, whenever the war broke out, the *French* made themselves very easily masters of places so ill kept. The *States* had therefore proposed, during this war, that the Sovereignty of those places should continue still to belong to the Crown of *Spain*; but they should keep garrisons in the strongest and the most exposed, in particular those, that lay on the *Lys* and the *Scheld*; and, for maintaining this, they asked a hundred thousand pounds a year from those Provinces; by which they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the *Spaniards*. They asked likewise a free passage for all the stores, that they should send to those places. This seemed to be so reasonable, that, since the interest of *England* as well as the *States*, required, that this frontier should be carefully maintained, the Ministry were ready to hearken to it. It was objected, that, in case of a war between *England* and the *States*, the trade of those Provinces would be wholly in the hands of the *Dutch*: But this had been settled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of *France* and *England*, was made in 1609, between the *Spaniards* and the *States*. There was a provisional order therein made for the freedom of trade in those Provinces; and that was turned into a perpetual one by the peace of *Münster*. King *Charles* of *Spain* had agreed to the main of the Barrier; some places on the *Scheld* were not necessary for a frontier, but the *States* insisted on them, as necessary to

maintain a communication with the frontier. The King of *Prussia* excepted likewise to some places in the *Spanish Guelder*. The Lord *Townshend* thought, that these were such inconsiderable objections, that, though his instructions did not come up to every particular, yet he signed the treaty, known by the name of the *Barrier Treaty*, on the 29th of *October* 1709; by which the *States* bound themselves to maintain the Queen's title to her Dominions and the Protestant Succession with their whole force; and *England* was reciprocally obliged to assist them in maintaining this Barrier.

The mercenary Writers, who were hired to defend the peace then projected with *France*, attacked this treaty with great virulence (1) and by arguments, that gave just suspicions of black designs. They said, it was a disgrace to this nation, to engage any other State to secure the Succession among us, which perhaps we might see cause to alter; whereas by this Treaty the *States* had an authority given them to interpose in our counsels. It was also said, that, if the *States* were put into possession of all those strong towns, they might shut us out from any share of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in Provinces very capable of them. But it was answered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unless the Sovereign of the country should join with them against us. Some objected to the settlement made at *Münster*, as a transaction, when we were in such confusion at home, that we had no Minister there; but that treaty had only rendered the

That treaty complained of.

(1) Dr *Swift* in particular published a piece intitled, *Some remarks on the Barrier-Treaty between her Majesty and the States-General, to which are added the said Barrier-Treaty, with two separate articles; part of the counter-project; the Sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Zinzendorf upon the said Treaty; and a representation of the English Merchants at Bruges*. He attacked likewise the same Treaty in his *Conduct of the Allies and of the late Ministry*; but his remarks upon it were contained in the second part of Dr *Hare's* *Allies and the late Ministry defended against France, and the present friends of France*. On the same side was also published a piece in *Osborne*, called, *The Dutch Barrier ours: Or the interest of England, and Holland inseparable*. But the most considerable treatise upon this subject was published at *London*, in 1712, in *Osborne*, under the title of *The Barrier Treaty vindicated*, which is supposed to have been written by the Lord *Townshend*, Mr *Stephen Poyntz*, Dr *Samuel Clarke*, and Dr *Hare*. This piece begins with representing the fatal consequences of submitting to a Popish Prince, and the necessity of securing the Protestant Succession: That the Protestant Succession, under the circumstances of it at that time, could no otherwise be effectually secured, than by a foreign assistance; since the *French* King's promise, of not supporting the Pretender, could not be depended upon, and since *England* alone was not sufficient to defend herself against *France*. That no Alliance was so useful, in order to secure the Protestant Succession, as that of the *States-General*, whether we consider their situation, strength, religion, or interest, and the nature of their trade compared with our own. That, with regard to the barrier, it is in itself, and apart from all other considerations, the true interest of *England*, that there should be a good and sufficient barrier against *France* on the side of the *Netherlands*: That no barrier could be sufficient, that was not at least equal to that stipulated in the barrier treaty: That the barrier insisted on, in the *Preliminaries* of 1709, was not sufficient for the defence of the *Low-Countries*, because it consisted but of one single line or chain of

towns; whereas what might further be claimed, by virtue of the barrier treaty, was far from being more than necessary for that end: That the defence of the barrier ought to be committed to the *States*, since it could not be preserved by Treaties with *France*, nor by defensive Alliances against her, nor by the House of *Austria*; nor by troops lent for the defence of the barrier, nor by *England*, but only by the *States*. That, for the defence of the barrier in the hands of the *States*, it was necessary they should have a safe and free communication with it, and reasonable, that the country of the barrier should contribute towards the charge of maintaining it. That the *Dutch* had a right to a sufficient barrier, and to have themselves the defence of it, was acknowledged by the *Allies* previous to the barrier treaty: That the *States* having a barrier pursuant to the present treaty, was far from exposing *Great-Britain* to any danger from them: That their barrier was granted them under such regulations and restrictions, that they could not attempt any thing to the prejudice of the trade of *Great-Britain*, without a direct violation of the Treaty; and an open rupture with our Nation: That they were to have only the military command in the barrier towns, without any power of imposing duties, prohibiting trade, or making any orders relating to commerce: That they were bound by the Treaty to assist her Majesty, in case any others should attempt to put our trade on a worse foot than that of the Nations the most favoured: That, even in case of a rupture with us, the *States* could not obstruct our trade in the *Netherlands*, without breaking at the same time with the Emperor also: That if, the fear of obstructing our trade was an objection against trusting the strong towns in the *Netherlands* in the hands of the *States*; it was a strong objection against trusting them in any other hands whatsoever. That, when the barrier was once put into the hands of the *States*, it would be more their interest than ever to avoid breaking with *England*. That supposing the *States* should be so imprudent, as to break with *England*, their barrier would be so far from making them more rich or formidable, that

the truce and the provisional settlement made before, by the mediation of *England*, perpetual; and we had since acquiesced in that settlement for above sixty years. By examining into the particulars of the Treaty, it appeared that, in some inconsiderable matters, the Lord *Townshend* had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had so fully satisfied the late Ministry, that though, upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the Treaty was ratified in form.

Resolutions injurious to the States.
Pr. H. C.
Feb. 4.

But the new Ministry had other views: They designed to set the Queen at liberty from her engagements by these Alliances, and to disengage her from Treaties. The House of Commons went now very hastily into several resolutions that were very injurious to the *States*. They pretended the *States* had been deficient in their quota's for sea-service, some years two thirds, and generally more than half their quota. That the forces supplied by the *States* for the service of *Spain* from 1705, to 1708, were no more than twelve thousand two hundred men, and they had since sent thither no forces at all. That the *States*, during the course of the war, had furnished less than their proportion in *Flanders*, twenty thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven men. That the Queen had paid in Subsidies more than her proportion three millions one hundred and fifty-five crowns. Then they fell on the Barrier-Treaty. They gave out that the old Ministry designed to bring over an army from *Holland*, whenever they should, for other ends, pretend that the Protestant Succession was in danger; whereas it was urged, that there was no need of any foreign assistance to maintain it. In the debate, it was insisted on, that it could be maintained safely no other way: It was not to be doubted but the King of *France* would assist the Pretender. *England* was not inclined to keep up a Standing-army in time of peace to resist him; so that we could not be so safe any other way, as by having the *States* engaged to send over their army, if it should be necessary. But reason is a feeble thing to bear down resolutions already taken, so the Commons voted, I. * That in the Treaty between her Majesty and the *States-General*, for securing the Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and for settling a Barrier for the *States-General* against *France*, under colour of securing the Protestant Succession, and providing a sufficient Barrier to the *States-General* against *France*, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of *Great-Britain*, and therefore highly dishonourable to her Majesty. II. That the Lord Viscount *Town-*

The Barrier Treaty condemned.

shend had not any orders or authority for negotiating or concluding several articles in that Treaty. III. That the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, who negotiated and signed, and all those, who advised the ratifying of that Treaty, were enemies to the Queen and Kingdom.*

These Votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as strange preludes to a Peace. When the *States* heard what exceptions were taken to the Barrier-Treaty, they wrote a very respectful letter to the Queen, setting forth their just claim to, and the necessity of, the Barrier for the security of *England* as well as *Holland*; concluding, 'That if there were some articles, which, without affecting the essentials of the treaty, might be thought to want explanation, her Majesty should find them willing and ready to treat thereupon, and with all the facility and condescension that could be required of them, whatever should not be of the last importance for the security and preservation of their State. Intreating, withal, her Majesty to continue towards them that very precious friendship and good-will, with which she had hitherto honoured them.' How much sower disinterested people might be affected with this letter, it made no impression on the Ministry, and the Managers of the House of Commons got all their votes to be digested into a well-composed inflaming representation, which was laid before the Queen*; * See Pr. by it all the Allies, but most particularly the *States*; were charged with having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements: They also laid before the Queen the votes they had made, with relation to the Barrier treaty; and that they might name a great sum, that would make a deep impression on the Nation (which was ready to receive all Things implicitly from them) they said *England* had been, during the war, overcharged nineteen millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was cast on the old Ministry.

The *States*, resenting these proceedings, drew The *States* up a large memorial, in which every particular *justly* in the representation was examined and fully answered. The two first heads of this Memorial, which related to the service at Sea and in *Flanders*, were printed here, and published in *English* in the *Daily Courant*, of April 7, containing a full answer to all that was charged on them, as to those matters; to the ample conviction of all who examined the particulars. The House of Commons saw the effect this was like to have; and therefore they voted the pretended (as they called it) Memorial, to be a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting upon

it would rather exhaust and weaken them, with respect to *England*; because the whole revenue of the *Spanish Netherlands* had never been sufficient, since the *Pyrenean* Treaty, to keep them in a tolerable posture of defence; and therefore much less can that portion, assigned the *States* by the Treaty, be sufficient. That with regard to the great objection, founded on the fifteenth article of the Treaty, that it was highly prejudicial to the commerce of *Great-Britain*, to submit our trade in the *Spanish* dominions to an equality with that of *Holland* and other Nations; this is confuted by these considerations: That the trade of *England* and *Holland* to the *Spanish* Dominions had always stood upon an equal foot, not only by virtue of their respective treaties with the Crown of *Spain*, but likewise in fact;

and that the Crown of *England* had been so far from not submitting to the advantages granted the *Dutch* by the treaty of *Munster*, that it actually first procured them for the *States*, and, by a particular express treaty, became guarantee for the performance: And that her Majesty was laid under no engagement by the fifteenth article of the Barrier Treaty, but what she was previously obliged to by the *Grand Alliance*, as appears from the eighth article of that Alliance. In the *Observations* on the Treaty and Counter Project, it is shewn, that there was not one variation of any moment throughout the whole treaty, but what was either pursuant to former treaties, or necessary to the rendering the barrier complete and effectual; and, on that account, as much for the interest of *England*, as of *Holland* itself.

(1) The

1711-12. upon the resolutions of the House, and that the printing of it was a breach of privilege. And, to stop the printing of the other heads, Mr Samuel Buckley, the Writer and Printer of the *Daily-Courant*, was taken into custody. This was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it seemed to be a confession that their representation could not be justified, when the answer to it was so carefully stifled. It was then generally reported, that the chief handle for this censure was a supposition that the Memorial was not genuine; which appeared soon after to be entirely groundless, for the Memorial had not only been printed at the *Hague*, but delivered by their Envoy *Van Borjelen* to the Queen, by whose order Mr *St John* wrote a short answer (1).

Naturali-
zation-act
repealed.

The House of Commons proceeded next to the repeal of the Naturalization-Act, which had passed the last Parliament in favour of the Protestant Foreigners. A bill for the repeal of this act had been thrown out by the Lords the last year, but it now passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent.

Those, who were suspected of having bad designs, applied themselves with great industry to drive on such bills as they hoped would give the Presbyterians in Scotland such alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate that the Union was broken.

A Toleran-
tion to the
Episcopal
Clergy in
Scotland.
Pr. H. C.
Pr. H. L.
Burnet.
Reman-
uance of
the Kirk
against it.

To this end several bills were brought into the House of Commons: They began with proposing one for a Toleration for the Episcopal Clergy to use the Liturgy of the Church of England. This seemed so reasonable that no opposition was made to it: However the Kirk of Scotland being alarmed at the design of setting up the Church of England's Liturgy and Worship in North-Britain; and upon the first notice, that a bill for that purpose was brought

into the House of Commons, the Commissioners of the General Assembly drew up a large representation to the Queen, setting forth, 'That the sixth act of Parliament in 1707, for securing the Protestant Religion and Presbyterian Government, (whereby all other acts in favour of the same are ratified and approved) is declared to be an essential and fundamental condition of the treaty of Union, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort, for ever, even beyond the Reach of Parliament. That they could not but express their surprize and deep affliction, to hear of a bill offered for such a large and almost boundless Toleration, not only threatening the overthrow of their Church, but giving a large licence almost to all errors and blasphemies, and throwing up all good discipline, to the dishonour of God, and the scandal and ruin of the true Christian Religion, and the infallible disturbance of the quiet, and to the confusion of that Church and Nation: And therefore with all humility but with the greatest earnestness, they did beseech, nay obtest her Majesty, by the same mercy of God, that restored that Church, and raised her Majesty to the Throne, to interpose for the relief of that Church, and the maintenance of the present Establishment, against such a manifest and ruining incroachment, in such manner, as in her Royal wisdom and justice she should think needful.' Notwithstanding this representation (which was presented to the Queen by Mr *Carstairs*, Principal of the College of *Edinburgh*) the act went on, and a clause was put in it, that occasioned great complaints; the Magistrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the sentences of the Judicatories of their Kirk, were by this act required, to execute none of them. It was reasonable to require them to execute no sentences, that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but

1711-12.

(1) The answer was as follows:

The Queen having maturely considered the memorials of the 3d of April, which were presented to her Majesty by the *Sieur Van Borjelen*, Envoy-Extraordinary from the Lords the *States-General*, and the resolution of the said *States* of the 22d of the same month, which was communicated to her Majesty by the Earl of *Strafford*, her Ambassador-Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiary in *Holland*, has ordered me to give this answer in few words: That her Majesty is surprized to find, that far from giving the deserved praises to the efforts, which her Majesty has made in *Spain*, and *Portugal*, two theatres of the war, that have been abandoned by the *States* for so many years, the said efforts, are looked upon only as Quota's, which the Queen was obliged to furnish according to the rule of proportion, which has not the least foundation. Her Majesty agrees, that, according to the principles laid down in the resolution above-mentioned, Great-Britain will never contribute enough, nor the *United-Provinces* too little.

There it is advanced as a maxim, that the power of each of the Allies is the only rule and measure of the efforts they are to make; and, after this, the *States* set up for judges, as well of the power of her Majesty's Kingdom, as of that of their own State. It is not difficult to perceive how far this sort of logic would carry us: But her Majesty, far from being obliged by the memorial mentioned in the resolution of the 22d of April to change her sentiments, thinks fit to renew the declarations, which the Earl of *Strafford* made by her order, and in her name. These are not points, which the Queen proposes as a subject of Negotiation, but a communication to her Allies of the resolution she has taken, and of the rule laid down, that they may thereupon concert their measures.

The House of Commons, which is composed of Members sent from each County of the Kingdom, and who are competent judges of what burden the people are able to bear, have only granted subsidies for the current year, according to the proportions, and under the conditions, which have been imparted to the *States-General*.

Her Majesty has declared to the House, that she thought these conditions reasonable, and has given her orders according to the plan, in which, by consequence, there is not the least alteration to be expected.

The Queen looks upon an union betwixt herself and the *States* to be the strongest support of the common cause; and for that reason has done all that she could to traverse the designs of those factious spirits, which tended to break that union. The proposals, which have been made by her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries to the Ministers of the *States-General*, do unconceivably manifest the Queen's sincere desire to entertain a good correspondence and strict union with the *States*. These are all the steps, which her Majesty could take for that end. Her Majesty flatters herself, that they will have the effect, which she ought to expect from them; and that they will dissipate all those vain fears and ill grounded jealousies, which have been dispersed with so much industry throughout the seven Provinces. But, however that be, her Majesty will have his comfort, that she has neglected nothing of what was in her power to contribute towards the satisfaction of the *States-General*, without abandoning the interest of her own Kingdoms.

Done at *Whitehall*,
May, 3, 1712.

H. ST JOHN.

(1) When

1711-12.

but the carrying this to a general clause took away the civil sanction, which in most places is looked on as the chief, if not the only, strength of Church Power. Those, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of Abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; so, to cover them from it, a clause was put in this act, requiring all the Presbyterian Ministers to take it; since it seemed reasonable, that those of the legal Establishment should be required to take that, which was now to be imposed on those, who were only to be tolerated. It was well understood, that there were words in the oath of Abjuration, to which the Presbyterians excepted. In the act of Succession, one of the conditions, on which the Successor was to be received, was, his being of the Communion of the Church of England; and, by the oath of Abjuration, the Succession was sworn to, as limited by that act: The word, *Limitation*, imported only the entail of the Crown; but it was suggested, that the particle, *As*, related to all the conditions in that act. This was spread among so many of that persuasion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuse to take it: So a small alteration was made by the House of Lords of these words, *As was limited*, into words of the same sense, *Which was limited*; but those, who intended to excuse the Episcopal party, who they knew were in the Pretender's interests, from taking the oath, were for keeping in those words, which the Presbyterians scrupled. The Commons accordingly disagreed to the amendment made by the Lords; and, they receding from it, the bill passed, as it had been sent up by the Commons (1). By this act the Episcopal Clergy, provided they have been ordained by a Protestant Bishop, and taken the oaths of Allegiance and Abjuration, are permitted to use in their Meetings the Liturgy of the Church of England without molestation. By the same act the Ministers of the Established Church of Scotland are also obliged to take the oaths.

Another act passed for discontinuing the Courts of Judicature, during some days in *Christmas*, though the observing of Holidays was contrary to the principles of the Presbyterians (2). But this was intended only to exasperate them.

Patronages
restored.
Pr. H. C.
Barnet.

Some time after the Toleration-Act, a bill was brought in for the restoring of Patronages. It was established by the Presbyterians from the time of the Reformation, as a principle, that Parishes had, from warrants in scripture, a right to chuse their Ministers: And therefore they had always looked on the right of Patronage as an invasion of their principles, and had abolished it by law as a grievance. This right having been restored with Episcopacy in 1661, continued till 1690, when Presbyterian Church-Government was again established, and the right of Patronage taken away. But it was now resolved that it should be restored. It was urged in opposition to it, that since, by the act of Union, Presbytery, with all its rights and privi-

leges, was unalterably secured, and since their Kirk-Session was a branch of their Constitution, the taking from them the right of chusing their Ministers was contrary to that act: Yet the bill passed through both Houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these steps the Presbyterians were alarmed, when they saw the success of every motion that was made, on design to weaken and undermine their Establishment.

The self-denying bill for limiting the number of Officers sitting in the House of Commons was brought in, and, as was usual, it easily passed there: The scandal of corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed men were not only bribed for a whole Session, but had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new Peers, being brought into the House of Lords, had irritated so many there, that, for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the House, the bill was likely to have passed that House: But, upon some prevailing arguments, secretly and dextrously applied to some Lords, an alteration was made in it, by which it was lost: For whereas the bill, as it stood, was to take place after the determination of the present Parliament, this was altered, so as that it should take place after the demise of the Queen; so it was no more thought on.

Prince Eugene still continued in England, and was treated very civilly by the Queen, though not with that distinction that was due to his high merit: Nor did he gain any ground with the Ministry.

He had presented a memorial to the Queen (which he published in *February*) containing an account of the Emperor's conduct in the war; concluding, with a proposal in relation to the war in Spain. Some days passed before any notice was taken of this memorial, but, at last, Mr *St John* acquainted the Commons, 'That he had received her Majesty's command to communicate to that House a proposition made to her Majesty by Prince Eugene of Savoy, in the name of the Emperor, for the support of the war in Spain; viz. *His Imperial Majesty judges, that forty thousand men will be sufficient for this service; and that the whole expence of the war in Spain may amount to four millions of crowns; towards which his Imperial Majesty offers to make up the troops, which he has in that country, to thirty thousand men, and to take one million of crowns upon himself.* It was observed, that no Member said any thing to this message; which made the Prince very uneasy about the success of a Negotiation, which had detained him so long from other important affairs on the Continent. On the other hand, the course of the publick entertainments, to which he was daily invited, was by this time interrupted by the death of his nephew, the *Chevalier de Savoy*, who, being taken ill of the small-pox the 20th of *February*, died four days after, in the 21st year of his age; and his corps was deposited, without any funeral pomp, in the vault belonging to the Dukes of *Ormond*, in *Westminster-Abbey*.

Prince

(1) When the Commons read this bill the third time, Sir *David Dalrymple* said, 'Since I see the House is resolved to make no alterations in the body of the bill, I acquiesce, and only desire, the title of it

may be this: *A bill for establishing Jacobitism and Immorality.* Pr. H. C. Vol. IV.

(2) The title of this act is, *An act for Discharging the Yule Vacance.*

1711-12. Prince Eugene having delayed his departure as long as possible, in hopes of succeeding in his Negotiation, had his audience of leave the 13th of March. He embarked the 17th, and, two days after, arrived at the *Hague* in the *Pergrine* yacht. Bishop *Burnet*, whilst the Prince was in *England*, was admitted several times to much discourse with him, and, from what appeared to him, the Prince had a most unaffected modesty, and scarcely bore the acknowledgements that all the world paid him: He descended to an easy equality with those with whom he conversed, and seemed to assume nothing to himself, while he reasoned with others.

False report of Mobocks. Hist. of Europe. During Prince Eugene's stay in *England*, upon occasion of some frolics and disorders committed in the night-time, either by town-rakes, or drunken soldiers, a report was industriously spread, 'That there were great numbers of dissipated persons, who, under the name of *Mobocks* or *Havokubies*, had combined together to disturb the public peace; and who, in an inhuman manner, without any provocation, assaulted and wounded those, whom they met with in the streets, flitting or flating people's noses; gagging or distending their mouths with iron instruments, and committing many other extravagant cruelties.' At the same time printed lists were handed about of many persons, said to have been taken up and committed to several prisons, upon account of these barbarities, amongst whom some men of figure and titles were insinuated to be; which gained so strong a belief, and struck such a terror among the vulgar, that, as soon as night drew on, many were deterred from going about on their lawful occasions. Hereupon the matter being laid before the Queen, her Majesty, by the advice of her Privy-Council, issued a proclamation, 'for the suppressing of riots, and the discovery of such as had been guilty of the late barbarities within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and parts adjacent; charging and commanding, that the offenders be prosecuted with the utmost severity and rigour of the law, and promising a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery and apprehending of any person, who, since the first day of *February* last, had, without any provocation, wounded, stabbed, or maimed, or who should, before the first day of *May*, wound, stab, or maim, any of her Majesty's subjects.' Though this proclamation at first confirmed the belief of the barbarities and riots, for the suppressing of which it was intended; yet the consequence of it shewed, upon what slight grounds that belief had been entertained. For when people, under security of this proclamation, came to inquire calmly and coolly into the matter, it was found, that no other disorders had happened of late, but such as are usual, and almost unavoidable, in populous Cities. But it was remarkable, that *Brinsden*, the Oculist, and other agents of the men in power, were shrewdly suspected of having raised and improved the report of this pretended combination of *Mobocks* and *Havokubies*, in order to throw the odium of it upon the Whigs, whom, by all possible means, they endeavoured to render obnoxious to the people. However, to colour these proceedings, two common pick-pockets were tried, found guilty, and severely fined for form sake. And the Lord *Hinchinbrooke*, then a youth, and an officer of the army, who, at the desire, and in company of a

Constable, went out one night in quest of the pretended *Mobocks*, were afterwards likewise arraigned and tried, as disturbers of the public peace: But, their innocence manifestly appearing, the notion of *Mobocks* and *Havokubies* was universally exploded.

The French Refugees having presented a petition to the Queen for her interposition at the treaty of *Utrecht* in favour of their brethren under persecution in *France*, and for the restitution of their estates in that Kingdom, of which they had been so unjustly deprived; the Earl of *Dartmouth* wrote a letter to Monsieur *Du Bourdieu* and *Graverole*, two French Protestant Ministers, agents for the rest; assuring them, that the Bishop of *Bristol* and the Earl of *Strafford* were already under the strictest orders to support the interest of the French Refugees at the Negotiations of peace. Accordingly, the Queen appointed *Armand de Bourbon*, Marquis de *Miremont*, nephew to the Earl of *Feversham*, to go to *Utrecht*, and, in her Majesty's name, to take particular care of the interest of the French Refugees. Notwithstanding all this, they soon found that their interests were either but faintly supported by *Great-Britain*, or the Court of *France* shewed no regard to the Queen's intercession.

The Supplies demanded were given by the Commons, in all about six millions. There were two Lotteries of one million eighteen hundred thousand pounds each, for which a fund was created to pay both principal and interest in thirty-two years. Among the duties for raising this sum, was a stamp-duty at two-pence a sheet on News-Papers and Pamphlets. A motion was made for a clause to be put into one of the Lottery-bills, for appointing Commissioners to examine the value and consideration of all the grants made since the Revolution. The Ministers apprehending the difficulty of carrying a Money-bill, with a tack to it, through the House of Lords, because of their former resolution against such a practice, and the Treasurer promising some leading men, that he would use his interest to procure the passing a Grant-bill, single, in the House of Peers, they prevailed to have it separated from the Money-bill, and, when passed, it was sent up to the Lords. Those, who continued to pay a respect to the memory of King *William*, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the Nation from Slavery and Popery, to cast so particular an indignity on his grants. The bill made all its steps through the House of Lords, to the last, with a small majority of one or two. On the third reading of the bill, a warm debate arose, in which the Duke of *Argyle* said, 'That, if for the ease of the public it was found proper to resume the grants of the Crown, he would readily give his vote for it, provided they would go so far back, as the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second. But he could never agree to limit the bill to grants of King *William*, because such an act would be injurious to the memory of the Deliverer of *Great-Britain*, and all *Europe*; which ought to be had in reverence by all honest men.' The Earl of *Wharton*, the Lord *Cowper*, and Lord *Hallifax* spoke, with great force and eloquence, against the partial distinction between grants since the Revolution, and those before it; adding, that such a distinction gave too much credit to a Ministry, who by the passing

1712.

Petition of the French Refugees.

The Supplies granted.

Motion for a Grant-bill.

1712. of the bill would have the means in their hands, to ruin and oppress those, who had not the good luck to please them. The Earl of Nottingham, who had been absent the first two days, spoke on this occasion, and said, He always thought those grants were too large, and very unseasonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to resume them all, or to bring all concerned in them to an equal composition: He therefore could not approve of this bill, which, by a very clear consequence, would put it in the power of a fellow-subject, to resume or to cover grants, at his pleasure; and so it would put the persons, concerned in the grants, into too great a dependance on him. To this the Lord-Treasurer answered, 'That no one had reason to be alarmed at the bill, since the intent of it was only to examine the value of the grants made by King William, and upon what considerations they were given; but that, as it was presumed, those, who enjoyed them, had rendered very signal service to their Country, so it was not to be doubted, but the Parliament would confirm the same.' The Earl of Wharton replied, 'That it was also to be presumed, that those, who enjoyed the grants of King Charles the Second, and King James the Second, might have likewise done important service to the Nation: Wherefore it would be very proper to look into the motives of all those grants, in order to confirm them to those, who had deserved them.' The Earl of Oxford said, 'That he had been informed, that the Commons had no design absolutely to resume the grants of King William, but only to make the possessors pay the value of four or five years rent, for which they should have the grants confirmed to them for ever.' To which the Earl of Wharton again replied, 'That he would not call in question what a Lord of such probity and sincerity had advanced; but that the resumption of all the grants of Ireland sufficiently shewed, that the Commons had not been content with a part.' Several other speeches, that were made on both sides, prolonged the debate till between six and seven in the evening, when the question being put, that the bill do pass, it appeared upon the gathering of the votes, that there were seventy-eight voices on each side, fifty-three present, and twenty-five proxies for the affirmative; and fifty-two present, and twenty-six proxies for the negative; so the votes being equal, by the rule of the House, the negative carried it, to the great disappointment of the enemies of the Revolution. It was observed, that the loss of this bill was in a great measure owing to the vigilance of the late Duke of Portland. He being informed, that the Lord Colepepper had sent his proxy to the Earl of Sunderland, who, by reason of his indisposition, could not produce it, immediately dispatched an express to the Lord Colepepper, and he sent his proxy to another Lord time enough to create part of the negative. On the other hand, many were of opinion, that, had not the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Strafford absented themselves from the House, the bill had certainly passed.

May 22. The Queen three days after came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal assent to the Money-bills and others. As the Earl of Strafford was now in London, it was expected, the Queen would have laid before the Parliament a state of

the Negotiations of peace which had been carrying on at the Hague. But, some points not being yet settled between the British and French Courts, she did not think fit to make a speech to both Houses. However, the Speaker, at presenting the Lottery bill, said in his compliment to the Queen, 'Your faithful Commons are in hopes, that what they have so cheerfully given, for your Majesty's occasions, will enable your Majesty to put an end to the present war by a safe and honourable peace.' There being no account come of any peace, as soon as the Commons were returned to their House, Mr Benson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, afterwards Lord Bingley, moved, that the call of the House (which had been several times put off) might be adjourned to the 4th of June, when he did not doubt, but the Queen would lay before them the result of the present Negotiations. Mr Hampden, complained, saying, 'Notwithstanding all the promises given from time to time to the Commons, we have an *unactive and lazy Campaign*, and a *trifling Negotiation of peace*; so that we are amused by our Ministers at home, and tricked by our Enemies abroad.' Mr Secretary St John had too great a share in the management of affairs not to resent these insinuations; and said with some emotion, 'That they highly reflected on her Majesty, and her Ministers. But though some Members, had been sent to the Tower for less offences, and that he, who spoke last, might be fond of that honour; yet he hoped the House would be of another opinion.' Sir Richard Onslow replied, 'That to suppose her Majesty, or her Ministers, to have any influence on the deliberations of that House, was injurious to her Majesty, and a violation of the privileges of that House. In which he was seconded by Mr Lechmere. But the debate went no further, in consideration, as the friends of the prevailing party suggested, that, the Session drawing to an end, the commitment of a Member at that time would rather be a pride than a mortification to him. And so, according to the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the call of the House was put off till the 4th of June.

A great change happened in the affairs of France, at the very time their Plenipotentiaries were negotiating at Utrecht. The Dauphin, the only son of the King of France, who died, in the 50th year of his age, of the small-pox on the 14th of April, N.S. 1711, left behind him three sons, the Duke of Burgundy, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Berry. On the 12th of February 1711-12, N.S. the Dauphiness, Mary Adelaide of Savoy, died at Versailles in the 26th year of her age, having been taken suddenly ill of a surfeit, as it was given out, three days before: And the Dauphin himself, Lewis, late Duke of Burgundy, survived his spouse but six days, dying at Marly on the 18th of the same month, in the 30th year of his age: And, in a few days after him, his eldest son, who was five years old, died likewise; and his second son, then but two years old, was thought to be in a dying condition. These deaths, coming so quick one after another, struck the French Court. The King himself was for some days ill, but he soon recovered. Such repeated strokes were looked upon with amazement. Poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the Duke of Orleans was generally charged with it. He

1712.

Death of
the late
Dauphin.
Barnet.
Daniel.

1712. was believed to have dealt much in Chemistry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in Spain at the head of King Philip's army, he formed a project to set him aside; and to make himself King of Spain, in which, as the Lord Townshend told Bishop Burnet, he went so far, that he tried to engage Mr Stanhope, to pers the Queen and the States-General to assist him, promising to break with France, and to marry King Charles's Dowager (1). This being discovered, he was upon that called out of Spain; and it was thought, that the only thing, that saved him, was the King's kindness to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The King not only passed it over, but soon after obliged the Duke of Berry to marry his daughter; such care had the old King taken to corrupt the blood of France, with the mixture of his spurious issue. King Philip was not at all pleased with the Alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expostulating with him for not opposing the marriage more vigorously; with which he professed himself so displeased, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was sent from Madrid to Paris, but was intercepted, and sent to Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague.

The Duke of Burgundy, when he became Dauphin upon his father's death, had been let into the understanding the secrets of government; and, as was given out, he had on many occasions expressed a deep sense of the miseries of the people, with great sentiments of justice. He had likewise, in some disputes, which Cardinal de Noailles had with the Jesuits, espoused his interests, and protected him. It was likewise believed, that he retained a great affection to the Archbishop of Cambray, whose fable of *Telemaachus* carried in it the noblest maxims possible for the conduct of a wife and good Prince, and set forth that station in shining characters, but which were the reverse of Lewis the XIVth's whole life and reign. These things gave the French a just sense of the loss they had in his death; and the apprehensions of a minority, after such a reign, struck them with great consternation. These deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the vast schemes, which the French King had formed with so much perfidy and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be soon blasted. But his affairs were soon retrieved by the ensuing peace, to the Negotiations of which it is now time to turn.

The place appointed for the Congress was the City of Utrecht; and the day named for

opening it, was the first of January 1711-12, O. S. The first Minister that appeared at the place of treaty was Dr Robinson, Lord Privy-Seal, one of the British Plenipotentiaries, who came there the 15th of January; and, two days after, arrived the other British Plenipotentiary, the Earl of Strafford. On the 18th came also two of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries (2), who were followed, the next morning, by the three French Plenipotentiaries, the Marshal d'Uxelles, the Abbot de Polignac, and Monsieur Mesnager (3). The Emperor and the Empire sent their Ministers very late and unwillingly; but they submitted to the necessity of their affairs. Yet, upon this condition (positively given them by the Earl of Strafford, and confirmed to Prince Eugene by the British Court) that the seven preliminaries offered by France, and signed by Mesnager, should be only bare proposals, and should not be admitted as the basis of the treaty. To save the loss of time in settling the ceremonial, it was also agreed, that the Plenipotentiaries should assume no character of dignity, till all matters were adjusted, and made ready for signing. At the same time, it was likewise agreed, that the general Conferences should begin on Friday the 29th of January, N. S. and should afterwards be held on Wednesdays and Saturdays at ten in the morning.

These things being settled, the first Conference was opened on the day appointed, by eight Ministers of the Allies, namely, the two British, four of the States-General, two of the Duke of Savoy's, and the three Plenipotentiaries of France. The Lord Privy-Seal, (who appeared in a black velvet-gown, adorned with gold loops, with a long train borne up by two pages in ash-coloured coats, laced with silver orris, and waistcoats of green velvet) addressed himself to the Ministers of France in the following speech:

Gentlemen,

" We are this day met together, in the name
" of God, to lay the foundation of a general
" peace between the High Allies and the King
" your Master. We bring sincere intentions,
" and also positive orders from our principals,
" to concur in every thing on their part, which
" may tend to the furtherance and happy conclusion of so beneficial and Christian-like a
" work.

" On the other hand, we are in hopes, Gentlemen, that you are of the same mind, and
" that your instructions are so full, as to enable
" you

The treaty of Utrecht opened. Hist. of Europe. Burnet. Lamberti. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

(1) This is the project hinted at by the author of the manuscript account of the campaigns in Spain (See p. 11. of this volume) which was made to Lord Galway, who sent Mr Stanhope to the Duke of Orleans to hear his offers. But the author of the Duke of Orleans's life gives a different account of the Duke's project. He says, Lewis XIV. being obliged by the successes of the Allies to promise to abandon his grandson Philip King of Spain, the Spaniards offered to place the Duke of Orleans upon the Throne in his room, to which he consented. But, this consent of his being afterwards misrepresented to the King of France, as a scheme to have usurped the Spanish Crown from King Philip, the Duke was for some time in disgrace at the Court of France. *La vie de Philippe d'Orleans*, Vol. II. p. 93.

(2) The Plenipotentiaries named by the States, were, Monsieur Ranawick, for the province of Guelderland;

Monsieurs Buys and Vanderdussen, for that of Holland; Monsieur de Moormont, for Zealand; Monsieur de Renfswoude, for Utrecht; Monsieur de Gessinga, for Friesland; the Count de Rechteren, for Over-Iffel; and the Count de Tu and Kniphausen, for Groningen.

(3) As France had named three Plenipotentiaries, and Monsieur Mesnager in particular, to take care of commercial affairs; the Court of Great-Britain had a mind to add Mr Prior, to their two Ministers at Utrecht, for the same purpose; but the Earl of Strafford, having absolutely refused to be joined in commission with a person of so mean extraction, and threatening to lay down his employment, the business of trade was committed to the Lord Privy-Seal; who, not being versed in those matters, was obliged to direct himself by the lights he received from Mr Arthur Moore.

(1) These

1712. "you to answer, without loss of time, the expectation of the High Allies, in explaining yourselves clearly and roundly upon the points, which are to be settled in these Conferences: And that you will do it in so plain and particular a manner, that all and every of the Confederate Princes and States may find a just and reasonable satisfaction upon their respective pretensions." The Marshal d'Uxelles, First Plenipotentiary of France, answered, "That it could not be doubted, but his most Christian Majesty had a sincere and ardent desire to give peace to Europe;" adding, "That with this view his Majesty had furnished his Plenipotentiaries with ample instructions, and a full power to come to the conclusion of so beneficial a work, which was so earnestly desired by all Europe." The Earl of Strafford took occasion to declare, that the Queen had received the general propositions as a foundation for a Negotiation of peace; but that they were binding to France only, and not to the Allies; to which the French Ministers readily assented. But it is to be observed through the whole proceeding, that this is meant of the propositions signed by Mesnager only, the Congress not having the least notice or cognizance of what was signed, both on the part of France and England too; which had been hitherto concealed, and, upon all occasions, publickly disowned. The Plenipotentiaries of the States and Duke of Savoy made likewise speeches suitable to the occasion; after which, the Assembly broke up. The next day, the Ministers of the Allies agreed to meet at the Town-House twice a week during the Congress, in order to preserve union amongst them, and to take the necessary measures for promoting the interest of the respective Princes and States they represented. At one of these meetings, because the French Ministers had in their speeches promised to deliver in writing the intentions of their Court, it was resolved to deliver to them, in the next Conference, a declaration, "That the Ministers of the High Allies, already there, expected, according to the offers of the Ministers of France, the plan or scheme they had promised; and would not fail to return an answer thereto, for what concerned the particular interest of their principals; and as to the Ministers of such of the Allies, who were still absent, they had reason to believe, that they would forthwith repair thither, to concur with them in their answer."

This paper being delivered to the French Ministers in the second Conference on the 3d of February, they promised to give in their offers for a general peace; but declared they wished that all the Ministers of the Allies were present that they might, at the same time, receive a counter-project or answer from all the members of the grand Alliance. Accordingly little was done at the third Conference, but at the fourth, Feb. 10. N. S. the Imperial Ministers being arrived, a warm dispute arose between them and the French Plenipotentiaries. The Marshal d'Uxelles said, the King, his Master, had most sincere intentions to end this war to the satisfaction of

the Allies: That, in order to that, they ought to deal roundly and fairly. That he hoped a good success of this Negotiation, since the Ambassadors of the House of Austria had at last resolved to come to the Congress; and thereupon he desired the Ministers of the Allies to deliver the proposals they had to make. Count Zinzendorf answered, "That the Emperor, his Master, had no less sincere intentions to contribute all that lay in his power towards so desirable a blessing, as a general peace: But that it seemed Monsieur d'Uxelles, instead of dealing roundly and fairly, began, on the contrary, with a fetch^{1712.}, since he could not be a stranger to the demands of the Allies, nor have forgot where the Conferences at Gertruydenberg broke off: That there was nothing more for them to do now, than to find out ways and means to remove the difficulties, that had obstructed that Negotiation: And, since the King, their Master, had desired this Congress of the Allies, they had reason to expect, that he had given his Ministers necessary instructions for that end." By this he insinuated, that the Allies insisted on the first Preliminaries signed at the Hague in the year 1709. Count Zinzendorf likewise took notice of this expression, The Ambassadors of the House of Austria, as derogatory to his Imperial Majesty. The Abbot de Polignac replied, "That they ought to talk no more of the affair of Gertruydenberg, since the King had fixed a time for the Allies to accept his proposal; which they not having done, he was under no engagement." This occasioned a high debate; and d'Uxelles having, in relation to the affairs of Spain, said, "That they ought to wait the arrival of the Ambassador of that Crown;" Count Zinzendorf replied, "He was present, and himself was the person." The Marshal returned, "That he acknowledged none but King Philip's," which inflamed the dispute; and the Marshal having likewise advanced, in relation to a point in debate, "That the Queen of England had engaged her promise;" the Lord Privy-Seal said, "There was no such thing in his instructions." At last, the French Ministers consented to deliver their proposals in writing, which they did, February 11, in a very high strain.

They promised, that at the signing of the treaty they would own the Queen and the Succession to the Crown, as she should direct; ^{French proposals.} Spain and the West-Indies were to remain with King Philip; the Dominions in Italy, with the Islands, except Sicily, were to go to the Emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria: The trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; some places in Canada were to be restored to England, with the freedom of fishery in Newfoundland; but Placentia was to remain with the French: Dunkirk was offered to be demolished; but Lille and Tournay were to be given for it: The States were to have their demands for the Barrier; and the frontier between France, the Empire, and Italy, was to be the same, that it was before the war; by which Landau, Fenesbrelle, and Exiles were to be restored to France (1). These demands

(1) These proposals at large were as follow:

A specific explanation of the offers of France for a general

peace, to the satisfaction of all the parties concerned in the present war.

"The King will acknowledge, at the signing of

1712. demands (which were called a specific explanation of the offers of *France* for a general peace, to the satisfaction of all the Allies) were as extravagant as any the *French* King could have made, in the most prosperous state of his affairs. They filled the Allies with indignation, and heightened the jealousy they had of a secret understanding, between the Courts of *England* and *France*. This indignation had such an effect, that the Earl of *Strafford*, in his letter of the 16th of *February* 1711-12, says, "The *French* Ministers were mortified at the general discontent these offers gave; and seemed to wish, they had put in *Tournay* for the *Dutch*; and *St Venant* to be demolished, to have softened the matter at its first coming out." Nor were the *British* Plenipotentiaries without their uneasiness. They had done all they could, as the Earl of *Strafford* says in his letter of the 12th of *February*, to persuade the *French* to be as ample in the explication as they could, "seeing that is what will have a great effect, and strike the minds of unthinking people, and make some work for reflection for the faction." The *British* Plenipotentiaries complained, that they were under great difficulties on all hands, for both *Buys* and *Mefnager* thought they came short of what had been told them in *England*; and, the Allies then forming their respective demands in concert with each other, they wanted further orders. These Plenipotentiaries were likewise at a great loss how to behave about *Spain*, both in regard to the particular advantages, that were to be asked on the behalf of *Great-Britain*, and the general disposition of it. But Mr Secretary *St John* soon sent them words of comfort, in a letter of the 16th of *February*, that Mr *Harley*, Secretary of the Treasury, would set out in a few days, who is fully instructed in all the Queen's views and desires: "That it were to be wished this Gentleman could have been sooner sent; but the hurry, says he, which we have been in for some time, is inexpressible, and he was too useful to be spared, till the House of Commons were perfectly secured to the Queen's interest, and to the measures of peace. I think I may say, they are absolutely so now. The Secre-

tary confessed the *French* plan to be too scanty; and observed, that they must let the *French* Ministers know, that the whole turned upon their manner of proceeding; her Majesty having gone further than could have been expected from her in promoting the peace."

The specific explanation raised no less indignation among true *Englishmen*, than among the Allies; more particularly the putting off the owning the Queen, till the treaty came to be signed: The Lord-Treasurer, to soften this; said, he saw a letter, in which the King of *France* acknowledged her Queen: This was a confession, that there was a private correspondence between them; yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuse of this it was said, that the late King was not owned by the *French*, till the treaty of *Ryswick* came to be signed: But there was a Mediator in that treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no Mediator at *Utrecht*: So that the Queen was now, without any interposition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her right to the Crown. The propositions made by the *French* were treated with the greatest scorn, nor did the Ministers pretend to say any thing in excuse for them. The Lord *Hallifax* made a motion in the House of Peers, for presenting an address to the Queen, about the specific offers of *France*, which his Lordship called, trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her Majesty and her Allies. He was seconded by several Peers, of both parties, who said in substance, 'That those propositions ought to be rejected with the utmost scorn and indignation; that it plainly appeared, *France* had no other design in view, than to amuse the Allies; and, in particular, that it was derogatory to her Majesty's honour, to enter into any Negotiation with that Crown, before her Majesty's just title was acknowledged.' Some endeavours were used to adjourn the debate at least till the next day, by suggesting, 'That the offers that were handed about, having yet no other authority, than their being inserted in the *Holland Gazettes*, might not be genuine; and therefore the Lords ought not to take any notice of them, till such time

1717.
They are received
with scorn
in Eng-
land.

Address
against
them by
the Lords.
Feb. 16.
Pr. H. L.

"the peace, the Queen of *Great-Britain* in that quality; as also the succession of that Crown, according to the present settlement, and in the manner her *Britannic* Majesty shall please.

"His Majesty will cause all the fortifications of *Dunkirk* to be demolished immediately after the peace, provided an equivalent be given him to his satisfaction.

"The island of *St Christopher*, *Hudson's Bay*, and freight of that name, shall be yielded up intire to *Great-Britain*; and *Acadia*, with *Port-Royal*, and the Fort, shall be restored intire to his Majesty. As to the island of *Newfoundland*, the King offers to yield up that also to *Great-Britain*, reserving only to himself the Fort of *Placentia*, and the right of catching and drying fish, as before the war. It shall be agreed to make a treaty of commerce before or after the peace, as *England* shall chuse, the conditions of which shall be made as equal between the two Nations, as they can possibly.

"The King will consent at the signing of the peace, that the *Spanish Netherlands*, which are made over and given to the Elector of *Bavaria* by the King of *Spain*, shall serve for a barrier to the *United-Netherlands*; and, to augment it, he will join thereto

No. 68. VOL. IV.

Furnes, and the *Furnes-Ambacht*, or district, *Knock*, *Ypres*, and the castellany of *Menin* with its *Verge*.

"In exchange, his Majesty demands to form the barrier of *France*, *Aire*, *St Venant*, *Bethune*, *Douay*, and their dependencies. If the *States-General* are desirous to keep garrisons in the fortified places of the barrier so formed of the dominions transferred to his Electoral Highness, and of what *France* adds thereto of its own; his Majesty consents, that they shall put their troops into them in as great number as they please: And besides, that they shall be maintained at the expence of the Country.

"In consideration of this cession, and of this consent, the King on his side demands, as an equivalent for the demolishing of *Dunkirk*, the towns and citadels of *Lille*, and *Tournay*, with their castellanies, and dependencies.

"The barrier thus regulated between *France* and the *States-General*, the King will grant for augmenting the commerce of their subjects what is stipulated by the treaty of *Ryswick*, and the advantageous Tariff of 1664, with an exception only of fix sorts of Merchandize, which shall be agreed on, and which shall remain charged with the same duties, that are paid at this time; as also the exemption of 50 sols

R r t

per

1712. time as the Queen had communicated them to the House. But this, and other arguments, were over-ruled; and an address was made to the Queen, expressing a just indignation at such a proceeding, promising her all assistance in their power, in carrying on the war, till she could obtain a safe and honourable peace (1).

Whilst this passed in England, the propositions of France, which were quickly dispersed in print in all the United Provinces, were received with the utmost indignation by people of all ranks, the multitude not forbearing to vent the severest reproaches against those, from whom they supposed the French Court had received encouragement. These offers, however, had this good effect, that those among the Dutch, who before were most eager for a peace, particularly the Regency of Utrecht, resolved to spend their last penny to carry on the war.

Copies of the specific explanation being sent by all the Ministers of the Allies to their respective Principals, the Earl of Strafford, at the next general Conference, told the Ministers of France, pursuant to what had been agreed at a meeting of the other Ministers, "That they found it necessary to take time till the 5th of March, N. S. to give in the specific demands of the parties engaged in the war." To which the French Ministers readily agreed. In the mean time, the Ministers of the Allies communicated to each other their respective demands, agreed upon the manner in which they were to deliver

them in, and, at a meeting on the 3d of March, 1712, resolved, that a clause of mutual guarantee, importing, that a just and reasonable satisfaction should be given to all the Allies, according to Treaties, Engagements, and other Conventions, should be inserted among their demands.

The Ministers of the Protestant Allies were several times in conference together, to concert such measures as might be proper to be taken, during the course of this Congress, for the security of their Religion, and particularly an abolition of a clause in the fourth article of the treaty of Ryswick, prejudicial to the same: As likewise the making some provision, in their Negotiations with the Ministers of France, for the relief of the Protestants of that Kingdom. But, though these particulars were mentioned in the demands of the Protestant Allies, yet they were afterwards but faintly insisted on; and it was observed, that in this Negotiation, as in most former treaties, the Protestants shewed not an equal zeal for their religious concerns, as they did for their temporal interests.

On the 4th of March, the Ministers of the Allies met again, and Count Zinzendorf again insisted, That the restitution of the whole Spanish Monarchy should be expressly mentioned. The Dutch declared, They were resolved to make good all their treaties, made on occasion of this war, as well those that related to Spain and the Indies, as those made with Portugal; but the British were the only Ministers, that did not

"per ton on the Dutch shipping, that came into France, from the United Provinces, and foreign Countries.

"As to the commerce of Spain, and the Indies. The King will engage, not only to the States General, but likewise to her Britannic Majesty, and to all other Potentates, by virtue of the power he has in this particular, that the said commerce shall be allowed exactly, and carried on in the very same manner as it was under the Reign, and till the death of Charles II. and will promise, that the French shall submit, as all the other Nations, to the ancient laws and regulations made by the Kings, his Catholic Majesty's predecessors, with respect to the commerce and navigation of the Spanish Indies.

"His Majesty further consents, that all the Potentates of Europe may enter into the guaranty of this promise. His Majesty promises, that the King his grandson shall renounce, for the sake of the peace, all pretensions to the Kingdom of Naples, and Sardinia, as well as to the Duchy of Milan; in whose name he will consent, that the part of that Duchy, which is made over to the Duke of Savoy, shall remain to his Royal Highness; provided, that in consideration of this cession, the House of Austria do in like manner desist from all pretensions to the other parts of the Monarchy of Spain, from whence that House shall withdraw their troops immediately after the peace.

"The frontiers on both sides upon the Rhine shall be settled in the same condition, as they were before the present war.

"In consideration of all the terms above specified, the King demands, that the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria shall be re-established in the full and entire possession of their Dominions, Dignities, Prerogatives, Goods moveable and immoveable, which they enjoyed before the present war: And reciprocally his Majesty will recognize in Germany, and in Prussia, all the titles, which he has not yet acknowledged.

"The King will restore the Duke of Savoy what he has taken from him during this war; as in like manner his Royal Highness shall restore to him what

"he has taken from France; so that the limits on both shall be the same they were before the declaration of war.

"All things as to Portugal shall be re-established, and remain on the same foot in Europe, that they were before the present war, as well with regard to France as to Spain: And as to the Dominions, which that Crown has in America, if there be any differences to settle, endeavours shall be used to agree them amicably.

"The King will consent freely, and bona fide, to take in concert with the Allies all the most just measures for hindering the Crowns of France and Spain from being ever united on the same Head; that is to say, that one and the same Prince shall never be at once King of both.

"All preceding treaties, that is, those of Munster, and others, that have been made since, shall be repeated and confirmed, to remain in their force and virtue, excepting only such articles, from which the treaty of peace, now to be made, shall derogate or alter something."

Signed,

UXELLES.

It may be observed, that the King of France here makes, as well as in the special Preliminaries, his first offers in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandson as King of Spain. But how the British Plenipotentiaries could reconcile this to their instructions, and how their behaviour upon it was to be justified, is not very clear. See report of the committee of secrecy.

(1) The address was as follows:

Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty the just indignation of this House, at the dishonourable treatment of your Majesty, and in having preposed to acknowledge your Majesty's title to these Realms, no sooner, than when the

1712. not make any mention of *Spain* and the *Indies*, contenting themselves with a general declaration concerning the just and reasonable satisfaction for the Queen's Allies, in Conformity to her Alliances. However, it is observable, that a few days after, upon the earnest instances of the Imperial Ministers, the *British* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries made a declaration (which was registered in the *Protocol*, kept by Monsieur *Buy*) importing, That by the clause of mutual guarantee, or claim, agreed to on the 3d, and inserted in their respective demands, they understood the restitution of *Spain* and the *Indies* to the House of *Austria*.

At the general Conference held the next day, the Ministers of the Allies delivered in writing, their specific demands which ran as high as the *French* explanation, another way. The Emperor asked the whole *Spanish* Monarchy; *England* asked the restoring *Newfoundland*, and the demolishing of *Dunkirk*; the *States* asked their whole barrier; and every Ally asked satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himself: *England* and the *States* declared, that they demanded *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*, for the Emperor; so the high pattern set by the *French*, in their demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The *French* Plenipotentiaries declared they could not give in specific answers to so many demands of the Allies, till they had received new instructions from *Paris* and *Madrid*, and therefore desired till the 30th of *March*, *N. S.* to deliver them in, to which no objection was made (1).

When the 30th of *March* came, such of the Ministers of the Allies, as were not in the secret, were full of expectation, that the *French* Plenipotentiaries would give in a specific answer to their demands; but they were not a little surprised, when, instead of offering an answer in writing, *Marshall d'Uxelles* proposed to enter into verbal Conferences on the demands made on both sides. This indeed had been practised in treaties where mediators interposed, but that was not done till the main points were secretly agreed to. The Ministers of the Allies rejected this proposal, and demanded 'specific answers in writing.' Upon *Polignac's* saying, they would not answer in writing, their instructions being only to treat verbally, one of the *Dutch* Ministers proposed to break up the Congress: But he was soon taken down by the *British* Ministers,

who could not agree with the *Dutch* in that particular; but said, on the contrary, they would enter into a Negotiation by way of dictating, as was done at the *Hague*, in the Conference with the Deputies of the *States*. However, the next day, at a meeting among themselves, they unanimously agreed upon a declaration, wherein they insisted, 'That an answer be delivered them in writing.' But at the next general Conference the *French* Ministers still refused to comply with this declaration, which was delivered to them by Monsieur *Buy*.

This refusal of the *French* raised a very great heat in the Assembly; and some Ministers gave it as their opinion, that such trifling was a sufficient ground to dissolve the Congress; for, the *French* Plenipotentiaries refusing to answer in the method all the Ministers of the Allies had agreed on, it would be fruitless, as well as dishonourable, for the latter to remain at *Utrecht*. However, the *British* Ministers were of opinion, that the Negotiations might be managed on the foot proposed by *France*; but, when they observed, that the tide ran too strong against them, and that the generality were of contrary sentiments, they concurred with the rest, and declared, that they had positive instructions to conform themselves to the general opinion of the Ministers of the Congress. According to this resolution, Mr *Buy* delivered a second declaration in the name of all the Allies, wherein they persisted to demand an answer in writing to their specific demands. In answer to this, the *French* Ministers declared, "That, as they had positive instructions not to engage themselves in a Negotiation in writing, they could not do it without new orders from the King their Master;" to which end they would immediately dispatch a Courier, to acquaint him with this last resolution of the Allies." Some of the Ministers of the Allies replied, "That they had reason to have expected, that they had not wanted such instructions; but, however, they were willing a longer time might be taken, if it were designed with purpose to answer effectually." The *French* Ministers replied, "That they could promise no more than to follow the instructions they should receive, since they did not expect the Allies would have dealt with them in so tyrannical a manner;" adding, "That they pleaded for no more than was practised at the treaties of *Munster*, *Nimeguen*,
" and

"peace shall be signed. And we cannot forbear expressing our utmost resentment at the terms of peace offered to your Majesty, and your Allies, by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*: And we do, with the greatest zeal and affection, assure your Majesty, that this House will stand by, and assist your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, in carrying on this war, in conjunction with your Allies, till a safe and honourable peace can be obtained for your Majesty and your Allies."

The Queen's answer was to this effect:

My Lords,

"I return you my hearty thanks for the zeal you express for my honour, and for the assurance you give of supporting me. Pr. H. L.

(1) The *French* Ministers and their Partisans exclaimed against the demands of the Allies as unreasonable and exorbitant; but they excepted in a particular

manner against the pretensions of the Allies, in favour of the *French* Protestants. The Abbot *de Polignac*, who had a Cardinal's Hat in view, and therefore could not fail on all occasions to shew his zeal for the *Romish* Church, appeared the most obstinate on that article; and discoursing one day with *Vanderdussen*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, about the demand, "That the *French* Protestants in the galleys, or detained in prison, should be set at liberty," asked him, "Whether the *States* would set at liberty the people detained in their *Spin-houses*, and *Rasp-houses*, if the *French* King should demand it?" *Vanderdussen*, justly resenting that odious comparison, told him, "That if the *French* Court would own the people detained in those Houses for their brethren, as the *States* owned for such the Protestants in the galleys, whom they interceded for, he did not question, but their High Mightinesses would set at liberty those malefactors." The *French* Abbot, being confounded with this answer, turned off the discourse to other matters.

1712.

"and *Ryswick*." But their assertion was proved to be wrong with respect to these treaties, where every thing was not altogether transacted by word of mouth, without writing. Besides, it was urged, that there were Mediators at those treaties, whereas there was none at *Utrecht*, which made this an irregular sort of a Congress. The Marshal *d'Uxelles* answered, "That they had no reason to deliver any thing in writing, since the Confederates made a bad use of the last, to inflame the people against them." To which one of the Imperial Ministers replied, "That the *French* had no more to do, but to give in just and reasonable proposals in writing; and then it would inflame the people against the Allies, if they refused to accept them." One of the *Dutch* Ministers having been so plain, as to tell the Marshal *d'Uxelles*, that the *French* Court would be deceived, if they expected a peace by tampering with some of the Allies, in order to divide them from the rest; the Marshal warmly replied, "That not only the present King of *France*, but even the whole Royal Family would enter into a vow to be revenged upon the *Dutch*, if they obstructed the peace." To which, one of the Confederate Ministers answered, "That such menacing discourses would only serve to keep the *Dutch* on their guard, and arm them against all future revenge, by inducing them to lay hold on this opportunity to crush that power which now threatened them." When these heats were over, the *French* Ministers promised again to write to the King, their Master, in order to know his pleasure on the subject in hand, in which the Ministers of the Allies were obliged to acquiesce. But it was agreed, that, unless some extraordinary occasion required it, no general Conference should be held on the 9th of *April*. On the 13th, another general Conference was held, in which nothing material was done; and the *French* Ministers, whose only business, it seems, was to gain time, proposed, that the next general conference, which was to be held the 16th, might be put off, as had been done before, unless the Allies had something particular to offer. This proposal not being agreed to, the general Conference was held, as usual, on the 16th, and the Ministers of the Allies enquiring again of those of *France*, whether they were ready to give specific answers in writing, the *French* Plenipotentiaries still excused themselves, on pretence of their not being yet fully instructed from the King, their Master, on that subject. The truth is, they knew very well, that their business was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation carried on directly between *London* and *Versailles*. And it appears from the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, that the refusal of the *French* to give no answer in writing was no surprize to the *British* Ministers, whom they had before-hand advised with. The Earl of *Strafford*, in his letter to Mr Secretary *St John*, of the 25th of *March*, expressed himself thus: "I cannot help saying, I believe the *French* have taken the wisest part not to answer in writings, tho' most of the Ministers of the Allies will be surprized, expecting they should." And he said further; "I believe it is best they should first begin in the open Congress to reason upon some of the Allies demands, which will occasion so much difficulty, that the Ministers of the Allies will propose de-

bating separately, which had better come from them than any else." And, when his Lordship sent an account, that a resolution was taken at the *Hague*, upon the *French* Minister's continuing obstinate, Mr *St John*, in his letter of *April* 5, expressed himself in this manner: "That he hoped the resolution, taken at the *Hague* to carry things to an extremity, was the last convulsive pang of an expiring faction." And yet this resolution was no more than to insist on a demand, in which all the Allies were unanimous, and in which the *British* Plenipotentiaries had themselves concurred. But what made the *French* thus persist in the resolution of giving no answer in writing, is accounted for in the Earl of *Strafford*'s letter of the 27th of *March*, wherein he says, That the Pensionary was extremely desirous, that the *French* would answer in writing, which, it was his Lordship's opinion, they would evade, till they saw what success the Abbot *Gaultier* had at *London*: And, in his letter of the 30th, he said, "The *French* will avoid giving their answer in writing, till they see all agreed betwixt their Court and ours." And to shew, that the *French* were very well satisfied with the method, which their business was in, the Plenipotentiaries, in their letter of *April* 15, say, "They do not find the *French* are much convinced of the necessity of dispatch; and, when any thing is let fall of breaking off the Conference, they seem to take it with a great air of indifference, well-knowing their business was not to be done at *Utrecht*, but by a Negotiation carried on directly between *London* and *Versailles*." About the beginning of *April*, Mr *Thomas Harley* and the Abbé *Gaultier* arrived at *Utrecht*. For whose use and service Mr *Harley* had been so well employed at home, as has been already observed, and was now sent abroad, cannot be a doubt, since Mr Secretary *St John* thought it necessary to give Monsieur *de Torcy* an immediate account of his successful endeavours at home, and the business he was sent abroad to manage. In his letter of *March* the 4th, he tells Monsieur *de Torcy*, "That he had deferred writing of late, till he might write with certainty; till the necessary dispositions were made among our people at home; and till the Queen had taken the only resolution, which could bring us, in a short time, to a good and solid peace. I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that this resolution is taken; and that Mr *Harley* will carry with him this night or to-morrow morning the final instructions of the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries. I refer myself to Monsieur *Gaultier*, to explain to you more at large the subject of this Gentleman's Commission, and what the Queen hopes his Most Christian Majesty will do to co-operate with her." These instructions of Mr *Harley* do not appear; but it seems, the subject of them was not proper to be committed to writing; for which reason, as in almost all matters relating to the Pretender, it is referred to Monsieur *Gaultier* to explain them. But what was meant by the necessary dispositions made among our people here at home, is pretty well explained by Monsieur *de Torcy*, in a memorial dated the 28th of *March*, 1712, in answer to what was brought by Monsieur *Gaultier*, wherein he commends the prudent conduct of the Court of Great-Britain,

1712.

1712. in managing the House of Commons, and in particular their wife conduct in making known to the House of Commons, that the Nation was abused by its Allies; and says, "The King of France assures himself, that those, who now manage with so much capacity the affairs of the Queen of Great-Britain, know how to curb the passion of the turbulent party in the other House." A few days after Mr Harley's and the Abbé Gaultier's arrival at Utrecht, the French Plenipotentiaries communicated to the Lord Privy-Seal, and the Earl of Strafford, a plan for a general peace, to which they had added, by way of marginal notes, in a distinct column, what they were told would be absolutely necessary in order to a general peace. But this was intrusted to them under the highest obligation of secrecy, to discover nothing of it to the rest of the Allies. The British Plenipotentiaries accepted this plan as a mark of the great confidence, which France had in them, and readily engaged, that the Allies should not be permitted to know a word of it; and under the same caution sent it to Mr Secretary St John. But there was no room to doubt, but this plan, that was transmitted to England as a great discovery, was concerted here, and sent by Mr Harley to Utrecht, and by Gaultier to France.

Mr Secretary St John, being much concerned at the behaviour of the Allies, and the Dutch in particular, thought it proper to make one attempt more, as he called it, to gain them; and therefore ordered the Plenipotentiaries, in a letter of the 12th of April, to acquaint them, "That her Majesty would consent to their having Dendermond and Ghent, and, at the same time, depart from her pretensions to Ostend; and was willing, that the trade to Spain and the Spanish Indies be settled upon the same foot, as it subsisted at the death of the late King of Spain, in all respects, except the Assiento: And their Lordships were ordered to tell them in very plain terms, that her Majesty's measures would be taken according to the return they should make to the Queen on this occasion." But, at the same time, no communication at all was made to the States of the general plan of peace last delivered by the Abbé Gaultier, as there never had been of any other, although, in this last, the interests of all the Allies were settled and determined between Great-Britain and France. And, to shew how candidly the Queen's good Friends and Allies, the Dutch, as her Majesty was pleased to stile them, were dealt with, the 15 per Cent. upon all the goods and manufactures of Great-Britain, which was offered at first as one of the chief bribes to England to come into this destructive peace, Monsieur Mesnager had now explained away, and confined to such goods, as were carried, not to Spain, but to the Spanish West-Indies only; and, our Ministers finding, that France would not make this effectual, Mr Harley was ordered to let it drop. But to see the use, that was to be made of this insincerity of the French; at the same time, that Mr Secretary St John acquainted the British Plenipotentiaries with her Majesty's consent to give this up, he told them, in his letter of April 5, "But you will take care to do this in such a manner, as not only to get something for it another way, but also to render this concession of the Queen's a means of bringing the Dutch to reason, and

No. 68. Vol. IV.

"to a compliance with her Majesty's measures." 1712. The Lord Privy-Seal on the 29th of April, acquainted Mr Secretary St John, that the Negotiation was at a stand, till the French Ministers were ready to return one answer or another. And, on the 10th of May, the British Plenipotentiaries say, "The French tell us, they cannot think of giving in their answer to the Allies, till they hear from England the success of Monsieur Gaultier; and you may believe we wait for it with no less impatience than they do."

The Secretary, on the 3d of May, acquainted their Excellencies: "I hope in a few days my dispatches will become more material, and, that we shall be able either to satisfy our friends at Utrecht, or not have reason to be much concerned at their uneasiness." This ended in Lord Strafford's being sent for into England; and the following orders were sent, on the 16th of May, to the Lord Privy-Seal for his farther conduct: "You are to stop all instances for procuring the Tariff of 1664, to the Dutch: You are to decline absolutely to confer any further with them upon any matter, till you receive the Queen's plan from hence; and that you will not, I hope, be long in expectation of: And her Majesty finds so ill a return made by the States to her condescension towards them, that she likewise orders your Lordship to take the first solemn opportunity of declaring to the Dutch Ministers, that all her offers for adjusting our differences were founded upon this express condition, that they came immediately into the Queen's measures, and acted openly and sincerely with her; and that she looks upon herself, from their conduct, now to be under no obligation whatsoever to them."

The summary then of this whole proceeding at Utrecht, in one short view, appears to be this: A Conference for general Conferences was necessary to be opened, that the Allies might in appearance, agreeable to the Grand Alliance, have the opportunity of treating and adjusting their several pretensions. The British Ministers were by their instructions to act in concert with the Allies; but they really acted in concert with the French Plenipotentiaries. The Allies giving in their specifick demands, was not to be avoided; but the French were to gain as much time as they possibly could, by unnecessary delays, and at last insist upon such a method of answering these demands, as they knew the Allies could not comply with. In the mean time the Negotiations were carrying on directly between England and France; or rather all the conditions dictated and prescribed by France, whilst the Allies were amused with a dispute about the method of answering, from which France would not, and they could not possibly, depart; in which England agreed with the rest of the Allies. All particulars, that concerned even the interest of the Allies, were transacted betwixt the Ministers of England and France, under the highest obligations of secrecy. The Dutch were pressed to come into the Queen's measures, without being acquainted what the Queen's measures were. And, because they would not consent to they knew not what, as soon as it was resolved to send orders to the Duke of Ormond not to engage in either siege or battle, and the great projects were ready to be executed on the other side

Sff

of

1712. of the water, the Queen declared she looked upon herself now, from their conduct, to be under no obligation whatsoever to the *States-General*: And thus the Alliance betwixt *Great-Britain* and her principal Ally was declared to be dissolved and cancelled, before any thing was finally agreed and concluded betwixt *Great-Britain* and *France*, or the former had any security for its own trade or commerce, or any other advantages that were to accrue to it.

Prepara-
tions for
the con-
voca-
tion.
Burnet.

During the Congress at *Utrecht*, the preparations for the campaign were carried on by the Emperor and the *States* with all possible vigour: Prince *Eugene*, after having staid (as hath been related) three months in *England* in a fruitless Negotiation, was sent back with general and ambiguous promises. The *States* gave him the supreme command of their army, and assured him, that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he should be put under no restraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no cessation of arms should be ordered, till all was settled by a general peace. The Duke of *Ormond* followed him in *April*, well satisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of *Marlborough*.

At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the Small-pox: He recovered of them; but his Sister, who was taken with the same disease, died of it: She was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects; inasmuch, that a very great character was spread of her, by those who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himself: Thus he lost a great strength, which he procured to him, from all who saw or conversed with her.

Before we proceed to the operations of the Campaign, it will be proper to give an account of the Convocation, which was held with this Session of Parliament.

Protest-
in
Convoca-
tion.

There was a doubt suggested, whether the Queen's licence did still subsist, after a prorogation by a Royal writ: The Attorney-General gave his opinion, that it was still in force; upon which, the Bishops went on with the resolution, in which the former Session had ended, and sent back to the Lower-House a paper, which had been sent to them from that House in the former Session, with such amendments, as they thought proper: But then *Atterbury* started a new notion, That as, in a Session of Parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finished, so that they were to begin all anew; the same rule was to be applied to Convocations, in pursuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in parliament were likewise to be observed amongst them. The Bishops did not agree to this; for, upon searching their books, they found a course of precedents to the contrary: And the schedule, by which the Archbishop prorogued them, when the Royal writ was sent him, did, in express words, continue all things, in the state in which

they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not satisfy *Atterbury* and his party; so the Lower-House ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not shew him the paper sent down by the Bishops; he only gave him a very defective abstract of it: Whereupon the Attorney-General gave him such an answer as he desired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Bishops resolved to adhere to the method of former Convocations, and not to begin matters afresh, that had been formerly near finished. By this means they were at a full stop, so that they could not determine those points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones. As an act had passed for building fifty new Churches, an office was prepared for consecrating Churches and Church-yards.

The censure that passed on *Whiston*, in the former Session, was (as hath been said) laid before the Queen for her approbation. But, at the opening of this Session, in *December*, the Bishops finding no return was come from the Throne, sent two of their number to receive her Majesty's pleasure in that matter. The Archbishop was so ill of the gout, that he came not to the Convocation all the winter. The Queen had put the censure into the hands of some of her Ministers, but could not remember to whom she gave it: So a new extract was sent to her, and she said, she would send her pleasure upon it very speedily: But none came this Session. So all further proceedings were stopped, since the Queen did not confirm what was done.

There appeared at this time an inclination, in many of the Clergy, to a nearer approach towards the Church of *Rome*; *Hickes*, an ill-tempered man, who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, had in several books promoted a notion, that there was a proper sacrifice made in the Eucharist, and had on many occasions studied to lessen our aversion to Popery: The Supremacy of the Crown in Ecclesiastical matters, and the method, in which the Reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one *Brett* had preached a Sermon, in several of the Pulpits of *London*, which he afterwards printed; in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution, in a strain beyond what was pretended to even in the Church of *Rome*: He said no Repentance could serve without it, and affirmed, that the Priest was vested, with the same power of Pardoning, that our Saviour himself had. A motion was made in the Lower-House of Convocation, to censure this; but it was so ill supported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of Lay-baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one, since, by this notion, the Teachers among the Dissenters passing for Lay-men, this went to the re-baptizing them and their congregations (1).

The

(1) *Dadwell* gave the rise to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a strict life; he seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be saved, but those who, by the Sacraments, had a federal right to

it; and that these were the Seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the Sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it; and these were the

1712. The Bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration was agreed to, first against the irregularity of all Baptism by persons, who were not in Holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the Primitive Church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no Baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it in the name of all the Bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular Baptism: So the Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the Bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was agreed to in the Upper-House, the Bishop of Rochester only dissenting: But, when it was sent to the Lower-House, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside; thinking that it would encourage those, who struck at the dignity of the Priesthood. This was all that passed in Convocation.

The Earl of Strafford's Conference at the Hague.

On the 26th of April, the Earl of Strafford went from Utrecht to the Hague, and, in several Conferences he had with the Pensionary and other Ministers, earnestly pressed the States to come into the Queen's measures. This, together with the secret methods, that were used to hinder the States of Brabant from supplying the Imperial troops, that were marching into the Netherlands, with bread and forage, did not a little increase the jealousies of the States, who two days after thought fit to send a solemn deputation to the Earl of Strafford, to know what the Queen's measures were? The Earl not having yet orders to explain himself, and being under an engagement of secrecy with the French Plenipotentiaries, made no scruple to declare, in conformity to a late letter from the Queen to the States, "That her Majesty's intentions were, that her troops should act with the same vigour against France, as if there was no negotiation on foot." This declaration the Earl repeated the same evening in another long Conference with Prince Eugene of Savoy, Count Zinzendorf, the States Deputies, and the Council of State; and on the 21st of April returned to Utrecht. Several other Ministers, who went to the Hague, to confer with Prince Eugene, returned also to the place of Congress, in order to assist at the general Conference, which was held

there the 23d of the same month. The Ministers of the Allies having again inquired of those of France, whether they were yet ready to give their answer in writing; and being answered in the negative; it was proposed and agreed to, that the general meetings should for some time be suspended, till the French Plenipotentiaries should give notice, that they were prepared. In the mean time the Confederate Ministers held some intermediate Conferences among themselves, and made frequent journeys from Utrecht to the Hague, and from the Hague to Utrecht; not without a well-grounded jealousy of the intimacy and close correspondence, which appeared to be between the Ministers of France and those of Great-Britain; the effects of which were soon after manifested to the amazement of all Christendom.

About the middle of April the Confederate *The Allies take the field.* forces began to march into the field, and Prince Eugene of Savoy set out from the Hague on the 22d of that month, in order to put himself at the head of the army. The Duke of Ormond, *Cond. of the D. of Ormond.* being appointed to command the Queen's forces in Flanders, received his instructions on the 7th of April, whereby he was ordered "to repair with all possible diligence to the Hague, and to acquaint the Pensionary, that he had received her Majesty's orders to see him, before he went to put himself at the head of her Majesty's troops, and to express to him her resolution of pushing the war with all possible vigour, until the enemy should agree to such terms of peace, as might be safe and honourable for herself and her Allies; to assure him, that he was prepared to live in a perfect and good correspondence with all the Generals of the Allies, and particularly with those of the States; and to desire the Pensionary to inform him, what plan had been agreed upon for the operations of the Campaign: And as soon as he arrived at the Frontier, to meet with Prince Eugene, and such others of the Generals, as should be in the secret, and with them to concert the proper measures for entering upon action." The Duke left London on the 9th of April, and in three days arrived at the Hague, where having visited the Pensionary, he gave him, according to his instructions, all the assurances of carrying on the war with vigour, and acting in confidence with all the Allies, and more especially the Dutch: Which were received with the greatest professions of duty and respect

1712.

the Apostles, and after them Bishops and Priests ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments administered by others were of no value. He pursued these notions so far, that he asserted that the souls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons Episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the Episcopal function so high, he did not lay the original of that government, on any instruction or warrant in the Scripture: But thought it was set up, in the beginning of the second Century, after the Apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the canon of the New Testament was settled; he thought it was not before the second Century, and that an extraordinary inspiration was continued in the Churches to that very time, to which he ascribed the original of Episcopacy. This strange and precarious system was in great credit among us; and the necessity of the Sacrament, and

the invalidity of Ecclesiastical functions, when performed by persons, who were not Episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause: This made the Dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And several little books were spread about the Nation, to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done; but few were, by these arguments, prevailed upon to be re-baptized: This struck even at the Baptism by Midwives in the Church of Rome; which was practised and connived at here in England, till it was objected in the Conference, held at Hampton-Court, soon after King James the First's Accession to the Crown, and Baptism was not till then limited to persons in Orders: Nothing of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the Nation had been baptized by Dissenters; but it was now promoted with much heat. Burnet, Vol. II. 604.

(1) The

1712. to her Majesty. He had also a Conference with the Council of State, who told him, "That there was no particular resolution taken as to the operations of the campaign, but they left it to their Generals, who, with their Deputies, were to act in concert with the Generals of the Allies: And that they had given orders to their Generals to live in a good correspondence with his Grace." The President of the week made many excuses for their having given the command of their army to Prince Eugene; but however he said, "That, as to the point of command, his Grace and the Prince were now upon an equal foot." About this time the Duke received a letter from Mr Cadogan, who had been some time before left out of the establishment of Lieutenant-Generals, desiring his interest for being employed under him this Campaign. The Duke readily complied with his request, and soon obtained the Queen's leave for his serving in that post. The Duke resolving to take the field as soon as possible, left the Hague, and arrived at Ghent the 3d of May; and after a stay there of two or three days, and securing the Government of the Citadel in English hands, went on to Tournay, where he met Prince Eugene, and the Deputies of the States. All the English forces, for some weeks, had been in the field, and lay cantoned along the road between this City and Lille. And the reason of drawing them out of their quarters so early was, that there had been a project formed to take post at Oisy, on the Senfette, which would have secured the march over the Scheldt, and might have given the Allies an opportunity of seizing Cambray. Lieutenant-General Cadogan did not in the least question the success of it. But, the Dutch making many difficulties and delays in this affair, Villars had prevented the design, and taken possession of Oisy, and of all the passes on the Senfette.

On the 17th of May, Prince Eugene and Monsieur Végelin came to the Duke of Ormond, and it was agreed between them to pass the Scheldt near Bouchain, in order to encamp at Aveugle le Sec, and see whether the Confederates could attack the enemy without great disadvantage; or, should the enemy be too strongly posted, it was proposed to invest Quehuoy, which, being a little place, could not hold out above three weeks at most after the opening of the trenches: In order to these motions, the proportion of the two Armies to be commanded by the Prince and Duke being settled (1), the necessary directions were given for assembling all the troops, passing the Scarpe, and forming the armies on the 21st between Doway and Marchiennes, where Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ormond designed to join their respective forces, and there concert such further measures, as might be requisite for carrying on the service of the campaign.

The Duke had, some days before, received

two expresses from Mr Secretary St John, who in his letter of the 16th of April, told his Grace, "That he found, by very certain intelligences from Holland, that the Dutch Ministers were not without their fears of their new General: That they began to consider, he was a Papist, and a German, at least in interest: That the Emperor, his Master, had nothing to lose on the side of the Netherlands: That a battle won might give ground for insisting on higher terms than the House of Austria was now likely to obtain: That a battle lost might still contribute to prolong the war; and that, in either case, the expence of blood would fall to the share of the Queen and States: That he was of opinion, that these reflections had occasioned private direction to their Generals, to use more caution than the Prince would perhaps approve: And that his Grace might see, that this measure was not very consistent with the compliment of an unlimited command, made to that Prince by Mr Laubner, in the name of the States." And, on the 25th of April, O. S. (which was before it was known, that France had agreed so much as to propose to the King of Spain the alternative of the two Monarchies, which was not till the 18th of May) Mr Secretary St John began to give the Duke of Ormond some distant hint of the scene, which was afterwards to be opened, and told him, "That the Queen inclined to be of opinion, that all the troops, whether subjects or foreigners, belonging to her, should be immediately under his Grace's command. That there might have been formerly reasons for using a different method; but there seemed at present to be some of a very strong nature for taking this; and perhaps these might every day grow still stronger. That there could be no need for him to enter into the grounds, which they had, in this conjuncture, to be jealous of Prince Eugene's conduct: His Grace would see and know them all better than they could be repeated; but that on this occasion the Queen directed him to inform his Grace, that she thought, he was to be more cautious, for some time, of engaging in any action, unless in the case of a very apparent and considerable advantage, because he would daily be strengthened by the arrival of the Imperial troops: And it was but just, these should have their part, if any thing of that kind was to happen. That the great article of preventing the Union of the two Monarchies, was not yet entirely settled; the expedients were hard of digestion to the French stomachs; but, if this was got over, he did not see any formidable difficulty in the way." The Duke returned an answer to these dispatches, wherein he gave an account, what the Dutch had done in regard to the point of command: "That he was entirely of the Secretary's opi-

nion,

(1) The Duke had under him the following troops, consisting of those in the Queen's pay, and of those paid jointly by her Majesty and the States, together with a regiment of Hussars: English, 22 Battalions and 19 Squadrons; Danes, 9 battalions and 21 squadrons; Prussians, 10 battalions and 36 squadrons; Saxons, 7 battalions and 12 squadrons; Hanoverians,

14 battalions and 29 squadrons; Hessein, 2 battalions and 8 squadrons; Wolfenbutter, 2 battalions; Wallons, 4 squadrons; Anspach, 2 battalions and 4 squadrons; Nassau Dillenburgh, 1 battalion; Ottinghen, 1 battalion; and Hussars, 5 squadrons: In all 70 battalions, and 138 squadrons.

1712. " nion, that a battle, either lost or won, would
 " at this time make very great alterations in the
 " treaties now on foot. But that the Secretary
 " might remember, that in his *Instructions* he
 " was ordered to act in conjunction with the
 " Allies, in prosecuting the war with vigour; so
 " that, should there happen a fair opportunity
 " to attack the enemy, he could not decline it,
 " if proposed by the Prince and States: But he
 " hoped to hear from him by a messenger, be-
 " fore the armies were formed, which would be
 " on the 21st." The Duke added, in a second
 " letter of May the 20th, " That, if there were a
 " good opportunity to attack the enemy, and
 " get into France, by the way of Champagne, he
 " was sure, the Prince and the States would
 " press it, unless they heard from England, that
 " the peace was near being concluded: That he
 " wished it very heartily; but, if it were de-
 " layed, he hoped, he should have the good
 " fortune to force the French to comply with the
 " Queen's demands."

The armies having marched on the day ap-
 pointed, the Duke took his quarters at *Marchien-
 nes*, where, in concert with Prince *Eugene*, and
 the foreign Generals, he resolved to go nearer the
 enemy; and it was agreed, that the two armies
 should pass the *Scheld*, and encamp, the right of
 Prince *Eugene's* at *Neufville*, and the left of the
 Duke of *Ormond's* at *Solemes*, where they had the
 river *Selle* in their rear. But, on the 24th of
 of May, in the evening an express came from
 Mr Secretary *St John*, with a letter dated May
 10, O. S. to acquaint the Duke, " That, since
 " her Majesty had reason to believe, that she
 " should come to an agreement upon the great
 " article of preventing the Union of the two
 " Monarchies, as soon as a Courier sent from
 " *Versailles* to *Madrid* could return, it was her
 " Majesty's positive command, that he should avoid
 " engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle, till
 " he received further orders from England." The
 Secretary acquainted the Duke likewise,
 " That the Queen would have him disguise the
 " receipt of this order; and that she thought
 " he could not want pretences for conducting
 " himself so, as to answer her ends, without
 " owning that, which might at present have an
 " ill effect, if it was publicly known. That
 " she could not think with patience of sacrificing
 " men, when there was a fair prospect of ob-
 " taining her purpose another way; nor would
 " she suffer herself to be exposed to the re-
 " proach of having retarded, by the events of
 " the Campaign, a Negotiation, which might
 " have been as good as concluded in few days." He
 added, " That this order was communicated
 " at the same time to the Court of France; so
 " that, if the Marshal de *Villars* should take any
 " private notice of it, the Duke was to answer
 " accordingly."

On the 25th of May, N. S. the Duke wrote
 two letters to Mr Secretary *St John*, a private
 and a public letter. In the first, which was his
 private letter, and all written with his own hand,
 he " acknowledged the receipt of the Secretary's
 " orders, not to engage in siege or battle; to
 " which he promised an exact obedience, and
 " to keep secret his having received any such
 " command; and that he would endeavour to
 " hinder its being suspected. But that Prince
 " *Eugene* and the States having proposed to
 " attack the enemy; or, if that be found too
 Numb. LXIX. Vol. IV.

" hazardous, to besiege *Quefnoy*, he feared it
 " would be very difficult for him to disguise the
 " true reason of opposing all proposals, that
 " should be made for undertaking any thing, ha-
 " ving no excuse for delays, all the troops expect-
 " ed and the heavy cannon, being to be there on
 " Saturday. And that, if he could have found
 " forage there, he would have made some pre-
 " tence to delay the march, though the dispo-
 " sitions of it were made before he received this
 " letter." But, on the same day, the Duke
 wrote another public letter to the Secretary, after
 he had received the letter of the 10th, wherein
 he took no notice of his orders, not to engage
 in siege or battle, but spoke of his having re-
 viewed the *English* troops, and found them in so
 good a condition, as must convince all the Al-
 lies, how groundless the complaints were, that
 had been made of our backwardness, " of which,
 " he said, I believe you will now hear no more." And he added, " If we find an opportunity to
 " bring the enemy to a battle, we shall not de-
 " cline it." On the 28th of May, N. S. the
 Duke in his letter to the Secretary said, " Ye-
 sterday Prince *Eugene*, and the States-Deputies
 desired, that I would consent to send the
 " Quarter-masters to view the French Camp;
 " which I could not refuse, without giving them
 " some suspicion of what I am ordered to dis-
 " guise; but I was sure, that nothing of action
 " could happen, the enemy being behind the
 " *Scheld*. The detachment, that went with
 " them, were forty squadrons, and all the gren-
 " adiers of my army to support them, and
 " make good their retreat, should the enemy
 " have endeavoured for to have attacked them.
 " They went as far (I mean the horse) as *Cate-
 let*, where the right of the enemy's army
 " lies, and are come back without seeing any of
 " the French on our side the *Scheld*. The di-
 " stance between the head of the *Somme*, and that
 " of the *Scheld*, is not above a league and a half,
 " which is a plain, and the enemy have not yet
 " offered to throw up any retrenchment. May
 " be to-morrow they will begin to work, since
 " they have seen our troops reconnoitring that
 " way." Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies being
 to dine with the Duke the next day, he was
 under apprehensions, that they would press him
 to undertake something immediately, which it
 would be very hard to conceal the true reason of
 his refusing, having no reasonable excuse for it.
 In this letter he gave an account of a letter,
 which he had received from the Marshal *Villars*,
 and the answer, which he had written to the
 Marshal. For May the 25th, N. S. the Marshal
 acquainted the Duke, " That he had the King's
 " orders, and the Queen's consent, to write to
 " him, as soon as he received the Courier; and,
 " whatever glory was to be acquired against a
 " General, whose valour was so well known a-
 " mong them, he desired him to be assured,
 " that he never received more agreeable news,
 " than that they were to be no longer enemies:
 " And that it was the King's particular injunc-
 " tion to him to keep this matter with an in-
 " violable secrecy." The Duke, according to
 the intimation given him by Mr *St John*, an-
 swered, " That he had received orders on that
 " subject from the Queen, and should be sure
 " to conform himself punctually to them: But
 " the keeping the secret enjoined would very
 " much depend on the measures the Marshal
 " him-

1712. "himself should take. The Duke, on his part, "let him know, that the march, he should be "obliged to make, was chiefly for the sub-
 stance of the troops; and that the Marshal
 need not be in any apprehensions on that ac-
 count; at least, the Duke would answer for
 the army, which he had the honour to com-
 mand." It is impossible to account for this
 transaction, unless the Duke had orders, not on-
 ly not to act against France, but to give the
 French General intelligence of all that was de-
 signed in the Confederate army. The report
 being made by the Quarter-Masters General,
 who went with the detachment to view the French
 Camp, and they all agreeing, that the ground
 was as advantageous as could be, their situation
 being such, as gave an opportunity of falling
 upon their flank and rear, it was proposed to
 the Duke to march without delay to the enemy,
 and to attack them. What the Duke did upon
 this occasion appears from his letter of May the
 20th, N. S. to Mr St John: "You may
 easily imagine, says he, the difficulty, that I
 was under to excuse the delaying a matter,
 which, according to the informations I had
 from the Quarter-Masters-General, and several
 other General Officers, that went out with
 the detachment, seemed to be so practicable.
 The best excuse I could make was Lord Straf-
 ford's sudden voyage to England, which gave
 me reason to believe there must be something
 of consequence transacting, which a delay of
 four or five days would bring to light: And
 therefore I desired they would defer this under-
 taking, or any other, till I should receive fresh
 letters from England, since so short a delay
 could not be of any ill consequence." Upon
 which both Prince Eugene, and the States De-
 puties, told the Duke plainly, "That his an-
 swer was agreeable to the suspicions they had
 for some time entertained, particularly since
 the express of the 24th, which they knew had
 brought him letters from England." And
 they were the more confirmed in these suspi-
 cions, because Marshal Villars, "who had on
 all occasions shewn himself very vigilant, did
 not send out a man to observe their motions,
 nor take any other precautions to secure his
 Camp, where it lay so much exposed; and he
 could not be ignorant, how strong a detach-
 ment had been abroad on that side." The
 Duke could not divert the proposal, which had
 been made to fall upon the French army, by of-
 fering to undertake a siege; since Quefney, the
 place to be attacked, was within less than three
 leagues of the army, and all things necessary for
 a siege were already at Marchiennes; so that the
 consequence of this offer would have been the
 immediate investing of that place, which was as
 contrary to the Queen's last orders, as a battle.
 Prince Eugene, and the Deputies seemed extreme-
 ly dissatisfied with the Duke's answer, and said,
 "They were obliged to give an account of what
 had passed, and of the delays made by the
 Duke, to their Masters, by express." In this
 posture things continued for some days, when,
 on the 4th of June, N. S. two of the Deputies
 made a visit to the Duke; and, in the evening,
 sent him a long Memorial, containing the sub-
 stance of their discourse with him. In this they
 told the Duke, "That, by order of their Ma-
 sters, they represented to him, with how great
 a degree of surprize the States had received

The Duke
 of Or-
 mond re-
 fuses to
 fight.

Memorial
 of the
 States De-
 puties upon
 it.

the news of his declaring, he would undertake
 nothing, till he had letters from England, and
 of his refusing to assist either in a siege or a
 battle. That it seemed to them incomprehen-
 sible and unaccountable, why the Allies should
 lose such an apparent opportunity they had,
 as well in regard to the goodness and number
 of their troops, as the situation of the armies,
 to gain some great advantage over the enemy,
 which, if once neglected, might for ever be
 irretrievable. That they could by no means
 conceive his orders was so strict, as to tie up
 his hands, when so fair an occasion of annoy-
 ing the enemy presented itself: And that, in
 their opinion, such orders ought to be under-
 stood in the best sense, so as enjoin the de-
 clining any attempt for some little time, pro-
 vided no great prejudice might redound by
 that means to the common cause; but in no
 wise to justify the sitting still with their arms
 across, in such a situation, where inaction
 would cut off all hopes of their being able to
 attempt any thing for the future; since, if
 the army continued inactive for any time, the
 forage would be consumed, and the operations
 for the rest of the campaign would be render-
 ed not only difficult, but impracticable. Be-
 sides, the enemy would have time to intrench
 and fortify their Camp, as much as they pleas-
 ed. That the States had ordered them to in-
 force these arguments with others, and particu-
 larly with this, That the army, his Grace
 commanded, consisted not only of her Ma-
 jesty's national troops, but, for the most part,
 of such, as were in the joint pay of her Ma-
 jesty and the States, the command of which
 indeed belonged to his Grace, as General in
 chief; but, as those troops were engaged by
 both powers jointly, to make war, and act a-
 gainst the enemy, they could not be exempted
 from that service by his Grace alone, without
 the knowledge and consent of the States; at
 least, without contradicting the treaties and
 the ends, by and for which they were en-
 gaged. That not only the treaty of the Grand
 Alliance, but others made between her Majesty
 and the States, obliged her Majesty to push
 on the war with vigour; but the declaration
 his Grace made, that he could not act till far-
 ther orders, at a time, when, by his Grace's
 own approbation, they had marched just with-
 in sight of the enemy, and when there was
 so fair a prospect of success, if something were
 attempted, could not, they thought, be re-
 conciled either with those treaties, or the re-
 peated assurances, which her Majesty had given
 them by letters, by my Lord Strafford, and
 by his Grace, lately at the Hague. Therefore
 they desired his Grace, if he had any regard
 to those treaties and assurances, which ought
 to be kept sacred, to push on the war with
 vigour, offensively against the enemy; but
 that, if his Grace persisted in his resolution of
 not acting offensively, they desired to know,
 whether he would consent, that the troops un-
 der him might be employed to cover a siege,
 which they would undertake; and whether he
 would give a promise to attack the enemy, if
 they came to disturb them. That, in case his
 Grace refused, they did in the most solemn
 manner, and in the strongest terms, protest a-
 gainst the irreparable damage, which such a
 conduct would occasion to the Confederacy.

1712.

"That,

1712.

"That, in order the better to guide themselves, they demanded to know precisely, what his orders were; how far they reached; and what dependance the *States* might have on her Majesty's troops for the future: And lastly, they required, on their part, that his Grace would not hinder the troops in the joint pay from acting agreeably to the reason of war, and their solemn treaties and engagements. The conclusion of the *Memorial* was, that the *States* had ordered this representation to be made in writing to his Grace, that all the world and posterity might see, that they have been so far from being guilty of the great injury, which the common cause receives from the present inaction, that they have done all in their power to prevent it; and that others are to answer for all the unhappy consequences of it." To the substance of this *Memorial*, expressed before by the Deputies in their discourse with the Duke, he could only answer, "that, before he entered upon action, he should be glad to receive letters from *England*, which he expected every moment." And this was all the satisfaction he was then at liberty to give to their demands, bound up, as he was, by his last instructions. The Duke immediately dispatched a messenger to *England*, with an account of what had passed, hoping, That, before they came to any extremities, he should have his final orders, and recommending it as a matter of the greatest importance, both to the public and himself, that he should know her Majesty's pleasure as soon as might be.

In the mean time, Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies pressed the Duke continually for a positive answer, representing, at the same time, the goodness and superiority of the Confederate troops, which could not be contradicted; and concluding, "that the Duke must have orders not to do any thing, though he would not own them; since they knew, he could not otherwise answer for his inaction." In debating this matter, one of the Deputies took, as the Duke thought, too much liberty in censuring the proceedings of *England*; which he was desired to forbear, as being no way agreeable to that good understanding, which was so necessary to be kept up between the Queen and the *States*. While the Duke was under this uneasiness, on the 7th of *June*, *N. S.* a letter came from Mr *St John*, dated the 17th of *May*, *O. S.* which expressed "the impatience her Majesty was in to hear, whether the orders, sent on the 10th of *May*, came safely and early to his hands, and the assurance she had of his punctual obedience to her commands in so nice and important a conjuncture." The Duke returned an answer the next day, representing, "That things were now come to great extremity: That he could not avoid seeing every day fresh marks of the ill blood and dissatisfaction caused among the Allies, by the measures he was obliged to observe: That many of them did not scruple to say, *We were betraying them*; and this ferment seemed rather likely to increase, than diminish; and,

1712.

"considering the circumstances we were in, it was hard to say, what might be the consequences of it: That, let the peace, which he was in daily expectation to hear of, be never so advantageous, he was apprehensive, that, if the Allies should pretend to dislike it, he could not depend upon any troops, but those composed of her Majesty's own subjects. And what confirmed him in this opinion was, that he was well informed, that if, the Elector of *Hanover* did not approve of the peace, his troops would have orders to serve with the *Dutch*, and would likewise be augmented by all that Prince could spare from other parts; and he was not without suspicion, that endeavours were likewise using to gain the *Danes*." The close of his letter was in these words: "By this and my former you may guess, how uneasy a situation I am in; and, if there be no prospect of action, I do not see of what use I am here; and, if it suit with her Majesty's service, I should be glad, I might have leave to return to *England*. But in this, and all other matters, I shall readily submit to her Majesty's pleasure. I am impatient to hear from you what I am to depend upon."

Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies having resolved to besiege *Quefnoy* (1), the town was invested on the 8th of *June*, by a detachment from the two armies, consisting of thirty battalions, and as many squadrons, under the command of General *Fagel*. The Duke, though he had no part in carrying on the siege, yet could not refuse furnishing seven battalions and nine squadrons of the troops in the joint pay of *England* and the *States*, but avoided sending any of those, which were in the Queen's whole pay.

On the 10th, a letter came from Marshal *Villars*, wherein he let the Duke know, "He had received several advices, that *Quefnoy* was invested; and that part of the troops in his Grace's army was employed in that service: That, by order of his Master, he desires to know of him, if any troops under his command have a share in undertaking or forming that siege; for he could not think, Prince *Eugene* would venture to attempt it with those forces alone, which he commands. He therefore begs his Grace would explain this matter to him, that he may know how to act, and take his measures, according as Prince *Eugene* perseveres in, or desists from, this enterprize. He adds, that a Courier went from *Paris* the morning before, with the answer of *Spain* to the Queen, which, it was supposed, would be satisfactory." The Duke's answer was, "That, as the Marshal observed himself, of what consequence it was to keep this affair secret, he would leave him to judge, whether he could have done it better, than by the conduct he had observed. That it was true, that for the siege of *Quefnoy*, which it was not in his power to prevent, he had furnished some troops, which were paid in part by the *States*, but not one single man solely in the Queen's pay. That he thought, since the

Quefnoy
besieged.

"trenches

(1) *Quefnoy*, a small, but strong town of the Low-Countries, in the Earldom of *Hainault*, and Territory of *Valenciennes*, subject to the French. It stands seven

miles South-east of *Valenciennes*, eighteen South-west of *Mons*, and eighteen almost North-east of *Cambray*.

(1) The

1712. "trenches were not opened, the siege would have no effect to break the measures concerted between their Sovereigns, before they could receive their final instructions." He concludes, "He was surprized, upon the Duke of Wirtemberg's informing him, that the Marshal had said to one of that Duke's Trumpets, that the *English* would do the *French* no hurt, nor the *French* them: That himself had such orders, and did not doubt, but the Duke of Ormond had the same." The Marshal, in another letter the next day, denied, "That he had ever seen or heard of any Trumpet from the Duke of Wirtemberg: That this was a mere invention of those, who had a mind to give a reputation to the *Dutch Gazettes*, in which it had been affirmed, that his Grace had shewed Prince Eugene his orders, not to engage in any attempt. He desires to be informed by his Grace, whether the army under his command would oppose any attempt, which the King's forces would certainly make upon Prince Eugene's, if he continued the siege: And adds, that the King, while he sees Prince Eugene undertaking a siege, and knows the army under his Grace ought not to act, directly or indirectly, against his, would be very much displeased with him, if he should continue unactive."

Bishop of
Bristol's
declaration to the
Dutch
Ministers.
June 2.

By this time the *Dutch Plenipotentiaries* at *Utrecht* having, by order of the *States*, expostulated with the Bishop of *Bristol*, about the Duke of Ormond's refusing to assist the Confederates in any undertaking against the enemy: The Bishop answered, "that he knew nothing of the matter, and would represent it to the Queen." But, at the same time, he took occasion to let them know, "That, two days before, he had received an express, with a letter from her Majesty, in which she complained, that notwithstanding all the advances she had made from time to time to the *States*, in order to engage them to enter with her upon a plan of peace, their High Mightinesses had not answered her as they ought, and as her Majesty hoped they would. That therefore they ought not to be surprized, if her Majesty did now think herself at liberty to enter into separate measures, in order to obtain a peace for her own convenience." Upon this, the *Plenipotentiaries* of the *States* represented to the Bishop, "That such a step would be contrary to all the Alliances and Treaties betwixt their High Mightinesses and the Queen: That they thought they had merited otherwise by the deference, which, on all occasions, they had shewed to her Majesty; and that they knew nothing of the advances, which the Bishop said her Majesty had made towards the *States*, on the subject of a plan of peace." The Bishop replied, "That he must not forget to tell them, his instructions did further bear, that, considering the conduct of the *States* towards her Majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all Alliances and Engagements with their High Mightinesses." The Bishop did not, in ex-

press words, name the *Barrier Treaty*; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included in the general words he had used.

The Lord Bishop's answer and declaration, being, by express, brought to the *Hague* the night between the 2d and 3d of June, was, the next morning, communicated to the Ministers of the Allies; several Conferences were held, and private measures concerted between the *States*, the Elector of *Hanover*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and some other Princes of the Empire, for the subsisting and maintaining the foreign troops in the pay of *Great-Britain*; so that the Confederate army should suffer no other diminution, than by the troops of *Great-Britain*, which did not amount to above twelve thousand men. In the mean time, the *States-General* wrote a long letter to the Queen, which, on the 5th of June, they sent, by an express to their Envoy in *London*, with orders to deliver it into her own hands. And Count *Zinzendorf*, who had likewise received an account of what had passed in the army, went from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, on the 1st of June, N. S. and dispatched the next day three expresses, one to the Emperor, another to Prince Eugene, and the third to the Imperial Minister in *London*. And the Baron de *Hobendorff*, Adjutant-General to Prince Eugene, who came over with a Commission from *Vienna*, to solicit the payment of the subsidy voted by the House of Commons for the war in *Spain*, being on his departure for *London*, Count *Zinzendorf* gave him likewise fresh instructions about the present juncture of affairs.

The *British* Court having, on the 25th of May, O. S. received an express from *Holland*, the Queen did not come, as usual, to *St James's* Chapel, but held a Council at *Kensington*. Two days after the Baron de *Hobendorff* arrived in *London*, and in the afternoon was in Conference with the Lord-Treasurer, who gave him fair hopes. The same afternoon *Van Borstelen*, Envoy from the *States*, was also in Conference with the Treasurer on the subject of what he had represented the evening before in a private audience (1); upon which orders were sent to the Duke of Ormond to concur with the General of the Allies in a siege. In the mean time the news of what had happened in the army being spread abroad, and having occasioned a general surprize, the Lord *Hallifax* acquainted the House of Peers, "That May 27, O. S. he had matters of great importance to lay before them;" and desired, that the Members might be summoned to attend the service of the House the next day. The Peers being in a full House on the 28th of May, the Lord *Hallifax* made a speech, wherein he first took notice of the strange declaration made in the army by the Duke of Ormond; then shewed the ill consequences of such a proceeding, and the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour; and concluded with a motion for an address, "humbly to desire her Majesty to lay before the House the orders she had sent to the General, and to order him to act offensively in concert with the Allies." When he had done speaking, some

(1) The Treasurer, among other things, said to him, when he complained of the Bishop of Bristol's declarations, "The Bishop was certainly in a very bad

"humour, when he talked at that rate." Burnet, Vol. II. 608.

1712. some objections were raised as to the matter of fact; but, though the Lord *Hallifax* did not want proofs, having, among others, a copy of Prince *Eugene's* letter, yet he did not think proper to produce it; and some other Whig Lords contented themselves with pressing those in the Ministry to acquaint the House, Whether any orders of restraint had been sent to the Duke of *Ormond*? The Treasurer, who was most concerned in this affair, answered, "That they, who had the honour to serve the Queen, could not reveal the orders she gave to her General without a particular direction from her Majesty; and that, in his opinion, those orders were not fit to be divulged. That, however, he would adventure to say, that, if the Duke of *Ormond* had refused to act offensively, he did not doubt, but he had followed his instructions: And it was prudence not to hazard a battle upon the point of concluding a good peace, especially considering they had to deal with an enemy so apt to break his word." The Earl of *Wharton* said, "He was extremely glad to find that noble Lord so candid, as to acknowledge the insincerity of *France*: But that, in his opinion, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy, but rather for pushing him with the utmost vigour, till he was reduced to the necessity of dealing honestly." The Treasurer replied, "Though the Duke of *Ormond* might have refused to hazard a general action, yet he could be positive, he would not decline joining with the Allies in a siege, orders having been sent him for that purpose." The Duke of *Marlborough* said, "He did not know how to reconcile the orders, not to hazard a battle, and to join in a siege, to the rules of war; since it was impossible to make a siege, without either hazarding a battle, in case the enemy attempted to relieve the place, or shamefully raising the siege." The Duke of *Argyle*, on the other hand, excused the orders given to the Duke of *Ormond*, and, among other things, said, "That, in his opinion, since the time of *Julius Cesar*, there had not been a greater Captain than Prince *Eugene of Savoy*: But that, nevertheless, considering the different interests of the House of *Austria* and of *Great-Britain*, it might not consist with prudence to trust him with the management of the war, because a battle, won or lost, might entirely break off a Negotiation of peace, which, in all probability, was near being concluded.

1712. "That, according to his knowledge, nothing was more uncertain than the issue of a battle, where victory was still wavering, and so often changed sides, that they, who, after five or six successful charges, thought themselves sure of gaining the day, had at last been routed and put to flight. Adding, that two years before the Confederates might have taken *Arras* or *Cambray*, instead of amusing themselves with the insignificant conquest of *Aire*, *Beaubune*, and *St Venant*." The Earl of *Nottingham* declared on the other side, "That he could not comprehend why orders had been given to our General not to fight, unless certain persons were apprehensive of weakening the *French*, so far as to disable them to assist them in bringing about designs, which they durst not yet own." The Duke of *Devonshire* said on the same side, "That, by the proximity of blood, he was more concerned for the Duke of *Ormond's* reputation than any other; and therefore he could not forbear declaring, he was surprized to see any one dare to make a Nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such a proceeding." The Earl *Pasquet* answered, "That no body could doubt of the Duke of *Ormond's* courage and bravery; but that he was not like a certain General, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head in a battle, or against stone-walls, in order to fill his pockets, by disposing of their commissions." This reflection, so visibly levelled at the Duke of *Marlborough*, could not but very sensibly affect him; but he restrained his resentment for a while, and remained silent (1). On the other hand, the Lord *Cotterel* made a long speech, wherein he complained of their being kept so long in the dark about the progress of a Negotiation of peace; and, some other Whig Lords having pressed the Earl of *Strafford* to give the House an account of it, he excused himself, as not having the Queen's orders for it. But the Treasurer assured them, "That, in a few days, her Majesty, according to her promise, would lay before her Parliament the conditions, on which a peace might be made, which he doubted not would give entire satisfaction to every Member of that House, and to all true *Englishmen*." Some Lords having declared their apprehensions of a *separate peace*; the Treasurer assured them, "that nothing of that nature was ever intended; and that such
" a peace

(1) As soon as the House was up, the Lord *Mobun* went to the Earl *Pasquet*, and told him, that the Duke of *Marlborough* desired to have an éclaircissement with his Lordship, about some expressions he had used in that day's debate; and therefore desired him to go and take the air in the country. The Earl, who readily understood the meaning of such an éclaircissement, asked my Lord *Mobun*, Whether he brought him a challenge? To which he answered, That his message wanted no explanation, and that he would accompany the Duke of *Marlborough*. The Earl *Pasquet* being returned home, with some emotion, and having given his Lady a hint of what had passed, the Earl of *Dartmouth*, Secretary of State, was soon acquainted with it; and went immediately to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and desired him not to stir abroad. At the same time, his Lordship caused two Centinels to be placed at the Earl *Pasquet's* house; and, having informed

ed the Queen of the whole affair her Majesty sent him back to the Duke of *Marlborough*, to desire him, that this might go no further. His Grace gave his word of honour, that he would comply with her Majesty's commands: But, though this quarrel ended without bloodshed, yet many began to apprehend the consequences of the heats and animosities of the two parties, which daily increased. The Duke of *Marlborough* was afterwards severely censured, for setting the example of party duels: But, on the other hand, the tongues of most people were very free with the Duke of *Ormond*: And, to this purpose, we may take notice, that, an Alehouse keeper in *Westminster*, having, either for a jest-sake, or out of mere simplicity, set up for his sign his Grace's Head, with this inscription, the *General of Peace*, the Government ordered the same to be taken down.

1712. "a peace would be so *base*, so *knawish*, and so *villainous* a thing, that every one, who served the Queen, knew, they must answer it with their heads to the Nation; but that it would appear to be a safe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the Nation, than the Preliminaries, that were agreed to three years before. He also affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were satisfied with it." The Lord *Hallifax*, observing the disposition of the House, would have dropped his motion, without dividing; but the Court-party, being sure of a majority, insisted to have the question for adjourning the debate, which being carried in the affirmative by sixty-eight voices against forty, twenty-five of the latter entered their protests against the orders given to the Duke of *Ormond* (1). This point being gained, the Earl of *Stratford* suggested, "That, before the House entered upon the Negotiation of *Utrecht*, they would do well to examine into those of the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg*; upon which he would communicate to them two

1712. "observations he had made during his residence in *Holland*: First, that, at the *Hague*, the French Ministers conferred only with the Pensionary, who, having made his report to the States-General, communicated no more of it to the Ministers of the Allies, than what was judged proper to let them know; so that the Dutch were absolute masters of the secret of that Negotiation, as they were afterwards of that of *Gertruydenberg* (2). Secondly, that the States-General had consented to give *Naples* and *Sicily* to King *Philip*; which shewed, even at that time, that the recovery of the whole Monarchy of *Spain* was looked upon as impracticable." He said, he had his information from one of the two, who had been employed in those Conferences; by which it was plain, that he meant *Bay*s. He concluded with a motion for addressing her Majesty, "That she would be pleased to cause the papers relating to the Negotiations of the *Hague* and *Gertruydenberg* to be laid before the House;" which was carried without dividing. But nothing

(1) They were to this purpose: 1. That their Lordships conceived such an order, as was proposed in the question, to be absolutely necessary, because they were convinced, that the Duke of *Ormond* lay under some order of restraint from acting offensively, not only from the accounts, which were public both here and in *Holland*, of his declaring it, to Prince *Eugene*, and to the Deputies of the States at their late consultations, when both Prince *Eugene* and those Deputies earnestly pressed him to join in attacking the French army, which was then known to be much inferior to that of the Allies, both in the number and condition of their troops; but also, for that nothing of this whole matter was denied by those Lords, who had the means of knowing these facts, as undoubtedly would have been without scruple, had not the facts been true; since no scruple was made of acquainting the House with a subsequent order very lately sent to the Duke of *Ormond*, allowing him to join in a siege: Which was a further evidence, that he had before some order of restraint; for otherwise this last order would be unnecessary and absurd; it being a general, and a constant, and a standing instruction to every Commander in chief by land or sea, to do his utmost endeavour to annoy the enemy. And it is manifest by this last order, that, even in the opinion of the Ministers, it was expedient to take off this restraint by some degree; and the leaving the Duke of *Ormond* still under a restraint from giving battle to the French, seemed most unaccountable and inconsistent with the liberty indulged to him, of joining in a siege, and rendering it altogether useless. For no place, when taken, could be of such advantage to the Allies as *Cambray*, which opens a free passage for our army into the heart of *France*; and it was impossible to besiege that place, without dislodging the French from their encampments; and this also was impossible, if the French would keep their ground. Other attempts seemed to be of little use, but might serve to give the French time, which they did not want skill to improve.

2. That they conceived it would be derogatory to her Majesty's honour, to public faith, and that justice, which was due to her Allies; and that it was a sort of imposing upon our Allies a cessation of arms, without their consent, and in the most prejudicial manner, because they were not so much as acquainted with it, and so might have been led into great difficulties: Besides, that it frustrated all essential advantages against the common enemy, which might be of fatal consequence to this Nation and all Europe.

3. Because it was acknowledged, that a general peace was not concluded, as indeed it was very unlikely it should, there having been no answers in writing

given by the French to the specific demands of the Allies, though the same were delivered to the French three months ago. And it was further declared, That there was no separate peace; nay, that such a peace would be foolish, knawish, and villainous. And therefore, while we were in war, and having no security of a peace, their Lordships conceived, that such an order of restraint was a plain neglect of all those happy opportunities, which Providence might, and lately did, put into our hands, of subduing our enemy, and forcing him to a just and honourable peace. And surely it was imprudent and dangerous to rely on the promises of *France*, which were so far from being any security, that even a peace would not be safe in their opinion, unless it be such, as gave so full satisfaction to the Allies, that they should be willing to join with us in a mutual guaranty of it.

That her Majesty having with great wisdom declared to this Parliament, That the best means of obtaining a good peace was to make early preparations for war, and a vigorous prosecution of it: And since the Parliament had, with great duty and deference to her Majesty, and a just zeal for the interest of their Country, and of Europe, given very great Supplies for that purpose; their Lordships conceived, that such an order of restraint, being very different from that declaration of her Majesty, must be the effect of very ill advice; by which the Parliament's good intentions would be defeated, and all those heavy loads of taxes, which they have for so good purposes cheerfully given, rendered fruitless and unnecessary, and might, in conclusion, after having thus trifled away our wealth and time, bring us into a necessity of accepting such a peace, as it should please an insolent and domineering enemy to give us.

This protest was published likewise abroad in French and other languages; and the Peers, who signed it, were the Dukes of *Devonshire*, *Marlborough*, *Rutland*, *Bolton*, *Mountague*, and *Somerset*; the Marquis of *Dorchester*; the Earls of *Wharton*, *Devby*, *Nottingham*, *Bridgewater*, *Gedolphin*, *Carlisle*, *Orford*, and *Scarborough*; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*; the Lords Bishops of *Oxford*, *Salisbury*, *Bangor*, and *St Asaph*; and the Lords *Rockingham*, *Cowper*, *Flowerham*, *Mohun*, and *Hallifax*.

(2) The Lord *Townshend* had informed the House, that those who treated with the French at *Gertruydenberg* did, at their return, give an account of their Negotiation to the Ministers of the Allies, in the Pensioner's presence, before they reported it to the States themselves: But, upon this, the Earl of *Stratford* laid, they had been first secretly with the Pensioner, who directed them both what to say, and what to suppress. *Barnet*, Vol. II. 607.

(1) It

1712. thing followed upon this; for it was said to be designed only to amuse the House.

Debate on the same subject in the House of Commons. Mr. Pulteney moved, "That an address be presented to her Majesty, to acquaint her, that her faithful Commons were justly alarmed at the intelligence received from abroad, that her General in Flanders had declined to act offensively against France, in concurrence with her Allies.

Mr. H. C. "And being under the deepest concern for the dangerous consequences, which must arise from thence to the common cause, they besought her Majesty, that speedy instructions might be given to her General, to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour, in conjunction with her Allies, as the best means to obtain a safe and honourable peace for her Majesty, and all of them, and to quiet the minds of the people, who could not but be extremely apprehensive of the fatal consequence of such a division." Upon this motion Mr. St. John gave the Commons much the same assurances, the Treasurer had given the Lords; and in answer to what was suggested by a Member, "That the present Negotiation had been carried on in a clandestine and treacherous manner," he said, "He hoped, it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good and advantage of Great-Britain: That he gloried in the small share he had in this Negotiation; and, whatever censure he might undergo for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him all his life-time." After some other speeches on both sides, Mr. Pulteney's motion was rejected by a majority of two hundred and three voices against seventy-three; and it was resolved, "That the Commons had an entire confidence in her Majesty's promise to communicate to her Parliament the terms of the peace, before the same should be concluded; and that they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, who should endeavour to obstruct it."

May 30. This resolution having been laid before the Queen by the whole House, her Majesty thanked the Commons most heartily for it, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at this time, when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or to force one disadvantageous to Britain." On the second of June they also resolved, in imitation of the Lords, to address the Queen, "for an account of the Negotiations and Transactions at the Hague and Gertruydenberg, and who were then employed as her Majesty's Plenipotentiaries."

Negotiations about the renunciation and cessation of arms. While the disputes, that had been raised at Utrecht, were industriously kept on foot, the Negotiations were carrying on directly between England and France; and the two great points

upon the anvil were the renunciation of the Spanish Monarchy, and the cessation of arms.

The first mention, made of the renunciation in order to be treated of, is found in a memorial dated March 28, 1712, intitled, *The answer to the memorial brought by Mr. Gaultier the 23d of March 1711-12*. This memorial, which was received in France the 23d of March, was suppressed, but the contents of it may in great measure be collected from the answer, that was given to it. As the general proposal, that the Crowns of France and Spain should never be united, arose first from England, and was made an article in the private propositions sent over by Mr. Prior; so the expedient for preventing that union, namely, a renunciation, was also first proposed by England (1). In the answer to Gaultier's memorial, Torcy declares, in the strongest terms, "That the renunciation desired would be null and invalid by the fundamental laws of France, according to which the nearest Prince to the Crown is of necessity the Heir thereto. It is an inheritance, that he receives neither from the King his predecessor, nor from the people, but from the benefit of the law; so that, when one King dies, the other succeeds him forthwith, without asking the consent of any person whatsoever. He succeeds not as Heir, but as the Master of the Kingdom, the Seignory whereof belongs unto him, not by choice, but by right of birth only. He is not beholden for his Crown either to the will of his predecessor, or to any edict, nor to any decree, nor to the liberality of any person, but to the law. This law is looked upon as the work of him, who hath established all Monarchies; and we are persuaded in France, that God only can abolish it. No renunciation therefore can destroy it; and, if the King of Spain should renounce for the sake of peace, and in obedience to the King his Grandfather, they would deceive themselves, who received it as a sufficient expedient to prevent the mischief we propose to avoid." He then gives an account of the disposition made of the succession to the Crown of Spain by King Philip, and registered in the Councils of Spain; which disposition he proposed might be confirmed by the present treaty of peace, and ratified by the Cortes or States of the Kingdom of Spain. Mr. St. John in his answer rejected this proposal, and not at all convinced by what Torcy had so strongly urged, concerning the nullity of the renunciation, insisted still upon it. "We are ready, says he, to believe you are persuaded in France, that God alone can abolish that law, upon which your right of Succession is founded; but you will give us leave to be persuaded in Great-Britain, that a Prince may depart from his right by a voluntary cession; and that he, in favour of whom that renunciation is made, may be justly supported in his pretensions by the powers, that become guarantees of the treaty. In short, Sir,

(1) It is observed here, in the report of the Committee of Secrecy in 1715, The sense of France and Spain upon that important article was not known, nor so much as asked, although in every step France had given plain indications, that the Crown of Spain was to remain to King Philip. And it is surprizing, that the

British Ministry had gone such lengths in promoting the measures of France, without taking the least precaution, or having any satisfaction concerning the Monarchy of Spain, wherein the interest of Great-Britain was, by their own confession, more immediately concerned, than in all their other articles of the peace.

1712. "Sir, the Queen commands me to tell you, that this article is of so great consequence, as well for herself as the rest of Europe, for this present age as for posterity, that she will never agree to continue the Negotiations of peace, unless the expedient she has proposed be accepted, or some other equally solid." *Torcy*, in his answer to this letter, begins to think it not impossible to find an expedient, to settle this grand affair; and proposes, that, when the King of Spain shall become either immediate Successor, or presumptive Heir to the Crown of France, he shall then declare the choice he intends to make; either to maintain his right to the Crown of France, or to keep that of Spain: That King Philip shall become party to the treaty, wherein the Succession to the two Crowns shall be likewise settled; and that all the powers of Europe shall enter into an engagement with France to maintain it. Mr *St John* reasons against this proposal, and insists, than no expedient can effectually secure Europe from the dangers, wherewith it is threatened by the union of the two Monarchies, unless the Prince, who is at present in possession of Spain, makes his choice at this very instant; and, upon a supposition, that the Crown of Spain would be his choice, that this declaration should be made during the Congress at *Utrecht*. *Torcy*, seeming always to comply with what was desired, agrees, that the Catholic King must calm the uneasiness of Europe, in declaring, from the present time, what part he will take, if ever the Succession of France is open in his favour. That the inconveniencies arising from hence must submit to the public good. "Thus, Sir (*says Torcy to Mr St John*) the King, approving your proposition, dispatches a Courier to Spain, and writes to the King his Grandson, to let him know the necessity of resolving on the choice he shall make, and to declare it, to the end it may be inserted in the treaty of the general peace, and be made a condition of it, whereof all Europe shall be guarantee." And he promises to use all possible means, even force, if it were necessary, to make the King of Spain agree to it. He hopes this proposition will, in a great measure, remove all difficulties; and, as they must expect new obstructions from those, who would willingly break the Conferences, he believes the best way to disappoint their designs would be, for the Queen of Great-Britain to propose immediately a suspension of arms; for they grounded their hopes upon the events of a campaign. Mr *St John*, in his answer to this letter, treats this proposal as liable to all the objections of the former, and argues thus upon it: "Although the King of Spain should at this instant declare his choice, What greater security will Europe have, if the execution of that choice be deferred to another time? In offering, that he shall be obliged to declare his choice at this present time, you agree, that neither the stipulations of a treaty, nor the guarantee of the powers engaged in the present war, would be sufficient to secure that the choice shall be made. How then can we conclude, that they will be sufficient to secure, that, when the case shall happen, he shall quit one Crown to accept of the other, according to the choice, which he shall now make? The Queen has often declared, that

"it will be impossible for her to be content with any expedient, which shall not be very solid, upon an article of so great an importance as the Union of the two Monarchies. This would be to lose the fruit of all the blood, which the Allies had spilt in the course of this war. This would be to betray the common cause of Europe, and to expose both the present age and posterity to greater dangers, than it is possible to imagine." In short, he insists, that they must take care, that the time shall never be, when the same Prince shall have the Crown of Spain upon his head, and the Succession to the Crown of France open to him. He at last proposes, "That, if the King of Spain prefers the expectation of the Crown of France to the present possession of Spain, in such case he shall withdraw forthwith with his family out of Spain, the possession of which, and the Indies, shall be given to the Duke of Savoy: That King Philip should have the Kingdom of Sicily and the hereditary Dominions of the Duke of Savoy, together with the *Montferrat* and *Mantua*, all which Dominions he should remain possessed of, though he became King of France, excepting Sicily; which, in that case, should return to the House of Austria."

1712. Monsieur de *Torcy*, still seeming to comply with the measures of England, shews the great hardship, which the King of Spain must undergo, in sacrificing his own and the interest of his family for the establishing a general peace. However, the King of France would send to him, to know his mind upon the two alternatives. In the mean time, the King of France promises, that the treaty of peace shall be made, upon the foundation of one of these two propositions; either that the King of Spain shall renounce his right to the Crown of France, and keep Spain and the Indies; or, if he prefers his expectation upon France, he shall quit Spain and the Indies to the Duke of Savoy, in exchange for the present Dominions of the Duke of Savoy, &c. as proposed by Mr *St John*. He hopes, by this promise of the King of France, all uncertainties are removed; and submits to the Queen's wisdom, to consider what method will be most conducive to the general good. "It will (*says he*) be very unhappy, if any event, during the campaign, shall fall out to disturb the good dispositions, that are seen at present, for establishing the public repose."

This correspondence between the two Secretaries, for preventing the Union of the two Kingdoms, carried on from about the middle of March to the 18th of May 1712, ended at last, just as it began; and King Philip chose to make the Renunciation. *Torcy* giving the British Ministers such early notice, and telling them so very plainly, that what they asked was utterly insufficient, and would be for ever deemed, by the unalterable laws of France, null and void, is very remarkable. His dexterity in managing that part of the Negotiation, in seeming always to comply, and desirous to come as near as possible to the proposals made from hence, and submitting at last, since Great-Britain would have it so, to the Renunciation so peremptorily insisted on, is no less observable. But it is unaccountable, how the English Ministry, when they were expressly told, those would deceive themselves,

Remarks
on this Negotiation.

1712. themselves, who should accept of a renunciation, as a sufficient expedient to prevent the Union of the two Monarchies; when they laid it down as a principle never to be departed from, that the Union of the two Monarchies would be the greatest mischief, that could possibly happen to all *Europe*, and to *Great-Britain* in particular; should still persevere in relying upon this expedient of a *Renunciation*. But, no care was taken to render effectual the two only expedients, that were ever proposed for adding any degree of real security to the renunciation; which were, to have it solemnly accepted by the States of *France*; and to have it confirmed by a general guaranty of all the powers of *Europe* engaged in the present war. The first was asked indeed; but, upon the refusal of *France*, was entirely given up by the *British* Ministry. The second, by their method of Negotiating, and their treatment of the Allies, was from that very time rendered impracticable, as the *French* could not but foresee. It must be remembered, that, a few days after this answer of Monsieur de *Torcy* was received, Mr *St John* sent orders to the *British* Plenipotentiaries to declare to the *States-General*, that the Queen was now under no farther obligations whatsoever to them, who, with the rest of the Allies, were to be guarantees of this treaty. To this may be added a passage, in a letter from the Plenipotentiaries to Mr *St John*, acquainting him, that in some discourse with the Marshal *d'Uxelles*, upon occasion of the death of the Dauphin, they desired to know of him, what those measures are, which *France* offers to take, in order to prevent the Union of the two Kingdoms; and whether they were to consist in real or verbal securities; upon which the *French* Minister pretended to know of no other but verbal. They then suggested to Mr *St John*, that an obligation upon King *Philip* to renounce the Regency as well as the Crown of *France*, for himself and his posterity, would amount to some degree of real security. But no endeavours were used to obtain this, nor any mention made of it, as far as appears.

Torcy's letter of the 18th of May, N. S. was received by Mr *St John* the 9th of May, O. S. and the promise of the King of *France*, to oblige his Grandson to accept the alternative of the two Kingdoms, had so good and sudden an effect, that the day following, without waiting the return of the Courier from *Madrid*, to know whether King *Philip* did consent or not to the proposal, orders were sent, on the 10th of May, to the Duke of *Ormond*, by Mr *St John*, to avoid engaging in any siege, or hazarding a battle till further order. And, the same day, that these orders were sent, with directions to disguise them, which was to conceal them from the Confederates, they were communicated to the Queen's enemies. 'Abbot *Gaultier* will give you an account (says Mr *St John* to *Torcy*) of the orders I have just now dispatched to the Duke of *Ormond*.' What Mr *St John* himself thought of the importance of this order, is to be learned from his letter to Mr *Prior*, September 19, 1712: 'The moment I read the Queen a letter from Monsieur de *Torcy*, by which it appeared, that the King of *France* would oblige his Grandson to accept of the alternative of quitting one of the two Monarchies, her orders were dispatched to No. 69. Vol. IV.

'the Duke to engage in neither siege nor battle; and she prevented the *French* from even making the demand. I will not say, that this order saved their army from being beat; but I think, in my conscience, that it did.'

On the 24th of May 1712; Mr *St John* writes again to *Torcy*, that, although they had yet received no answer from *Madrid* concerning the renunciation, but being pressed in time, and finding it necessary for the Queen to make the communication she had promised, to the Parliament, of the terms, on which a peace might be made, he acquaints him with the steps, which the Queen was resolved to take, provided the most Christian King would render them practicable for her. And, in a memorial of the same date, he specifies the conditions, upon which the Queen consents to make such important steps and decisive declarations to her Parliament: 'First, That she had settled with *France* the interest of *Great-Britain*. Secondly, That she looks upon the interests of the other powers engaged with her in the war, as easy to be adjusted, since the King offers to the greatest part of them very near what they have demanded, and to all a just and reasonable satisfaction. Thirdly, That she will set about accommodating the affairs of her Allies; and, that to prevent all the obstructions, which the events of the campaign might occasion to the Negotiations of peace, she agreed with the King to a suspension of arms.' The conditions specified in the memorial were demands relating to *North-America*, to commerce, and the suspension of arms. In the article concerning commerce it is said, 'That several points relating to trade requiring a longer discussion than the present crisis would admit; and the Queen being much more intent upon securing the general peace, than any particular advantages, demands at present only the two following conditions: First, That Commissioners should be named on both sides to meet at *London*, there to examine and settle the duties and impositions to be paid respectively in each Kingdom. Secondly, That no privileges or advantages, relating to commerce with *France*, shall be yielded to any foreign Nation, which shall not at the same time be granted to the subjects of her *Britannic* Majesty; as likewise no privilege or advantage, in relation to the trade of *Great-Britain*, shall be yielded to any foreign Nation, which shall not at the same time be granted to the subjects of *France*.' As to the suspension of arms, 'her Majesty will consent, it shall be made for two months, provided, first, that within the said term the King of *Spain* shall either make the renunciation demanded, or shall yield *Spain* to the Duke of *Savoy*, upon the conditions mentioned in Mr *St John's* letter. Secondly, That the *French* garrison shall evacuate *Dunkirk*, and the Queen's troops be admitted the same day, that the suspension of arms shall commence. Thirdly, That, in case the *States-General* shall at the same time consent to the suspension of arms, it seems reasonable they should have the liberty of putting a garrison into *Cambray*.' It may be remarked upon these conditions, that although it was daily instilled into the minds of the people, that the great advantages in trade and commerce secured to *Great-Britain* were the chief inducements to

1712.

the Ministry to engage in these measures with France, it is here declared, that they were more intent upon the general peace, than any particular advantages. And whereas it was laid down as a principle, from which the Queen would never depart, that the interests of Great-Britain should in the first place be adjusted, and the great advantages, stipulated for these Nations before the conclusion of the peace, were to justify the peace, and all the steps, that were taken to procure it; it is now evident, that no mention was made of our trade in Spain; and, as for our commerce in general, the settling of that was postponed, and all points in dispute betwixt Great-Britain and France were to be referred to Commissioners; which proposition was not demanded, but voluntarily offered by Mr *St John*. On the 8th of June 1712, N. S. *Torcy* sent an account, That the King of Spain, of the two propositions, had chosen to keep Spain and the Indies, and to renounce for himself and his descendants the right to the Crown of France. That, this principal obstacle to the peace being removed, the King of France expected, that the Queen would now clear on her side the rest of the difficulties, which might obstruct this great work, by making such declarations, as had been promised upon the return of the Courier from Madrid, and were necessary for this end. That the King thought the first and most urgent was to settle a suspension of arms, either general, or at least between the two armies in the Low-Countries, which may continue till the conclusion of the peace. On the 10th of June, N. S. *Torcy* acknowledges the receipt of Mr *St John*'s letter of the 24th of May, O. S. together with the memorial; and sends another memorial in answer to it, containing the King of France's answer to these last demands of the Queen. He takes notice, That the letters from the army mention a design to invest *Quincy*, in order to besiege it; but, that the King could not think, that the Queen approved of such an undertaking, much less that her troops should be employed to render it successful. He concludes, that, if the suspension be not immediately made, we may find ourselves indispensably drawn into some great event, which he hopes the Secretary's prudence and care will prevent. And altho' in the answer to the Queen's demands nothing material, that was asked for our trade in North-America, was granted, the evacuating of *Dunkirk*, and admitting an English garrison was not agreed to, and the receiving a Dutch garrison into *Cambray* was absolutely refused, which were proposed as conditions of the suspension of arms; *Torcy* hopes, That this return to the Queen's demands will occasion no new trouble; but as the beginning and whole course of this Negotiation was carried on upon a mutual confidence, of which they had seen the good effects; it is necessary to banish all distrust, and the Queen to repose an entire confidence in his Majesty, without insisting on demands, which may serve only to create jealousies.

On the 6th of June, O. S. Mr *St John* owns the receipt of *Torcy*'s two letters of the 8th and 10th of June, N. S. and says, though the King of France had not answered the Queen's demands according to expectation, which were the conditions, on which the Queen was to make such peremptory and decisive declarations; yet the

Queen would not defer going that day to Parliament, and making all the declarations, that were necessary to render the Nation unanimously inclined to the peace. That she had not indeed mentioned to the Parliament the suspension of arms, but had commanded him to acquaint Monsieur de *Torcy* with the resolutions she had taken in relation to it; and insisting upon the renunciation as the capital point of the Negotiation; and for which her Majesty would rather depart from almost all the points, that had been agreed upon, than leave that to any uncertainty. Upon this foundation the Queen hopes, that the most Christian King will not find any thing offensive in the demands, which she found herself obliged to renew, being conditions for a suspension of arms between the two armies in the Netherlands; which, if the King consents to (says Mr *St John* to *Torcy*) You have only to sign and send to the Duke of *Ormond*, who, at the same time that he takes possession of *Dunkirk*, will declare to the Allies, that he has orders to act no further against France. He acquaints him, Lord *Sirafford* is going back to *Utrecht*; the instructions he is to carry will, according to your desire, put the Queen's Plenipotentiaries in a condition to keep no longer those measures, to which they have been hitherto obliged to submit, but from henceforth they may openly join with France, and give law to those, who will not submit to just and reasonable conditions; and promises, when Lord *Sirafford* is gone, he will dispatch another Courier to inform him of the orders he carries. The articles for a suspension were signed by Mr *St John*, June 6, O. S. and the next day Mr *St John* writes a private letter to *Torcy*, expressing the utmost confidence in the good faith of the most Christian King; thinks it necessary to hasten the peace; tells him, it will frighten the Dutch, to be told the Queen will act no longer against France; and that, if they do not hasten to make their agreement, they will have a burden upon their backs, which they are not able to bear. On the same day, Mr *St John* sends to the Duke of *Ormond* copies of these two last letters, and of the memorial sent to *Torcy*. They have been, says he, prepared by the Queen's order, in answer to the last express, which came from France: And you will perceive by them, my Lord, that the Queen insists on the execution of the article relating to Spain, and on the delivery of *Dunkirk*, as points, without which she will not declare for a cessation of arms in the Netherlands: But, if these conditions are accepted, and sent signed by the Marquis de *Torcy* to your Grace, and *Dunkirk* put into your possession, you are publicly to own, that you can act no longer against the French. If they are not consented to, you are entirely free from restraint, and at liberty to take all reasonable measures, that are in your power for annoying the enemy. It is probable Marshal *Villars* may receive the orders, which will be sent him from *Versailles*, within a day after this letter will come to your hands. Your Grace will therefore lose no time in acquainting him, that you are in expectation of hearing from his Court that, which must determine your proceedings; and that, according to the King's resolution, you are either to look upon yourselves on both sides

1712. 'sides as freed from any restrictive orders, and
'in full liberty of acting against each other;
'or that you are openly to declare for a cessa-
'tion.' This order was in itself of a very
extraordinary nature, though conditional; and
the *British* Ministry seemed in very great haste
to give all up into the hands of *France*, when
the *Queen's* General, at the head of a Confe-
derate army in the field, at that time covering a
siege, which the Allies were engaged in, should
be ordered to govern himself according to such
significations, as should come from the Court of
France, and those transmitted to him by the
General commanding the enemy's army, whose
duty it was by force or stratagem to raise the
siege, or gain any advantage he could over the
Allies.

On the 22d of *June*, *N. S.* an answer to the
proposals last sent over was transmitted to Mr
St John, signed by *Torcy*, with two alterations;
one no less material, than whereas it was de-
manded, that the renunciation should be ratified
in the most solemn manner by the *States* of
France, which had been mentioned before as one
of the chief securities to make it as effectual as
any thing could, it is here substituted, that it
shall be registered in the several Parliaments:
And to the article of *Dunkirk* is added, 'That
all the King's officers, both land and sea-officers,
shall have liberty to stay at *Dunkirk*, and to exe-
cute their several offices.' And on the same day
Torcy writes two letters, the one a public letter,
explaining at large the alterations; the other a
private letter to prevail with him to consent to
these alterations; of which private correspondence
carried on between the two Secretaries there are
several instances.

Upon the foundation of these Preliminaries,
though not then fully settled, the *Queen*, on
Friday the 6th of *June*, came to the House of
Peers with the usual solemnity, and made the
following speech to both Houses:

The
Queen's
speech to
both
Houses,
containing
the plan of
peace.
Pr. H. C.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THE making peace and war is the un-
'doubted prerogative of the Crown; yet,
'such is the just confidence I place in you, that
'at the opening of this Session I acquainted
'you, that a Negotiation for a general peace
'was begun; and afterwards, by messages, I
'promised to communicate to you the terms of
'peace, before the same should be concluded.

'In pursuance of that promise, I now come to
'let you know upon what terms a general peace
'may be made.

'I need not mention the difficulties, which a-
'rise from the very nature of this affair; and it
'is but too apparent, that these difficulties have
'been increased by other obstructions artfully
'contrived to hinder this great and good work.

'Nothing however has moved me from
'steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true in-
'terest of my own Kingdoms; and I have not
'omitted any thing, which might procure to
'our Allies what is due to them by treaties,
'and what is necessary for their security.

'The assuring of the Protestant Succession as
'by law established in the House of *Hanover* to
'these Kingdoms, being what I have nearest at
'heart, particular care is taken, not only to
'have that acknowledged in the strongest terms,
'but to have an additional security by the re-

moval of that person out of the dominions of
France, who has pretended to disturb this set-
tlement.

'The apprehension, that *Spain* and the *West-*
Indies might be united to *France*, was the
chief inducement to begin this war; and the
effectual preventing of such an union was the
principle I laid down at the commencement of
this treaty.

'Former Examples, and the late Negotia-
tions, sufficiently shew how difficult it is to
find means to accomplish this work. I would
not content myself with such as are specula-
tive, or depend on treaties only. I insisted
on what is solid, and to have at hand the
power of executing what should be agreed.

'I can therefore now tell you, that *France* at
last is brought to offer, that the Duke of *An-*
jou shall, for himself and his descendants, re-
nounce for ever all claim to the Crown of
France. And, that this important article may
be exposed to no hazard, the performance is
to accompany the promise.

'At the same time the Succession to the
Crown of *France* is to be declared, after the
death of the present Dauphin and his Sons,
to be in the Duke of *Berry* and his Sons, in
the Duke of *Orleans* and his Sons, and so on
to the rest of the House of *Bourbon*. As to
Spain and the *Indies*, the Succession to those
Dominions, after the Duke of *Anjou* and his
Children, is to descend to such Prince, as
shall be agreed upon at the treaty, for ever ex-
cluding the rest of the House of *Bourbon*.

'For confirming the renunciations and set-
tlements before mentioned, it is further of-
fered, that they shall be ratified in the most
strong and solemn manner, both in *France* and
Spain; and that those Kingdoms, as well as
all the other Powers engaged in the present
war, shall be guarantees to the same.

'The nature of this proposal is such, that
it executes itself. The interest of *Spain* is to
support it; and in *France* the persons, to
whom that Succession is to belong, will be
ready and powerful enough to vindicate their
own right.

'*France* and *Spain* are now more effectually
divided than ever. And thus, by the Blessing
of God, will a real balance of Power be fixed
in *Europe*, and remain liable to as few acci-
dents, as human affairs can be exempted
from.

'A treaty of commerce between these King-
doms and *France* has been entered upon; but
the excessive duties laid on some goods, and
the prohibitions of others, make it impossible
to finish this work so soon as were to be de-
sired. Care is however taken to establish a
method of settling this matter; and in the
mean time provision is made, that the same
privileges and advantages, as shall be granted
to any other Nation by *France*, shall be grant-
ed in like manner to us.

'The division of the island of *St Christopher*
between us and the *French* having been the
cause of great inconvenience and damage to
my subjects, I have demanded to have an ab-
solute cession made to me of that whole island;
and *France* agrees to this demand.

'Our interest is so deeply concerned in the
trade of *North America*, that I have used my
utmost endeavours to adjust that article in the
most

1712. ' most beneficial manner. *France* consents to restore to us the whole Bay and Straits of *Hudson*; to deliver up the Island of *Newfoundland*, with *Placentia*; and to make an absolute cession of *Annapolis* with the rest of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*.

' The safety of our home-trade will be better provided for by the demolition of *Dunkirk*.

' Our *Mediterranean* trade, and the *British* interest and influence in those parts, will be secured by the possession of *Gibraltar*, and *Port-Mahon*, with the whole Island of *Minorca*, which are offered to remain in my hands.

' The trade of *Spain*, and to the *West-Indies*, may in general be settled as it was in the time of the late King of *Spain*, *Charles II.*, and a particular provision be made, that all advantages, rights, or privileges, which have been granted, or which may hereafter be granted, by *Spain* to any other Nation, shall be in like manner granted to the subjects of *Great-Britain*.

' But the part, which we have borne in the prosecution of this war, intitling us to some distinction in the terms of peace, I have insisted and obtained, that the *Assiento* or Contract for furnishing the *Spanish West-Indies* with *Negroes*, shall be made with us for the term of thirty years, in the same manner, as it has been enjoyed by the *French* for these ten years past.

' I have not taken upon me to determine the interests of our Confederates. These must be adjusted in the Congress at *Utrecht*, where my best endeavours shall be employed, as they have hitherto been, to procure to every one of them all just and reasonable satisfaction. In the mean time, I think it proper to acquaint you, that *France* offers to make the *Rhine* the barrier of the Empire; to yield *Brissac*, the fort of *Kehl*, and *Landau*; and to raze all fortresses, both on the other side, of the *Rhine*, and in that river.

' As to the Protestant interest in *Germany*, there will be, on the part of *France*, no objection to the resetting thereof, on the Foot of the treaty of *Westphalia*.

' The *Spanish Low-Countries* may go to his Imperial Majesty: The Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sardinia*, the Duchy of *Milan*, and the places belonging to *Spain* on the coast of *Tuscany*, may likewise be yielded by the treaty of peace to the Emperor.

' As to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, though there remains no dispute concerning the cession of it by the Duke of *Anjou*, yet the disposition thereof is not yet determined.

' The interests of the *States-General* with respect to commerce are agreed to, as they have been demanded by their own Ministers, with the exception only of some very few species of merchandize, and the entire Barrier, as demanded by the *States* in 1709 from *France*, except two or three places at most.

' As to these exceptions, several expedients are proposed; and I make no doubt, but this Barrier may be so settled, as to render that Republick perfectly secure against any enterprize on the part of *France*, which is the foundation of all my engagements upon this head with the *States*.

' The demands of *Portugal* depending on the disposition of *Spain*, and that article hav-

ing been long in dispute, it has not yet been possible to make any considerable progress therein; but my Plenipotentiaries will now have an opportunity to assist that King in his pretensions.

' Those of the King of *Prussia* are such, as, I hope, will admit of little difficulty on the part of *France*; and my endeavours shall not be wanting to procure all I am able to so good an Ally.

' The difference between the Barrier demanded for the Duke of *Savoy* in 1709, and the offers now made by *France*, is very inconsiderable. But, that Prince having so signally distinguished himself in the service of the common cause, I am endeavouring to procure for him still further advantages.

' *France* has consented, that the Elector *Palatine* shall continue his present rank among the Electors, and remain in possession of the *Upper Palatinate*.

' The Electoral dignity is likewise acknowledged in the House of *Hanover*, according to the articles inserted, at that Prince's desire, in my demands.

' And, as to the rest of the Allies, I make no doubt of being able to secure their several interests.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

' I have now communicated to you, not only the terms of peace, which may by the future treaty be obtained for my own subjects, but likewise the proposals of *France* for satisfying our Allies.

' The former are such, as I have reason to expect to make my people some amends for that great and unequal burden, which they have lain under through the whole course of this war; and I am willing to hope, that none of our Confederates, and especially those, to whom so great accessions of Dominion and Power are to accrue by this peace, will envy *Great-Britain* her share in the glory and advantage of it.

' The latter are not yet so perfectly adjusted as a little more time might have rendered them; but, the season of the year making it necessary to put an end to this Session, I resolved no longer to defer communicating these matters to you.

' I can make no doubt but you are all fully persuaded, that nothing will be neglected on my part, in the progress of this Negotiation, to bring the peace to an happy and speedy issue; and I depend on your entire confidence in me, and your chearful concurrence with me.

This speech occasioned a general surprize, so *The public* that the public funds, which, upon the expectation of better conditions of peace, had that morning risen four or five per cent, fell immediately to their former value. It was now easy to discern, what reasons induced some persons to keep secret the result of the Negotiation between *Great-Britain* and *France*; for, if such a plan had been communicated to the Parliament, before a majority had been secured in both Houses, and the minds of the people prepared by a long train of artful and plausible insinuations, it would, in all probability, have been exploded.

1712. ploded with indignation. But by the dexterity of the prime Managers things were brought to such a pass, that, though in the House of Commons, one or two Members proposed the taking the important matters, mentioned in her Majesty's speech, into consideration, they were presently silenced by a general cry for an address of thanks. It was unanimously resolved, 'That an Address be made to her Majesty, acknowledging her great condescension in communicating the terms, upon which a general peace might be made; expressing the satisfaction of this House in what she had already done, and their entire confidence in her steady pursuing the true interests of her Kingdoms, and in her endeavours to procure for all her Allies what is due to them by treaties, and necessary for their security; and humbly to desire, that she would be pleased to proceed in the present Negotiation for the obtaining a speedy peace.' A Committee was appointed immediately to draw up that address, which Mr Freeman, their Chairman, soon after reported, and which, with some amendments, being agreed to, was presented by the whole House to the Queen, who returned the following answer:

'I have the safety and interest of all my people so much at heart, that I cannot but take a great deal of pleasure in this your dutiful and prudent address; and I thank you most kindly for it.

'I have studied your welfare, and by this you will find the good effects of that confidence, which you place in me, and which ought always to remain between so affectionate a Prince, and such faithful Subjects.'

Things went not so smoothly in the House of Peers. As soon as the Queen was withdrawn, a motion being made for an address of thanks, the Earl of Wharton said, 'They had all the reason in the world to do it, especially for that part of her Majesty's speech, wherein she was pleased to declare, *That the assuring the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover to these Kingdoms, was what she had nearest at heart.* But that, her Majesty's speech containing many other particulars of the greatest consequence, he was of opinion, the House would do well to take it into serious consideration the next day;' which was readily agreed to. Accordingly, on the 7th of June, the Earl of Wharton proposed, that the letter from the *States-General* to the Queen, inserted in the Supplement to the *Amsterdam French Gazette*, which arrived that very morning, might be read. But this was opposed, it being suggested, that the House ought not to take notice of a writing, that carried no authority with it. After this, the Lords took the Queen's speech into consideration, which occasioned a warm debate. Among the rest, the Duke of Marlborough represented, 'That the measures pursued in England, for a year past, were directly contrary to her Majesty's engagements with the Allies, sullied the triumphs and glories of her Reign, and would render the English name odious to all other Nations.' The Earl of Strafford said, 'That some of the Allies [meaning the Dutch] would not shew such backwardness to a peace, as they had hi-

ther to done, but for a Member of that illustrious Assembly [meaning the Duke of Marlborough] who maintained a secret correspondence with, and endeavoured to persuade them to carry on the war; feeding them with hopes, that they should be supported by a strong party here.' The Lord Cowper answered this speech; and, because the Earl of Strafford had not expressed himself with all the purity of the English tongue, he took occasion to say, 'That noble Lord had been so long abroad, that he had almost forgot, not only the Language, but the Constitution of his own Country. That, according to our laws, it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any Member of that August Assembly, to hold correspondence with our Allies; such Allies especially, whose interest her Majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of this Session; whereas it would be a hard matter to justify and reconcile, either with our laws, or the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the Allies.' The Lords took afterwards into consideration the advantages offered by France to Great-Britain, particularly in settling the trade to Spain, and to the West-Indies, as it was in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles II. To this purpose the Earl of Godolphin said, 'That he did not pretend to any great knowledge in trade; but, that during the time he had the honour to be in the administration of affairs, he had observed, and he could easily make it out by the books of the Custom House, that the single trade to Portugal brought to England, in times of war, double the wealth of the trade to Spain, in times of peace: So that, whatever might be suggested, to cast a mist before the eyes of the people, it was to be presumed, that the trade to Spain would still yield less for the future, because the French had made themselves absolute masters of it.' After some other speeches a motion was made, 'That an address be presented to her Majesty, to return her the thanks of this House for her most gracious speech, and for her extraordinary condescension in communicating to her Parliament the terms, upon which a general peace might be made: And to express the entire satisfaction of that House in her great care for securing the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover; and for her steady pursuing the true interest of her own Kingdoms; and for endeavouring to procure to her Allies what was due to them by treaties; and to assure her, that this House did entirely rely on her wisdom to finish this great and good work.' Some exceptions were made to the words *entirely rely*; and the House was moved, as the House of Commons had likewise been upon the same occasion, that these words might be added, 'And in order to that, that her Majesty would take such measures in concert with her Allies, as might induce them to join with her Majesty in a mutual guaranty.' This occasioned a debate, in which the Lord-Treasurer and Earl Pawlet spoke against that addition, and the Earl of Nottingham and the Lord Cowper for it. It was urged in opposition to this clause, that it would subject the Queen and the whole treaty

1712. to the pleasure of the Allies, who might prove backward and intractable: And, since *England* had borne the greatest share of the burthen of the war, it was reasonable, that the Queen should be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was said, that, if the Allies did not enter into a guaranty, we must depend on the faith of the *French*, and be at their mercy, and so have nothing to trust to but the promises of a Court noted, in a course of years, for a train of perfidy. But many had formed an obstinate resolution to get out of the war on any terms; and therefore nothing, that seemed to obstruct the arriving speedily at that end, was heard with patience, and no regard was had to the faith of treaties. The question being at last put, Whether the clause should be added? It was resolved in the negative by eighty-one voices against thirty-six. On the 10th of *June* the Lords presented their address to the Queen, who told them, 'That the satisfaction, they had expressed in what she had laid before them, would contribute very much to remove the difficulties, which had arisen in the course of this Negotiation; and that the confidence they placed in her would enable her better to finish this great work, for the advantage of her own

'People, and the safety and interest of her Allies.' Several Lords entered a protest against the rejecting the guaranty clause, and signed their reasons for it, which were soon after published in print (1). But this gave so great offence to the majority of the Peers, that, on the 13th of *June*, the question being put, 'Whether the protest be expunged out of the books of the House?' It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of sixty-six voices against thirty-one present, and of ninety voices against sixty-four, proxies included. The next day, upon a complaint made in the House of Lords, that both this protest, and the former concerning the orders produced by the Duke of *Ormond*, were in print, a Committee was appointed to inquire who were the Printers and Publishers of the same; but, this Committee not having been able to make any discovery in that matter, the Lords applied themselves by address to the Queen for that purpose. But neither an order of the Queen in Council, nor a hundred pounds reward, had any effect.

The Commons were no less offended than the Lords at several papers published about this time, particularly Bishop *Fleetwood's* Preface to four sermons which he had formerly preached, and

(1) The protest was in these terms:

We think it necessary to have the security proposed of a general Guaranty; and the rather, because we conceive the terms of peace, that are offered, have proceeded from a separate Negotiation, carried on by the Ministers with *France*, without any communication thereof with the principal Allies, particularly the *States-General*, as they say in their letter to her Majesty, (*whose interest, her Majesty was pleased to declare to this Parliament, she looked upon as inseparable from her own*) and we conceive this Negotiation to be contrary to those orders, which her Majesty declared to this House, in answer to their address, that she had given to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, to concert with those of her Allies; and the resolution expressed in her message of *January* the 17th, of a strict union, in which she proposed to join with them, in order to obtain a good peace, and to guaranty and support the same, as she had before declared in her speech at the opening of the Session, that she would unite with them in the strictest engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general peace secure and lasting; and contrary to the eighth article of the grand Alliance, which expressly obliges all the Allies not to treat, unless jointly, and with the common advice of the other parties.

And we conceive, that the refusal of these words, proposed to be added, may be looked upon by the Allies, as if this House approved this method of transacting with *France*, which may seem to them to tend to a separate peace, of which her Majesty has declared her dislike, and which was acknowledged in this House to be foolish and knavish, and would be of pernicious consequence to this Kingdom, by preventing that guaranty of peace by the Allies, which is so absolutely necessary for their mutual security, and leave us exposed to the power of *France*, there being little reason to expect their future help, after such a gross breach of trust.

And we further conceive, that such a separate proceeding may create in the Allies so great a distrust, as may tempt them to take the like measures, and so give the *French* opportunity to break that union, which has hitherto been so useful to us, and formidable them; any appearance whereof must encourage *France*, either to delay the conclusion of a peace, or to impose upon the Allies in the further progress of the treaty.

A perfect union among the Allies seems to us to be more necessary in the present case, because the foundation, upon which all the offers of *France*, relating

to Great-Britain as well as to the Allies, are built, viz. *A renunciation of the Duke of Anjou to that Kingdom*, is in our opinion, so fallacious, that no reasonable man, much less whole Nations, can ever look upon it as any security. Experience may sufficiently convince us, how little we ought to rely upon the renunciation of the House of *Bourbon*: And though the present Duke of *Anjou* should happen to think himself bound by his own act, which his Grandfather did not; yet will his Descendants be at liberty to say, *That no act of his could deprive them of their birth-right*; and especially when it is such a right, as, in the opinion of all *French* men, ought invariably to be maintained by the fundamental constitution of the Kingdom of *France*. And we humbly think it unsafe to depend upon this principal part of the treaty's executing itself, by supposing it will be the interest of *France* to support it, since, on the contrary, it is manifest by the *French* endeavours, ever since the *Pyrenean* treaty, to unite the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, they look upon that union to be their greatest interest, and the most effectual means to bring about the universal Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon*.

And if it were reasonable to imagine, that the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should remain in distinct branches of the House of *Bourbon*; yet this is contrary to the grand Alliance itself, which recites the usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy by the *French* King for the Duke of *Anjou*, as the principal cause of this war.

As to *Port-Mahon*, *Gibraltar*, the *Assiento*, and the other advantages to *Britain* proposed by *France* (besides that they are all precarious, and in the power of *France* and *Spain* to take from us when they please) considering the situation of those Kingdoms, and the vast wealth and strength, which will be left to them, we conceive it impossible for any man to look on those as a compensation to *Britain* in any degree; for the leaving *Spain* and the *Indies* in the possession of the House of *Bourbon*, besides other manifestly fatal consequences, must be extremely prejudicial to our woollen manufacture, if it does not entirely ruin it.

As to the demolition of *Dunkirk*, though we own it will be a great safety to our home-trade, yet we have reason to apprehend by what was said in the debate, that it is not yet agreed to be demolished, without an equivalent for it to the *French* King's satisfaction.

And in all the particulars relating to the Allies, though they are not perfectly adjusted, yet, by what does appear concerning them, the Allies are likely to be left in

Bishop
ordered to
be burnt.
NOW
Pr. 10 C

1712. now reprinted (1). The Bishop concludes this Preface by saying, ‘ Never did seven such years together pass over the head of any *English* Monarch, nor cover it with so much honour. The Crown and Scepter seem’d to be the Queen’s least ornaments. Those other Princes were in common with her; and her great personal virtues were the same before and since. But such was the fame of her Administration of affairs at home; such was the reputation of her wisdom and felicity in chusing Ministers; and such was then esteem’d their faithfulness and zeal, their diligence and great abilities in executing her commands; to such a height of military glory did her great General and her Armies carry the *British* name abroad; such was the harmony and concord betwixt Her and her Allies; and such was the blessing of God upon all her counsels and undertakings, that I am as sure as History can make me, no Prince of ours was ever yet so prosperous and successful, so loved, esteem’d, and honoured by their subjects and their friends, nor near so formidable to their enemies. We were, as all the world imagin’d then, just enter’d on the ways, that promised to lead to such a peace, as would have answer’d all the prayers of our religious Queen, the care and vigilance of a most able Ministry, the payments of a willing

and obedient People, as well as all the glorious toils and hazards of the Soldier; when God, for our sins, permitted the *spirit of discord* to go forth; and, by troubling sore the Camp, the City, and the Country, (and oh, that it had altogether spared the places sacred to his worship) to spoil, for a time, this beautiful and pleasing prospect; and give, in its stead, I know not what——Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.’

The complaint against this preface was made by Mr *Hungerford*, seconded by Mr *Manley*, and supported by the Court-party. But Sir *Peter King*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr *Lechmere*, and other Gentlemen, were very strenuous advocates in its behalf, but to no purpose; for the Commons, by a majority of a hundred and nineteen against fifty-four, voted the Preface to be malicious and factious, highly reflecting upon the present Administration of public affairs under her Majesty, and tending to create discord and sedition amongst her subjects, and condemn’d it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. It was observ’d, that, when the Bishop’s friends brought him the news of the *Vote*, far from appearing disturb’d at it, he said, ‘ That he esteem’d himself very happy to suffer with the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earl

1712.

such a state of insecurity, as is absolutely inconsistent with our own safety.

The *Rhine* is propos’d for a barrier of the Empire, which leaves *Strasbourg* and *Hunninghen* in the hands of the *French*; the former of which has always been look’d upon as the key of the empire.

The proposals of *France*, relating to the Barrier for the *States-General*, not only deprive them of all the places taken since the year 1709, but also of two or three places more, included in the demand made by the *States* in that year; which will render their Barrier wholly insufficient, and consequently very much weaken the security of *Britain*.

Portugal seems to be wholly abandoned to the power of *Spain*; notwithstanding the great advantage we have receiv’d during this war by our trade with that Kingdom, which might still be extremely beneficial to us.

Upon the whole, there is so very little and inconsiderable a difference between the offers of *France* and those made at *Utrecht*, *February* the 11th, *N. S.* and sign’d *d’Uxelles*, (as appears to us upon comparing them together) that both seem to be the effect of a secret and particular Negotiation with *France*; and, this House having unanimously concurr’d in expressing to her Majesty their utmost resentment at those terms offer’d to her Majesty and her Allies by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and her Majesty having graciously accepted that our address, and rewarded that duty and zeal with her hearty thanks, we cannot, in respect to her Majesty, or justice to our Country, retract that opinion, nor think the terms now good for Us or the Allies, or giving any seeming approbation of them, which then were receiv’d by this House, and all the Allies, with scorn and detestation.

For these reasons we are of opinion, that the offers of *France* are fallacious and ensnaring, no way proportion’d to the advantages, which her Majesty (from the great successes, with which it has pleas’d God to bless Her and her Allies during the whole course of this war) might justly expect for her own Kingdoms and for Them; very insufficient for preserving a balance of power in *Europe*, for the future security of her Majesty and her Allies, though they should be never so exactly perform’d; and yet even such as they are, there is no effectual security offer’d for the performance of them; which makes it absolutely necessary, as we conceive, that such measures should be taken, in concert

with the Allies, as may induce them to join with her Majesty in a mutual Guaranty,

Somerset,
Godolphin,
Devonshire,
Berkley,
W. Oxon,
J. Ely,
Heversham,
Suffolk,
W. Aspb,
Bolton,
Wharton,
Marlborough,

Dorchester,
J. Banger,
Rutland,
Nottingham,
Carlisle,
Bridgewater,
Mobun,
Townshend,
Cotoper,
Montague,
Lincoln,
Bedford.

(1) The four sermons were, I. On the death of Queen *Mary*, 1694. II. On the death of the Duke of *Gloucester*, 1700. III. On the death of King *William*, 1701. IV. On the Queen’s accession.

Among the reasons alledg’d by the Bishop for publishing those sermons, he gives the following:

‘ Another reason of my publishing these sermons, at this time, is, that I have a mind to do myself some honour, by doing what honour I could to the memory of two most excellent Princes, and who have very highly deserv’d at the hands of all the people of these Dominions, who have a true value for the *Protestant Religion*, and the Constitution of the *English* government, of which they were the great Deliverers and Defenders. I have liv’d to see their illustrious names very rudely handled, and the great benefits they did this Nation, treated slightly and contemptuously. I have liv’d to see our Deliverance from *Arbitrary Power* and *Popery* traduced and villified by some, who formerly thought it was their greatest merit, and made it part of their boast and glory to have had a little hand and share in bringing it about: And others, who, without it, must have liv’d in exile, poverty, and misery, meanly disclaiming it, and using ill the glorious instrument thereof. Who could expect such a requital of such merit? I have, I own it, an ambition of exempting myself from the number of unthankful people; and, as I lov’d and honour’d those great Princes living, and lamented over them when dead; so I would gladly raise them up a monument of praise as lasting as any thing of mine can be;

1712.

Earl of Godolphin, and so many other illustrious Patriots, whose reputation their enviers endeavoured to blast (x). On the other hand, this treatment of a Prelate so universally esteemed, particularly by the Queen herself, who was used to call him *her Bishop*, was highly resented, even by many zealous Churchmen. But the Commons carried still further their obsequiousness to the Ministry; for, the same day, the letter from the *States* to the Queen, in vindication of their conduct, being complained of and read, it was resolved, 'To address her Majesty, to assure her of the just sense this House had of the indignity offered to her, by printing and publishing a letter from the *States-General* to her Majesty: and to desire her, that she would so far resent such indignities, as to give no answer for the future to any letters or memorials that should be printed and published.' But, the day before, the Queen had thought fit to answer this letter. And it was observed, that a censure was passed upon it merely to gratify Mr Secretary *St John*; though, on the other hand, several speeches were made, particularly by Mr *Lechmere*, to justify the *States-General*; which gave occasion to some people to say, 'That a vote of the Commons was the only answer, that could be returned to their High Mightinesses letter.'

On the 17th of *June*, Mr *Hampden* made a motion, 'That an address be made to the Queen, that she would be pleased to give particular instructions to her Plenipotentiaries, that, in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in Alliance with her Majesty might be Guarantees for the Protestant Succession to the Crown of these Realms, as settled by act of Parliament in the illustrious House of *Hanover*.' Endeavours were used to have this motion dropped; but Mr *Hampden*, and some of his friends insisting to have the question

Resolution against the letter from the States.
Pr. H. C.

Hampden's motion for the Allies to guarantee the Protestant Succession rejected.
Pr. H. C.

put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of one-hundred and thirty-three voices against thirty-eight. After which it was resolved, '1. That this House had such an entire confidence, in the repeated declarations her Majesty had been pleased to make of her concern for assuring to these Kingdoms the Protestant Succession, as by law established, that they could never doubt her taking the proper measures for the security thereof: And that this House would support her Majesty against faction at home, and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those, who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her Majesty and her Subjects, especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her People.' The Commons having attended the Queen on the 19th of *June* with this resolution, she returned the following answer:

Gentlemen,

'I return you hearty thanks for this resolution, which is very becoming you, who truly represent all my Commons.
'You have shewn yourselves honest assertors of the Monarchy, zealous defenders of the Constitution, and real friends of the Protestant Succession.
'What I have said and done, is sufficient to satisfy any person, who is in earnest for the Succession, as by law established, in the House of *Hanover*, that I need not be put in mind of doing any thing, which may contribute to render that succession secure.'

Two days after, the Queen came to the House of Lords, and made the following speech to both Houses:

My

be; and I choose to do it at this time, when it is so unfashionable a thing to speak honourably of them.

The fourth sermon was preached upon the Queen's Accession to the Throne, and in the first year, in which that day was solemnly observed (for, by some accident or other, it had been overlooked the year before) and every one will know, without the date of it, that it was preached very early in this reign, since I was able to promise and preface its future glories and successes, from the good appearance of things, and the happy turn our affairs began to take; and could not then count up the victories and triumphs, that for seven years after made it, in the prophet's language, a name and a praise among all the people of the earth.

(1) The Bishop wrote the following letter to Bishop Burnet upon this occasion:

My Lord,

June 17, 1712.

I received the favour of your Lordship's letter, and took it, as I knew it was intended, very kindly. The manner of my receiving the indignity put upon my Preface was neither like a Christian, nor Philosopher, but like a very worldly man. I knew the whole process, and knew it to be a piece of revenge taken by a wicked party, that found themselves sorely stung; and it affected me accordingly, i. e. very little. I am not one, that love to be the talk of the town; and in this part, I confess, I was uneasy, although I think the talk was very much in my favour. The complaint was made by *Hungerford*, and seconded by *Manley* (people, that should indeed have been ordered to have burnt it) and thirled by what we call the *Court*, and carried by numbers, without a word said against it. Sir *Peter*

King, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr *Lechmere*, and others of the Robe, were very strenuous advocates in its behalf; and so were other Gentlemen, but to no great purpose; for the Court divided one-hundred and nineteen, and my friends but fifty-four. If their design was to intimidate me, they lost it utterly; or, if to suppress the book, it happened much otherwise; for every body's curiosity is awakened by the usage, and the Bookseller finds his account in it above any one else. The *Spectator* has conveyed above fourteen thousand of them into other people's hands, that would otherwise have never been nor heard of it. In a word, my Lord, when I consider, that these Gentlemen have used me no worse, than, I think, they have used their own Country, the Emperor, the *States*, the House of *Hanover*, and all our Allies abroad, as well as all the bravest, and wisest, and the honestest men we have at home; I am more inclined to become vain, than any ways depressed at what has befallen me, and intend to let up for a man of merit upon this very flock. But, pleasantries apart, my heart is wounded within me, when I consider seriously whereabouts we are, and whither we are tending. The Court party do now own publicly, that, except the Allies accept of the conditions, that are offered them, King *Philip* is not to make any Renunciation: And certainly the Allies cannot accept of these conditions, unless they are distressed to the last degree. We must, and shall have a separate peace, in spite of all that can be said; and that must be without a Renunciation on the part of *France*, and without a Guaranty from the Allies: And what a peace is that like to be? It is now said, that *England* is to constrain the King of *France* to content the *States* with a barrier to their liking; and that the rest will come in, or stand out, without any

1712.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,**The Queen's
speech to
both
Houses.
June 21.
Fr. H. C.*

‘THE last time I was here, I spoke so fully, and afterwards received from both Houses such satisfactory addresses, that there remains little more for me to say at the close of this meeting of Parliament, but to repeat my hearty thanks for your late solemn assurances. They will give me strength to struggle with any difficulties, which may yet be raised; and I hope, that neither they, who envy the making a good peace, nor who think it their interest to continue the war, will be able to defeat our joint endeavours for the honour and advantage of *Great-Britain*, and the security of all our Allies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

‘At the same time that I thank you most kindly for the supplies you have cheerfully granted, I cannot but let you know my satisfaction in the near view I have of a peace, since it will in some measure recompense my subjects for their vast expences, and alighten that heavy burthen they have borne during the war.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘You have expressed how sensible you are of the advantage and security, which accrue to *Great-Britain* and our Allies, by the terms proposed for a peace. And I need not mention to you the mischiefs, which must follow from the breaking off this treaty. Our burthens would be at least continued, if not increased; the present opportunity would be irrecoverably lost of *Britain's* establishing a real balance of power in *Europe*, and improving our own commerce; and, if any of our Allies should gain something by such a proceeding, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. But I hope, by God's Blessing, such fatal designs will be disappointed.

‘You are now returning into your respective countries, and I persuade myself you will not be wanting in your endeavours to obviate the designs of any ill-minded persons, who may attempt to sow sedition amongst my subjects, and, under specious pretences, carry on designs they dare not own.

‘I hope, at your next meeting, there will be an opportunity of perfecting what I recommended to you, which you have left unfinished in this Session.

‘I cannot conclude without assuring you, that nothing shall move me from steadily pursuing the true interest of so dutiful and affectionate a people.’

After this speech, both Houses were adjourn-

ed to the 8th of *July*. This adjournment; instead of a prorogation, occasioned various discourses; some furnishing, it was intended as a further mortification to Mr *Walpole*, who rather chose to continue prisoner in the *Tower*, than to make his submission. Others imagined, it was intended, that, at the expiration of the adjournment, the House should sit again for the dispatch of business. But, whatever ground there was for the first of these conjectures, it appeared there was none for the latter; for at their next meeting, on the 8th of *July*, the Parliament was prorogued to the 31st of the same month. Upon which Mr *Walpole*, and the other persons, who were under confinement by order of the Commons, were of course set at liberty.

Though the Queen in her speech said, they approved of her scheme of peace, yet that was not in any of the addresses; many indeed, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had magnified it in their speeches, but both Houses had observed one caution, not to express their being satisfied with the plan of the peace, tho' it was covertly insinuated.

On the 12th of *June*, at an assembly of the *Address of* Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*, a motion was made for addressing the Queen about the peace; against which some objections were made by Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* and Sir *Charles Peers*, who alledged ‘That, the making peace or war being the prerogative of the Crown, they ought not to meddle with it.’ But, the majority, who knew, that such a step would be very acceptable to the Court, being of a contrary opinion, it was carried for an address; which being, two days after, presented, with another from the Lieutenantcy, the Queen knighted *John Cais* and *William Stuart*, the Sheriffs, and *Samuel Clarke*. Upon this a new set of addresses were promoted every where, full of gross flattery; magnifying the present conduct, with severe reflections on the former Ministry, which some carried back to King *William's* Reign. Some of those addresses mentioned the Protestant Succession, and the House of *Hanover*, with zeal; others did it more coldly, and some made no mention at all of it. And it was universally believed, that no addresses were so acceptable to the Ministers, as those of the last sort.

But neither the number, nor the noise of addresses, which, during the remaining part of the year, were presented to the Queen, were able to suppress the murmurings of the Whigs, and even of many Tories, who did not like the terms of peace contained in the Queen's speech. On the other hand, the astonishment, not to say indignation with which the Queen's speech was received in *Holland*, is scarce to be expressed; and exceptions against it were published both by the *Dutch* and Imperialists (1).

The

any danger. But I am afraid *England* has lost all her constraining power, and that *France* thinks she has us in her hands, and may use us as she pleases, which, I dare say, will be as scurvily as we deserve. What a change has two years made? Your Lordship may now imagine you are growing young again; for we are fallen, methinks, into the very dregs of *Charles* the Second's Politics; saving, that then they were more reasonable, because our enemy was then in so full power and lustre, as might both terrify and dazzle a Numb. LXX. Vol. IV.

poor luxurious Prince, that would not be disturbed, nor seemed to care much what became of *England* after he was gone. The present times may put you in mind of those, with this bad difference still, that now the ruinous effects of those advices seem to be taking place after an interval of five or six and twenty years; and after such an interruption, as one would have thought should have quite baffled and destroyed them.’

(1) In a letter from a Gentleman in *Amsterdam*, it is said: ‘We are at last at full certainty as to the good intentions
Z z z

1712. The States having rightly concluded from the *The Dutch* declarations of the *British* General in the army, and of the Bishop of *Bristol* at *Utrecht*, that the Ministers of *Great-Britain* had agreed upon a suspension of arms with *France*, and would impole it upon the Allies, by withdrawing from the Confederate army, not only their national troops, but also the auxiliaries in their pay, which would make them absolute masters of the Negotiation of peace; they took early measures to prevent it. Messieurs *Van Welden* and *Hop* were sent to the army, to concert with Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* proper methods to engage the Generals of those Auxiliaries, and to provide for their subsistence, which commission was executed with success. The Duke of *Ormond* having caused bread for six days to be distributed to the army under his command (which shewed he designed to make some motion) Prince *Eugene* asked the Generals of the Auxiliaries, 'Whether they had any orders from their Sovereigns to regulate themselves by, in case the *English* should withdraw.' It appeared by their answer, that they had received secret instructions, for two only excepted, they unanimously assured the Prince, 'That they would not march with the *British* General, without communicating the orders they should receive from him to his Highness: And, in case the same were not agreeable to the intentions and interest of the Allies, they would not follow the Duke, but look upon themselves as disengaged from his command.' On the other hand, the *States* having resolved to prosecute the operations of the war, the trenches were opened before *Quefnoy*, and the siege carried on with all imaginable vigour under the command of General *Fogel*.

Quefnoy
besieged,
Jan. 20.
N. S.

The Duke
of *Or-*
mond
declares his
orders as
about a res-
tation.
Cond. of
the Duke
of *Ormond*.
Jan 25.

The next day the Duke of *Ormond* was invited to a Conference, held between the *States* Deputies, Prince *Eugene*, and Count *Tilly*; but he excused himself on pretence of a small indisposition, that he might avoid concerting any further measures with them. And having received a copy of the articles signed by the *Marquis de Torcy* (though not entirely as the *Queen* had demanded) he immediately directed the *Earl of Orkney* to prepare himself to march with ten battalions, in order to take possession of *Dunkirk*; and the same morning he wrote to the *Marshall de Villars*, 'That he wished the

Marquis de Torcy would have given himself the 1712.
trouble to have signed the copy of the articles, which would have been more regular and more agreeable to the Duke's instructions. However, he would not obstruct the accomplishing of good work, by raising difficulties and scruples, and insisting too much upon the want of formality. That he was just going to make Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies a visit, with whom he was to keep measures to the last; and that he should endeavour to persuade them to desist from the siege of *Quefnoy*, and declare to them, that, in case of their refusal, he should be obliged to withdraw the army of the *Queen*. That he should send away a detachment the next day, to take possession of *Dunkirk*; but was of opinion, that the *Marshall* should have given him an order in form for its surrender; and desired he would lose no time in a matter of so great importance: Concluding, that, as soon as he knew the resolutions of the Prince and the Deputies, he would not fail to let him have notice of it.' The same day, the Duke visited Prince *Eugene*, and the *States* Deputies, in pursuance of his promise to acquaint them with any fresh orders he should receive from *England*, incompatible with his covering the siege of *Quefnoy*; and told them, 'That the *French* King had agreed to several articles demanded by the *Queen*, as a foundation for a suspension of arms; and, among others, the giving up immediately into our possession the Town of *Dunkirk*. That the Duke therefore could no longer cover the siege of *Quefnoy*, being obliged by his instructions to march with the *Queen's* troops, and those in her pay, and to declare a cessation of arms, as soon as *Dunkirk* was delivered up: And he hoped, they would readily concur therein, which would be the most powerful motive to induce the *Queen* to take all possible care of their interests at the peace. He likewise endeavoured to shew them, that *Dunkirk*, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the Allies than *Quefnoy*.'

The Deputies desired five days to consult their Masters upon so important a matter; which the Duke would have allowed them, if, in the mean time, they would have agreed to desist from the prosecution of the siege, or at least to make some delay in it; which, they said,

intentions of *Great-Britain* towards this State, set forth at large, in the *Queen's* speech to her Parliament. The Emperor finds likewise in it very sensible proofs of affection for him, since he may be left in possession of the *Milanese*, *Naples*, *Sardinia*, and the *Low-Countries*. But it unluckily falls out, that neither the Imperialists, nor the *Dutch*, will put a favourable construction on these good intentions. On the contrary, they say, that it is very hard for a Prince, who begins his reign so gloriously as the Emperor, to see himself abandoned, and reduced to give up *Catalonia* without any equivalent; since he is not to have even *Sicily*, which, it seems, is to be kept in *Petto*, the better to allure the Duke of *Savoy*, in case he should stand out: Besides the securing to him the Succession to the *Spanish* Monarchy, after the Duke of *Anjou*, and his issue, by excluding for ever the House of *Austria* from its rights to *Spain*. As for the *Dutch*, they complain, that they are not allowed even the Barrier agreed on, between them and the *Queen*, in 1709. That by the two or three places, which are to be excepted from that Barrier, *Lille* and *Tournay* may be meant; besides the towns they

have taken since 1709; which will reduce that Barrier almost to nothing: And that the exception of some species of merchandize, from the *Tax* of 1664, which they insist upon, may reach their fish, linen, and spices, whereby they may be excluded from all their profitable trade, the other branches being more advantageous to *France*, than to *Holland*. These are the chief exceptions of the Imperialists and *Dutch*; nor is it altogether without reason, that the latter take it ill, that the Duke of *Savoy's*, and King of *Prussia's* services to the common cause, are only mentioned and extolled in the *Queen's* speech; and that no manner of notice is taken of this State, which hitherto has signalized its resolution and constancy, and never offered to break either its promises or engagements, by treating separately with *France*, though powerful solicitations have not been wanting to induce them to it.' The exceptions of the Imperialists, against the scheme of peace proposed in the *Queen's* speech, were afterwards fully expressed in a book, intitled, *The fight of Europe*, which was published in *Holland* by Count *Zinzendorf's* direction. *Beyr.*

1712. said, was not in their power. However, he at last consented to give them three days; that being no hindrance to the execution of his orders; because he could not expect to have an account before that time from the *French* Court, how *Dunkirk* should be delivered up to him. The Deputies refused to let a detachment go through any of their towns in the way to *Dunkirk*, and both they and Prince *Eugene* told the Duke, 'That his marching away with the Queen's troops and the foreigners in her pay would leave them to the mercy of the *French*; but that they were sure the foreigners would not march.' The Duke having taken the first opportunity to sound the Generals of the foreign troops in the Queen's pay, they seemed at first well inclined to continue steady to her interest; and particularly General *Bulan*, who commanded the *Hanoverians*, who came to the Duke, seemingly with great joy and satisfaction, as soon as he had read the Queen's speech, and told him, he was ready, with his master's troops, to follow all such orders, as he should think fit to give him. But, upon discoursing with him now, the Duke found, that means had been used to prevail upon him, as well as the rest; who agreed in making excuses, and pretended they could not separate from the Confederacy, without express directions from their Masters, to whom they had sent Couriers. They alledged, 'That neither the grand Alliance, nor the particular Conventions, admitted of any parties treating of, or making peace, or even a suspension of arms, without the consent of the others.' The Duke thought it belonged not to him to enter into these particulars; but insisted on the commands he had received from the Queen, and on the engagements they were under to assist him, their General, in an effectual compliance with them; representing, at the same time, the just reasons the Queen had to resent, and the ill consequences, that would attend their refusal. However, the Duke finding, that the foreign troops would obey no orders, but what they themselves, in conjunction with Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies, should approve, countermanded the detachment designed for *Dunkirk*; and in the afternoon sent to Marshal *Villars* an account of the result of his visit, and desired to know of him more particularly, in what manner *Dunkirk* was to be put into our hands, in case the *English* troops marched alone, without the Auxiliaries; which he had reason to suspect might scruple to go along with him: Adding, He hoped he would not defer sending the necessary orders for the delivery of that town, which would be a means to make every thing relating to the peace go on the more easily, and the cessation of arms take effect the sooner.

It is observable, *Villars* having, at this juncture, caused several bridges to be laid over the *Senfet*, it occasioned a surmise, that he might intend to attack the Confederate army, in case the Auxiliaries in *British* pay had marched off with the Duke of *Ormond*. On the other hand, it was apprehended, that the *British* General might have a design upon some of the strong towns garrisoned by the *Dutch*; and therefore Prince *Eugene* sent for General *Hompesch*, Governor of *Doway*, and desired him to take care, that the *English* troops designed for *Dunkirk* might not go through *Doway*. And the like caution was

given to other *Dutch* Governors in relation to the *British* forces.

Upon the arrival of two expresses from the Confederate army at the *Hague*, with an account of the Duke of *Ormond's* declaration about a cessation of arms, the *States* were immediately assembled; and the same evening invitations were sent to the Ministers of the Allies at *Utrecht*, to concert measures on the present posture of affairs; and messengers dispatched with circular letters to the several towns of *Holland* and *West-Friseland*, to summon an extraordinary meeting of the *States* of that Province on the first of *July*, *N. S.* The city of *Amsterdam* sent an unprecedented deputation to the *Hague*, consisting of three Burgomasters, and as many principal Magistrates. Before their departure, the regent Burgomasters held an assembly, in which Monsieur *Corver*, their senior, a person no less venerable for his age, being eighty-four years old, than for his integrity and wisdom, made a memorable speech; wherein he pathetically laid before them the necessity of carrying on the war, without which their Commonwealth was like to be irrecoverably ruined. He said, 'I am an old man, upwards of fourscore, and have seen far more difficult times, even the *French* at the very gates; but, by the Blessing of God on our firmness and resolution, we have hitherto preserved our state. I have no private interest in trade, nor any other concern but the good of my country, and the common cause; yet I would give the half of what I have in the world, nay all, rather, than suffer the loss of our liberties. But, if at last we are overpowered, then let us lay our Cities under water, betake ourselves to our ships, and sail to the *East-Indies*; and let those, who see our country laid waste, say, *There lived a people, who chose to lose their country rather than their liberty.*' These words had not only an effect upon the assembly at *Amsterdam*, but also on that of the *States* to whom they were reported. However, though the majority of the cities had given their Deputies instructions to reject the proposal of a cessation of arms; yet the *States* thought fit not to come to any resolution about that important affair, but rather to gain time; at least till the reduction of *Quefnoy*; for which delay the Earl of *Strafford's* absence from the *Hague*, and the expectation of his sudden return, gave them a very plausible pretence. Mean while the *States* received assurances from the Princes, who had troops in *British* pay, 'That they would maintain them wholly at their own expence under Prince *Eugene's* command, for one month; and afterwards continue them in the service, and pay half the charges, provided the Emperor and the *States* would pay the other half.' To which the *Dutch* were ready enough to consent.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Bristol* executed his instructions at *Utrecht* with the same of *British* punctuality as the Duke of *Ormond* in the army; and, a Conference being held between the Ministers of the Allies, that Prelate in a solemn manner communicated to them the concession, which the Queen had prevailed on *France* to make to the Allies, and proposed to them a suspension of arms for two months, in order to treat with the *French*, and, in a friendly manner, adjust the demands of all the Confederates. None of the Ministers there present having thought fit to return him an answer, all of them looking on one another

1712.

N. S.

July 27.
Europe.

1712. another with surprize, the Bishop left them to consult together; upon which some of them spoke very feverly against the proposál. In the afternoon he was in Conference with the rest of those Ministers, and urged to them the necessity of a cessation of arms; but he found them unanimous in their answers, that they had no instructions about that matter, and must wait for fresh orders from their Principals. The next day the Plenipotentiaries of the Allies met at the Deputies of the *States*, and having concerted some measures, most of them repaired afterwards to the *Hague*, to assist at the Consultations, that were held in that place.

The Duke of *Savoy's* Ministers were so highly offended at the report, which had been industriously spread, that their Master had agreed to a suspension of arms, and to the terms of peace concerted between *Great-Britain* and *France*, that they publicly disowned it as false and scandalous, declaring, 'That his Royal Highness, their Master, would remain firm in the grand Alliance, being sensible, he had been imposed upon by the insinuations of a certain Minister.' On the other hand, Count *Zinzendorf*, the first imperial Plenipotentiary, on the 28th of *June*, N. S. presented to the *States-General* a memorial, which he called his *sentiments upon the affairs of the present conjuncture*; wherein having shewed, 'The tendency of the Queen of *Great-Britain's* speech to her Parliament, and touched upon the declarations of the Duke of *Ormond* and the Bishop of *Bristol*, he insisted on the danger, that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms; commended their High-Mightinesses for approving what Prince *Eugene of Savoy* and their Deputies had done in the army, and in particular their having furnished bread to the foreign troops in *English* pay; exhorted them to persevere in these generous and vigorous resolutions; and, in order to maintain a strict union among the Allies, he proposed these five points: 1. That the Alliance ought to be renewed, in order to compass these ends, the recovery of the *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*; the security of that State by a Barrier in the *Netherlands*, and of their trade in *Spain* and the *West-Indies*; the procuring a Tariff with the King of *Portugal* and Duke of *Savoy*, with relation to the *Spanish* Monarchy; as also those with the King of *Prussia*, the Elector *Palatine*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and all the other Confederate Princes; and that likewise for the security of the associated Circles. 2. That all the Allies should be invited to join in it. 3. That it was necessary to form a plan of the war, so as it might be carried on with most success and least expence. 4. That they should come to some resolution about the war in the *North*, so as they might be sure of the assistance of the Princes engaged in it, most of whom furnished troops against *France*. And, 5. That, after these measures were concerted, representations should be made to the Queen of *Great-Britain*, requesting her to perform her engagements, and to persuade her, that it was the intention of the other Allies to maintain the common cause with inviolable firmness; and that they desired nothing so much, as that she would be pleased to persist in what she had hitherto done so gloriously for that end. He afterwards assured the *States*, that the Emperor would continue to furnish 20,000 men in *Savoy*, 30,000

in *Spain*, 14,000 on the *Rhine*, 24,000 in the *Netherlands*, 8,000 in *Lombardy*, 8,000 in *Naples*, and 4,000 in *Bavaria*, in all 108,000 men: That he would furnish the third of four millions of crowns for the war in *Catalonia*. That he would endeavour to bring more of his troops into the field against *France* than hitherto, and do his utmost to engage the Empire in general, and all the Princes and States in particular, to make new efforts.³

Whilst these things passed in *Holland*, a remarkable action was performed in the beginning of the campaign, which greatly alarmed the Court of *France*. Prince *Eugene of Savoy* resolved to put *Champagne* and other Countries under contribution; and, the Deputies of the *States* having approved his resolution, he detached fifteen hundred horse, dragoons, and hussars, under the command of Major-General *Grovesstein*, with orders to penetrate into *France* as far as possible. Those troops were detached with the utmost privacy from the camp at *Haspre* on the 10th of *June*. The next day they met at night at *Grouville*, within three leagues of *Neufchatel*, on the river *Aisne*, which they passed the 12th, and advanced at night to *Suippe* in *Champagne*. The 13th, they passed the river *Noire* near *St Menesbold*. The next day, they passed the *Meuse* at *Seneri*, and got into *Lorraine*; and, the 15th, passed the *Moselle* at *Pont-a-Mousson*. The 16th, they came before *Metz*; and, the 17th, passed the *Saar*, and retired leisurely towards *Traarbach*, carrying off with them a vast booty, and a great number of hostages for the payment of the contributions, they had demanded from the Countries, through which they passed, amounting to some millions. They burnt several villages and little towns; and at *Metz* *Grovesstein* sent a letter to the Marquis de *Refuge*, the Governor, and another to the Intendant, to summon them to send Deputies to agree about contributions. The Governor answered him, that he had nothing to send but fire and ball; and that, instead of contributions and hostages, he would only send him some guides, to conduct him whither he deserved to go. *Grovesstein*, being incensed at this answer, caused about thirty or forty villages, and about twenty castles or forts, to be burnt in sight of *Metz*, after having plundered them, and retired safe with his booty; for, *Villars* not being informed of this detachment till twenty-four hours after they were marched, the troops, which he sent after them, could not overtake them. It is impossible to express the great surprize, this expedition caused in the adjacent parts, and even in the Suburbs of *Paris*; it being reported, the detachment were advancing to that City. The King himself was not thought safe at *Versailles* with his usual guards; and therefore all the troops quartered in and about *Paris* were ordered to repair immediately to the King's palace. But *Grovesstein*, making his retreat, soon put an end to the alarm.

The *French* were resolved to revenge this excursion, and intrusted Major-General *Poiteur*, a famous Partisan, with the execution of their design, which he managed with great diligence and dispatch. For, though he had fifteen or sixteen hundred men with him, the Allies had not the least notice of his march, till he was advanced farther than *Bergen-op-Zoom*, and had plundered *Torile*, an island belonging to *Zea-*

Zinzen-
dorf's
memorial
to the
States.
Lamberti.
Vol. VII.

An irrup-
tion into
France.
Grouville.

land,

1712. land, with the town of that name, and several other places. Thirty squadrons were detached from the Confederate army, and all the garrisons were drawn out, to intercept the enemy in their retreat. But *Passeur* took so well his measures, that he returned safe to *Namur* with a great booty, and several hostages for contributions.

The siege of *Quefnoy* being carried on with great vigour and success, and the Duke of *Ormond* foreseeing the reduction of that place might increase the hopes of the Allies, and obstruct the *British* measures for a general peace, sent to acquaint Prince *Eugene*, 'That his troops should continue in the army, provided he would give over the siege of *Quefnoy*.' But the Prince answered, 'That, instead of relinquishing the siege, he would cause it to be prosecuted with all imaginable vigour, and would let his Grace be eye-witness of another expedition, immediately after the taking of that town.' From this time all correspondence ceased between the Prince and the Duke; and the Prince perceiving, that frequent expresses went between the Duke and the *French* army, which might prove detrimental to the Confederate cause, held private Conferences with the other Generals, in order to separate their forces from the *English*, and insinuated, 'That he should be glad, if the *English* would march off, they being now only a burden to the *Netherlands*, since they had declared, they would not fight against *France*.' These passages were not wholly unknown to the Duke of *Ormond*, who on the 28th of *June*, *N. S.* sent his Adjutant with a written order to the Generals of the foreign troops in *British* pay, commanding them to hold themselves and the forces under their command, in a readiness to march; but, excepting Major-General *Berner*, who commanded four squadrons, and one battalion of the troops of *Holstein-Gottorp*, and Major-General *Walef*, Colonel of a regiment of Dragoons of the troops of *Liege*, who had the Queen's commission, all those Generals unanimously answered, as they had done before, 'That they could not follow him, nor separate from Prince *Eugene*, without expresses orders from their respective Princes.' Among the rest the hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* bid the Adjutant tell the Duke, 'That the *Hessians* desired nothing more than to march, provided it were to fight the *French*; and that he would wait upon the Duke the next day, to give him his reasons for not obeying his orders at that time.'

In the mean time, the siege of *Quefnoy* was prosecuted with such success, that on the 1st of *July*, *N. S.* the Confederates stormed and carried the counterscarp in four places; and on the fourth Monsieur *Labadie*, the Governor, surrendered the place, and the garrison prisoners of war, which consisted of 2,662 private men; besides several persons of a superior rank. The Confederates put a good garrison into the place under Major-General *Ivoy*; and all possible expedition was used to repair the breaches, and level the works.

The Earl of *Strafford*, soon after the prorogation of the Parliament, was again sent over to induce the *States* to accept the offers the *French*

were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms. Accordingly, at his arrival at the *Hague* (1), *July* 6. he desired they would name Deputies to confer with him about matters of the last importance, which he had to lay before them. The *States* made a solemn deputation from their own body, to whom the Earl of *Strafford* proposed a suspension of arms for two months, and the entering into the Negotiations for a peace upon the offers of *France*. After a long Conference, the Deputies returned to the Assembly of the *States*, and made their report. The Bishop of *Bristol* being also come to the *Hague*, several Conferences were held, in all which there were great debates about a cessation of arms, and the conditions, which *France* might be brought to grant to the *States*, if they would treat of a general peace. As to the cessation, the *British* Ministers urged, that *Dunkirk* would be delivered up to the *English*, as a security for the performance of what the *French* had promised; to which it was answered, 'That there ought to be a security for the *States*, and other Allies, as well as for the *English*;' and, to that purpose, mention was made of *Strasbourg* to the *Germans*, and *Namur*, *Charleroy*, and *Tpres* to the *Dutch*. It was replied, that *Maubeuge* and *Condé* might be put into the hands of the *States-General*. But this was rejected, because it was suggested in the other part of the debate, that the *States* should surrender to the *French* *Doway*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*. The *Dutch* Deputies being startled at this proposal, which, they said, was more in favour of *France*, than of the Allies, the *British* Plenipotentiaries answered, They hoped *France* might be prevailed with to be contented with *Lisle* and *Doway*, as an equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and, upon that condition, to grant to the *States* the Barrier, which they demanded in 1709, and the Tariff of 1664, excepting only the following species of merchandize, which the *Dutch* should not be permitted to import into *France*: Whale-oil, soap, sugar, and dry fish; as also the duty of fifty sols per tun, which the *French* King would not remit. The Earl of *Strafford* likewise insisted, that the *States* should withdraw their forces from *Spain* and *Portugal*, and forthwith return a categorical answer to their proposals. During the debate, the *States* sent to the Ministers of *Prussia* and *Hannover*, to know what they might depend upon as to the troops of their Masters; to which they returned not only a favourable answer, but, at the desire of the *States*, wrote letters to the Generals of those forces, to act according as those Ministers had promised they should. On the other hand, the Emperor's Ministers, suspecting what would be proposed, signified to the *States*, that, if they agreed to a cessation of arms, Prince *Eugene* had orders immediately to march off with all the Emperor's forces into the Empire, and leave the *Dutch* to the mercy both of their old and new enemies. This, together with the remonstrance of the Pensionary, the Register *Fogel*, and Monsieur *Slingerland*, inclined the *States* of the province of *Holland* and *West-Friseland* to come to an unanimous resolution on the 9th of *July*, *N. S.* 'That they were entirely

(1) He came there in the midst of the rejoicings for the surrender of *Quefnoy*, and, being told the reason. No. 70. Vol. IV.

son, he said, *They made a great noise for a paity town.*

1712. tirely disposed to put an end to this bloody and expensive war by a good peace: That, in order to that, they were ready to listen to such proposals, as *France* should be willing to make in writing, in answer to the specific demands of the Allies: That, if the same were just and reasonable, in such a case their High Mightinesses would readily consent to a general peace; but that they would never depart from their engagements with their Allies, without whose consent they could not agree to a cessation of arms.' This resolution was so great a mortification to the *British* Ministers, that the Earl of *Strafford* said with some vehemence, 'That he would go to the army, and execute his orders.' He was prayed to defer his journey for one day, which he refused, unless *Prince Eugene* were desired to forbear hostilities. After some deliberation, he was told, an express should be sent to *Prince Eugene*, to desire, that he would undertake nothing till forty-eight hours after the Earl of *Strafford's* arrival in the army.

Sir Thomas Hanmer's conduct in Flanders.

About this time a report was spread in *Holland*, that the *English* had formed a design to seize *Ossend*, which was occasioned by Sir *Thomas Hanmer's* repairing to that town towards the end of *June*, N. S. his causing the depth of the harbour to be sounded; and his viewing the fortifications with the *Burgomaster Bauwens*, who was supposed to be in the *British* interest. Sir *Thomas* having spent some days at *Bruges* and *Ghent*, where his presence was thought necessary to prepare matters for future designs; that Gentleman, who from this time began to appear with the title of the Queen's Minister, repaired to *Brussels*, where the Earl of *Strafford* arrived the 11th of *July*, N. S. From thence the Earl went the next day to the Duke of *Ormond's* army, then encamped at *Cheateau Cambresis*, and found, it was high time to separate the *British* forces from the *Germans*, between whom there had been frequent quarrels, in which many men, and even some Officers, had been killed on both sides. The day before, a Council of war was held at *Prince Eugene's* quarters at *Hafpre*, wherein it was agreed, that the army should make a movement to attack *Landrecy*; that the Prince of *Anhalt Dessau* should command the siege of that place; and, if the *English* retired from the army, nothing should be omitted to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, in order to take winter-quarters in *Picardy*. The Earl of *Strafford*, foreseeing what a martial answer he must expect, in case he should propose a cessation of arms, continued at the Duke of *Ormond's* quarters, where he conferred with none of the Commanders of the auxiliary troops, except the General of the *Hanoverians*, who was instructed to declare, that his Master, as an Elector of the Empire, was obliged to follow the resolutions of the head and members of that great body. Whether the Earl of *Strafford* expected the first visit from *Prince Eugene* and the *States Deputies* is uncertain; but, if he did, he was disappointed; and, having notified to them his arrival in the Duke of *Ormond's* camp no sooner than the 14th of *July*, the Prince and the Deputies contented themselves with returning him a compliment upon it.

The news of the auxiliaries refusing to obey the Duke of Ormond variously received in England.

The news of the *British* Auxiliaries refusing to march with the Duke of *Ormond* was variously entertained in *England*, according to the different inclinations and views of the several parties.

Those, who had either opposed or disapproved the late measures, could not but rejoice at it; openly declaring their hopes, that the Confederates would carry on the war without *England*; others spreading reports of the Duke of *Ormond's* having been threatened by some *German* Generals; and others again whispering about their secret wishes, under the notion of apprehensions of a design formed by those Generals to confine the Duke for their arrears, and even to disarm the *British* troops, lest they should join the *French* army. Whether such a thought was entertained by any of those Commanders, is very difficult to determine; but it is certain no such thing was ever proposed to the *States Deputies*; and it is more than probable, that, if it had, it would have been rejected with indignation. However, it is observable, that the friends of the new Ministry were apt enough to suspect such a design, and very industrious in insufling the belief of it, in order to render the Allies still more odious to the people.

However this be, the Duke of *Ormond* found himself in a very uneasy posture. Upon a supposition, that *Villars* would send him a satisfactory answer, and the foreign troops persist in their refusal to obey his orders, he designed to march with all the *English* troops, and the artillery, to *Dunkirk*, where he thought they would be most secure, and would have the sea open, in case the Queen should think fit to recall them. But on the 27th of *June* he received a letter from *Villars* which imported, 'That the King (of *France*) might very well be astonished, that, in case of a cessation, the Generals of the auxiliary troops should make any difficulty to separate from *Prince Eugene*; and that it was surprising, the *Dutch* should have more power over men, whom they did not pay, to make them hazard their lives, than the Queen, who had paid them this dozen years, should have to persuade them not to expose themselves to any danger.' The Duke received also the copy of a letter from the Marquis de *Torcy* to Mr *St John*, wherein the Marquis urged, 'That in the articles agreed on it was expressed, the cessation should be between the armies which were at present in the *Netherlands*: That it was upon this view of a general cessation, so important a place as *Dunkirk* was to be delivered up: That the chief motive, which made *England* and *France* agree to a cessation, was, that nothing might happen between the armies to interrupt the measures, which were taken for a peace. That, to effect this, nothing but a general cessation would be sufficient; and, if the enemies of peace had still the liberty, the means, and the power of acting left them, the condition, upon which the King was to surrender *Dunkirk* to the Queen, would not be complied with on her part: That the King always thought, the Queen was entire mistress of the troops, which composed her army; and that they had all orders to follow the Duke of *Ormond's* directions; and therefore upon a cessation were to forbear action, as well as the *English*. That in case the *English* alone left the army, *Prince Eugene*, finding himself the sole General at the head of great numbers of men, would hazard any thing to come to an action, and would not at all scruple to sacrifice troops, which his Master did not pay, and which were to be under the Prince's command only during the remainder of the campaign. There-

1712. Therefore, since these proposals for a cessation neither answer the measures, which the Queen had hitherto taken for a peace, nor agreed to the articles, which had been concerted between her Majesty and the King upon that subject, the King was persuaded, that the Queen would give the Duke of Ormond full instructions to separate the whole entire army, which was in her pay, and actually under the Duke's command, from that of Prince Eugene: And, when this was done, the King would be ready to deliver up *Dunkirk*, as it had been agreed upon in the articles for the cessation.* This letter gave the Duke good reason to hope, that the Queen would approve of his desiring to separate her troops, and to march towards *Dunkirk*; till he had sufficient assurance, that the place would be delivered up to him; whereas now the contrary appeared so evidently, that he should have thought himself immediately at liberty to act in conjunction with the Allies, would he have taken upon himself to make a step of that consequence, without the Queen's particular orders; but these he had further room to expect, since the Allies were now engaged in the siege of *Quenoy*, and in no condition therefore at present of attacking the enemy. And the Duke was the less uneasy under this delay, being sensible, that *England* had not been able, on her part, to make good the condition of a general cessation, upon which the immediate delivery of *Dunkirk* was promised. *Villars*, in his letter, had invited the Duke to an interview, which the Duke (being no way empowered to agree to it) declined, and excused himself in a letter to the Marshal. While he was dispatching an express with an account of all these proceedings, a Messenger brought him a letter of the 14th of June from Mr Secretary *St John*, which gave the Duke an account * That the Courier returned from *France* the night before, and that her Majesty's demands were complied with to her satisfaction. If therefore his Grace had any difficulties, as several were foreseen, which might arise in taking possession of *Dunkirk*, he might keep his army entire, and the measures were ready in *England* for sending over troops sufficient for that service. That nothing could be more dreadful to the *Dutch* than this town in *English* hands. That he was therefore to consider the temper they were in; and, if he were likely to have the least disturbance given him on this account, he was to keep the secret, send his accounts to the Queen, and, in the mean time, the troops should be ready to enter the place from *England*; where means would be found of concerting things so, that the declaration for a suspension of arms should be exactly timed with the evacuation of *Dunkirk*. If he had taken possession, well; if not, they could be able to do it from thence; and perhaps, in the present ferment, he had better lie still, and let *Dunkirk* be possessed first, and the clamour happen afterwards.* On the 5th of July came another letter, of June 20, from the Secretary, informing the Duke, * That the Queen had ordered Lord *Strafford* to make all possible haste to the army, with instructions, which were necessary in this critical conjuncture: That the foreign Ministers had been told, that the Queen would look upon herself as acquitted from all obligations of arrears or subsidies to that Prince, whose troops should refuse to obey her General's orders without hesitation: That his

Grace should declare as much to those, who commanded them, and require a positive answer from them: That, till Lord *Strafford* came, the best use, his Grace could make of the intermediate time, would be to continue vigilantly on his guard, and to speak in the plainest and most resolute manner to them.* In this letter was inclosed the copy of one from the Secretary to the Marquis de *Torcy* of the same date, the subject of which was, * That the Queen, having received an account of what had passed, both from the Duke of Ormond and from *France*, commanded him to acquaint the Marquis, how great a dissatisfaction it was to her to see, that the enemies of peace had again found out means to retard its conclusion, by exposing the methods, by which it was to be gained, to new difficulties and dangers. But as she had taken a firm and immoveable resolution, not to give the least way to those obstructions, and to continue her utmost endeavours, in concert with the King, towards establishing a general peace; so she did not doubt, but she should be able to defeat the last efforts of those, who either sought their own interest, or gratified their private resentments, in prolonging the miseries of war. That he, in the Queen's name, had declared to the Ministers of those Princes, who had troops in her pay, that, in this juncture, she would look upon the conduct of the foreign Generals, as a declaration of their Masters for or against her, since they must either follow the plan, which she had laid for obtaining a peace, or that, which the Emperor and the States had formed for the breaking it off. That the Queen could not but persuade herself, that those Generals, after a little reflection, would obey the Duke of Ormond's orders without the least hesitation; but, if they did not, she would pay those troops no longer. That those Ministers had writ to their Generals by this Courier; and the Duke of Ormond would receive orders, not only to make the same declarations, but to put them immediately in execution, if they refused. That the Queen thought this method could not fail of succeeding; but, in case any of the foreign troops persisted in their design of staying with Prince Eugene, the Duke of Ormond should retire with the *English* forces, and all the Foreigners, who would march with him (which to be sure would be the greatest part of them) and declare, that her Majesty would no longer act against *France*, nor pay those, that did. That she, who had hitherto observed measures with her Allies, being forced by them to such an extremity as this, thought herself justified before God and man, and at liberty to carry on the Negotiation at *Utrecht*, or elsewhere, without regarding, whether they concurred with her or no. So that, if the King would surrender the town and forts of *Dunkirk* into the Queen's hands, tho' all the foreign troops, or some of them, should refuse to obey the Duke of Ormond, she would no longer make any scruple of concluding her particular peace, and would set a time for the others to come in upon those conditions, which should be agreed upon between her and *France*. That the peace was now in the King's breast. If all the army of the Duke of Ormond should agree to a suspension of arms, the first project, which was concerted between them, had its effect: If they did not, the Duke would withdraw with the

1712.

1712. the *English* from the Allies, and the foreign troops would be left to take service with the *Dutch*, who were so far from being able to furnish this new expence, that they were not in a condition to support the charges they were already at. In short, that *England* would retire from the theatre of war, and, since there would be but a few powers left in a capacity to make head against *France*, the peace might be concluded between those two Kingdoms in a few weeks. These were the proposals her Majesty made; and she believed the King would find his account in them, as well upon the latter as the former plan; and that, besides, he would think it for both their interests, to make immediately a general cessation, as well by sea as by land, between the two crowns. That every moment of time was precious in such a juncture; and that therefore the Marquis is desired to dispatch a Courier to the Duke at the same time he sent to *England*. If the Duke had notice, that the King had given orders to the Officer, who commanded in *Dunkirk*, for the surrender of it, he would immediately execute what the Secretary had proposed; and in that case her Majesty would send some regiments from *England* to take possession of that place, which would be a way less liable to accidents, than making a detachment from the Duke's army, as was at first designed. The letter concludes, that the Queen had resolved to send the Earl of *Strafford* directly to the army. In the postscript of the Secretary's letter, wherein this to the Marquis de *Torcy* was inclosed, he writes thus: 'I need not caution your Grace, that the inclosed for Monsieur de *Torcy* is fit to fall under the eye of no person whatsoever but your Grace.' And he orders the Duke to give *Villars* an account of the endeavours, which the Queen had used to subdue the obstinacy of those, who refused to obey, and of his expectations to hear from him in an express sent to *France*; and a second time, according to what was said to the Marquis de *Torcy*, the Duke is ordered, 'That, if he received an account from the Court of *France*, that her Majesty's last proposals are agreed to, and orders dispatched for the surrender of *Dunkirk*, without any more ado to declare the suspension of arms between *Great-Britain* and *France*, and to keep the whole body, which shall obey his orders, entire, and to withdraw in the best manner his circumstances will allow.'

Rep of
the Com.
of Secr.

Ibid.

This offer was no sooner received in *France*, but without the loss of one moment's time it was accepted and consented to, as *Torcy* acquainted Mr *St John* in a letter of the 5th of *July*, *N. S.* wherein he mentioned very particularly all the reasons and engagements, which had been so plainly and explicitly proposed; and upon condition, that the Queen immediately made a separate peace, kept no measures with her Allies, but only left them a time to submit to the conditions, which should be agreed upon for them between *France* and *England*, the King of *France* had determined to send his orders to permit the *English* troops to enter into *Dunkirk*. And at the same time a Courier was dispatched to *Villars* to carry him these orders. And as a general cessation from all Hostilities both by land and sea between the two Nations had been proposed by *England*, till their treaties could be finished, the King of *France* with the same readiness consented to that.

Hereupon Sir *John Leake* set out for *Deal* to 1712, take upon him the command of the fleet in the June 27. *Downs*; and to provide transports for the troops, that were appointed to take possession of *Dunkirk*, under the command of Brigadier *Hill*, brother to the Lady *Masbam*; namely, a battalion of *Scots* guards, about a thousand men detached from several regiments of *Marines*, and the regiments of *Hill*, *Desaulny*, and *Kane*. At the same time Sir *James Abercrombie*, a creature of Duke *Hamilton*, and Colonel *King*, were sent to *Dunkirk*, to regulate matters with Count d'*Aumont*, the French Governor, who on the 7th of *July*, *N. S.* caused a royal order to be published there, by which the French troops in that town, and in the citadel, *Risbank*, and other forts, were enjoined to be in a readiness to march out on the appearance of the *English*. The day the Earl of *Strafford* arrived in the Duke of *Ormond's* camp, the Duke received advice from *Dunkirk*, that Sir *James Abercrombie* and Colonel *King* were come thither from *England*, whereupon he immediately sent Colonel *Lloyd*, who returned the 15th of *July*, *N. S.* in the evening with an account, that Count d'*Aumont* had received the French King's orders to resign the town and forts, as soon as the *English* came to demand possession. Brigadier *Hill* having embarked, Sir *John Leake*, with the Squadron under his command, sailed early the next morning, and at two in the afternoon came to anchor off *Dunkirk*. The next day the troops were landed, and the keys of the town were delivered to Brigadier *Hill*, who took possession, and the French garrison marched to *Wimborgh*. Immediately upon this the Queen's colours were hoisted in three several places of the town; though not only the civil government was continued in the hands of the French, and several of their ships and galleys permitted to stay in the harbour, with two or three battalions of *Marines* in the town, on pretence of guarding the stores; but the privateers of that place were indulged the liberty of going in and out, provided they brought no *English* prizes into the port.

On the 14th of *July*, *N. S.* Prince *Eugene* sent the Duke of *Ormond* word, that he intended to march on the 16th. The next morning the Duke sent to let the Prince know, he was surprized at his message, there having not been of the least previous concert with him, nor any mention made, which way, or on what design he was to march; and therefore he could not resolve to march with him; much less could the Prince expect any assistance from the Queen's army, in any design thus undertaken. That he thought fit to acquaint him of this beforehand, that he might take his measures accordingly, and not attribute to him any misfortune which might happen. The Duke likewise let him know, that, when he marched, he himself should be obliged to take the best care he could for the security of the Queen's troops, and, in order to that, to change his camp. The same day, Marshal *Villars* giving the Duke of *Ormond* an account, that he had sent by Colonel *Lloyd* orders for the delivery of *Dunkirk*, says: 'Permit me, Sir, to have the honour to tell you, though it be very advantageous not to be obliged to engage the bravest and boldest of our enemies, yet it is very important to know those, that remain so; and I take the liberty to desire you would do me the honour to send me word what Troops and

Donkirk delivered
up.

Cond. of the Duke of Ormond. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

1712. and what Generals will obey your orders, because the first attempt the enemy makes, I will not lose one moment to meet them. The King gives me liberty to fight, which nothing but the Negotiations have hitherto prevented, and which the army under my command has a great desire to make use of. I think the work is finished, if the army, which is under your orders, obeys them. This then, Sir, is no indiscreet curiosity, that I presume to desire you to give me some lights upon the doubts, which I am in. I shall be very much obliged to you, Sir, if, by the return of this Trumpet, you will honour me with one word of answer upon the lights, which I have desired of you. You will give me leave to join to this packet a letter for my Lord *Strafford*.² On the 15th of July, the Duke, in answer to this letter, wrote: 'I should be glad I were at present in a capacity to give you all the insight you desire; but it is impossible for me. Notwithstanding, I was unwilling to delay sending back the Trumpet, to let you know I am well assured, I shall be capable of telling you to-morrow particularly what troops will remain under my command. As to the suspension of arms, you already know, Sir, that according to my orders I cannot declare it in form, till I am assured the Governor of *Dunkirk* shall have executed all the King's orders for the evacuation of the place. In the mean time, you will agree with me, Sir, that the suspension has already its effects on my side, since I have just now informed Prince *Eugene* and the *States* Deputies, that, in case they should undertake any new operation, I could not give them any assistance from the Queen's army.'

Prince Eugene marches with the British Auxiliaries.

On the 16th of July, N. S. Prince *Eugene* broke up from his camp at *Haupre*, and marched off with the troops under his command; being followed by all the *Danes*, *Prussians*, *Saxons*, *Hanoverians*, and other auxiliaries in *British* pay, except four squadrons of *Vander Naib*, and a battalion of *Berners*, of the troops of *Holstein Gottorp*, and Baron *Walef's* regiment of dragoons. He encamped at *Aire*, near *Landreecy*; which place the Prince of *Anhalt-Deschau* invested the next day, with thirty-four battalions, and as many squadrons; whereupon the Duke of *Ormond* decamped the same morning from *Chateau-Cambresis*, and came to *Avesne le Secq*. The day before, he wrote to the Marshal *Villars*: 'Your Trumpet just now put into my hands the honour of your letter of the 15th, and I am now to acquit myself of the promise I made you yesterday. Prince *Eugene* is marched this morning, and all the foreign troops have quitted us, except one battalion and four squadrons of *Holstein*, and two squadrons of *Walef*. Things having passed, as I have the honour to tell you, I thought myself obliged to acquaint you of it as soon as possible; and, as I observed to you yesterday, the suspension of arms has already its effect on my part, by the separation I have made of the Queen's troops, and all her artillery, from those of Prince *Eugene*, and by my declaring to him, I could give him no assistance; and that the payment of the foreign troops is stopped; and that by consequence there is fallen upon the Emperor and *Holland* a burthen, they will not be long able to support. I trust, Sir, to your good faith, and shall, to-morrow, make a movement to put myself in another situation; and, I hope, I shall have news from *Dunkirk*,
No. 70. Vol. IV.

that will authorize me to declare the suspension of arms.' On the same day, *Villars* acquainted the Duke, that the Governor of *Dunkirk* was making the necessary preparations to evacuate that place; and told him, 'For my part, Sir, as I already reckon you for our Ally, I am not at all in haste to have you further off. You are at your own liberty to come near us, and encamp on the King's territories, wherever you shall think proper.' Upon this the Duke, the 17th next day, ordered a cessation of arms for two months to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet.

Had the first design taken effect, which was depended upon by *France*, and so far presumed by *England*, as to be undertaken for, that all the foreigners in the Queen's pay, that composed the Duke of *Ormond's* army, should separate and withdraw from the rest of the Allies, it is notorious, that from that instant Prince *Eugene's* whole army, unless they submitted to the same measures, had been left at the mercy of the *French* army to be cut in pieces, or made prisoners at the will of Marshal *Villars*, which had left the Queen's troops in no better a condition than to have the privilege of being last destroyed. Yet all the Allies, whole honour and conscience would not permit them to abandon their Confederates, and leave them as a sacrifice to *France*, were punished by *England* with the loss of their pay and subsidies, which was all that was in the power of the Ministry to do, to shew their resentment at this great disappointment of the measures of *France*.

This march of Prince *Eugene*, the Earl of *Strafford*, in a letter to Mr *St John*, thought might be turned upon them; and he prevailed with the Duke of *Ormond* in a message to Prince *Eugene* to say, 'That his marching without us, and all the Queen's Auxiliaries marching from us, exposed us so, that we have been obliged to send to the *French* to declare with us a cessation of arms: Nothing less could put the Queen's troops in safety. For though, says the Earl, *Matters fell out so fast, that without this we must have declared for the cessation, yet why should we not turn all this matter upon them?*'

Upon a thorough consideration of this fatal cessation, it is very evident, that it was of infinite advantage, and absolutely necessary to the affairs of *France*; and therefore insisted upon by them. And it is as certain, that the *English* Ministry gave early into it, if they were not the first advisers of it; for which no other account need be required, but that, as all their measures tended to advance the interest of the Queen's enemies, they could not fail to be zealous in a point, which contributed more to those views than any one occurrence during the whole Negotiation; but, as they all along wanted appearances, and consulted them more than any real advantages to the Kingdom, they thought it necessary to annex some conditions to this important article, that might pass upon the deluded people, as a justification of this unprecedented treachery. The demolition of *Dunkirk* was always so popular, a point, that nothing could strike the imaginations of the people more, than to be told, that this important place was delivered into the Queen's possession. This step, they thought, well improved, would recommend the peace itself, at least justify the cessation. And as the Nation had nothing more at heart than the disposition of the *Spanish* Monarchy, after the re-

1712.

Remarks
on the ces-
sation of
arms.
Rep. of
the Com.
of Sec.

B b b b

nunciation

1712.

nunciation had been indutiously cried up, and the Queen had declared from the Throne, that *France* and *Spain* were thereby more effectually divided than ever, these two articles were made the essential conditions of granting a cessation of arms. For the renunciation, *France* easily consented to it, having declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of *France*. For the other article, it is evident how unwillingly *France* was brought to surrender *Dunkirk*; but this the Ministry were resolved to purchase at any rate, as what would easily amuse and sensibly affect the Nation; and therefore, to obtain this, they engaged not only to grant a cessation of arms, but to conclude a separate peace. The prospect of concluding a separate peace, and the obtaining immediately a cessation of arms, which answered all the purposes of *France* almost as well as a separate peace, by leaving the whole Confederacy in their power, and, at their mercy, were so great temptations to *France*, that the surrender of *Dunkirk* was agreed to. But, when it is considered what *England* gained by granting this fatal cessation, it will be found, that the demolition of *Dunkirk* has by no means answered the purposes pretended by it; and, for the renunciation, the *English* Ministry were told by *France*, that they should deceive themselves, who received it as a sufficient expedient to prevent the union of the two Monarchies (1).

The British troops
were ordered to pass
through Bouchain
and Downay.
Condé the Duke of
Ormond.

In the evening of the same day, the Duke of *Ormond* had declared the suspension of arms, *Villars* sent him word, he had likewise that day declared the same, pursuant to their agreement. On the 18th of July, N. S. the *British* forces marched from *Avesne le Secq* to *Elines*, being joined in the way by two battalions and two squadrons of *Great-Britain*, which made part of the separate body posted at *Denain* under the command of the Earl of *Albemarle*. Before the separation of the Confederate forces, the Deputies of the *States* said openly, 'That they hoped the Duke of *Ormond* did not intend to march through any of their towns. But, notwithstanding this declaration, the Earl of *Stratford* and some *English* Officers having that day offered to pass through *Bouchain*, they were refused entrance at the gates, and told by the guards, 'That positive orders were given to let no *Englishman* into the town.' The Officers, not being satisfied, sent to the Commandant himself, who returned the same answer. When the *British* army came near *Downay*, they met with the like treatment from the Commandant of that place, which was the more surprizing, because the *British* forces had their hospital and great quantities of stores in that town. The Duke of *Ormond*, the better to provide for the security and subsistence of the

troops, that were with him, as well as for those in the town and citadel of *Ghent*, where part of his artillery and ammunition was kept, made the disposition for marching towards that place. Prince *Eugene* and the Deputies of the *States* were so alarmed at the Duke's intention of going towards *Ghent*, that on the same day they sent Count *Nassau Woudenberg* to the Duke with a memorial, but not signed, 'To represent to him, that, after the excuses made by the Lord *Albemarle* the day before at *Bouchain*, they were extremely dissatisfied to hear by public report, that the Commandant of *Downay* had likewise refused to admit some of the *English* Officers, and to let out the undertakers for the Queen's magazines. That they were very much mortified at the extraordinary conduct of those two Commandants, and assured his Grace, they had absolutely no orders for so doing, directly or indirectly; and that they not only disavowed their proceedings, but would give them such a reprimand, as they deserved.' But this memorial made no impression on the Duke, who was persuaded, that the Commandants had express orders for what they had done; and that those orders were general, since, after the presenting of the memorial, the same difficulties happened at *Tournay*, *Oudenard*, and *Lisse*, as had at *Bouchain* and *Downay*. But the design of those orders seems to have been, that the *British* Officers should be permitted to pass through the frontier towns, but that the troops should not be suffered to possess themselves of them. The next day, the Duke pursued his march to *Fleurbaey*, near *Tournay*; and on the 26th received a letter from Mr *St John*, now created Viscount *Bolingbroke*, acquainting him, 'That, for many reasons, the Queen thought it most advisable, that he should march to *Dunkirk*, unless some objection, unforeseen in *England*, might arise: That his Grace should withdraw the Queen's forces and stores, that were in *Ghent*; and concert every thing with *Villars*, and promise him full satisfaction for whatever the Queen's forces should take of the subjects of *France*.' The report was then current*, that, before the Duke of *Ormond* declared the cessation of arms, the Earl of *Stratford* went incognito to the *French* camp, to concert measures with Marshal *Villars*; and that, amongst other things, it was agreed, that the *British* troops should make themselves masters of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, whereby they should have the command of the navigation of the *Lys* and *Scheldt*, and be able to put an effectual stop to any further progress of the Confederate army under Prince *Eugene*, in case the *French* Generals found it impracticable to relieve *Landrecy*. That this was the design of the Duke of *Ormond*

1712.

(1) *Burnet* observes on this occasion: The withdrawing the *English* forces in this manner, from the Confederate army, was censured, not only as a manifest breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. The Duke of *Ormond* had given the *States* such assurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the secrets of all their Counsels, which by that confidence were all known to the *French*: And, if the auxiliary *German* troops had not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the *French* army, would have forced the *States* to

come into the new measures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, just, and wise; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon *Dunkirk's* being put into our hands; not considering, that we had more truly put ourselves into the hands of the *French*, by this open breach of faith; after which, the Confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the Court and Ministry, but it became the act of the Nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applauded it. *Burnet*, Vol. II. 610.

(1) That

* See the
Flying
Post of
July 15
1712.

1712. *mond* in bending his march towards *Ghent*, is highly probable; but, whether or no the same was concerted by the Earl of *Strafford* and Marshal *Villars*, it is certain, that the Earl suggested that counsel to the Duke of *Ormond*; nor is it less certain, that the *States-General* were extremely alarmed at it.

On the 21st of *July*, N. S. the Earl of *Strafford*, accompanied by General *Cadogan*, having passed through *Tournay* and *Lisle* (at both which places he was received with great demonstrations of respect) joined the *British* forces at their camp at *Flourival*. The next day in the afternoon, the *British* troops moved to *Petteghem*, near *Oudenard*, and desired passage through that town; but the Commandant, having no orders about it, thought fit to keep the gates shut, which occasioned bitter reflections against the *Dutch*; but their precaution proceeded from an apprehension, that, if the *English* were possessed of any of their strong towns, they should be compelled to submit to the scheme of peace concerted between *Great-Britain* and *France*. On the 23d in the evening, the Duke of *Ormond's* army pursued their march to *Ghent*, of which he took possession, as he did also of *Bruges*. This done, he detached six battalions to reinforce the garrison of *Dunkirk*, and sent thither a train of artillery, with some ammunition; the *French* having drawn off most of their cannon from the ramparts of that place; which, together with the force they had still in it, rendered our possession for some time precarious (1).

It was not long before the Allies felt the fatal

effects of their being abandoned by the *British* forces. *Villars* having received orders to raise the siege of *Landrecy* at any rate, and his army being reinforced with part of the garrisons of several places, he resolved to attack the small body of the Confederate troops encamped at *Denain*, which kept an open communication between Prince *Eugene's* army and the village of *Marchiennes*, through which all their artillery, ammunition, and provisions, must necessarily pass; rightly judging, that, if he could possess himself of these stores, the Allies would not be in a condition to carry on their siege. To execute this design, he passed the *Scheldt*, and encamping on the *Selle* towards *Chateau-Cambreſis*, ordered one thousand five hundred men to widen and level the roads towards the *Sambre*, and to lay bridges over that river. Upon these motions, Prince *Eugene* caused a great intrenchment to be made before his left, and posted behind it General *Fagel* with forty battalions, and caused his right to move up nearer about three leagues, that he might be in a condition to maintain the siege with all his forces. Mean while *Villars* caused the Count de *Braglio* to advance along the *Selle* with forty squadrons, causing all the passages of that river to be guarded, to the end that none of the parties of the Allies might pass over it, to observe the motions of the *French* army. At the same time he ordered the Marquis de *Vieuxpont* to march with thirty battalions of the left, some artillery and pontons, and lay bridges at *Neufville* over the *Scheldt*, between *Bouchain* and *Denain*. He caused him to be

(1) That the taking possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, was not only the desire of *Torcy*, but was also supported by the advice of the Earl of *Strafford*, appears by the Earl's letter of *July* 17, to Mr *St John*, where he says: 'I am for having the Duke of *Ormond* send some party on purpose to march through some of their towns, to see whether or no they would refuse them passage. If they did, that might authorize us the more to do a thing very agreeable to the Queen's troops, and what I believe you would approve of.' And, that there might be no doubt of his meaning in what he had advised, in another letter of the 21st of *July* he tells Mr *St John*, 'The measure, I mentioned would not be disagreeable to you, was, that of marching to *Ghent*, which we have now so well executed, that we are within two days march of it, and the *English* are entire masters of the citadel, as likewise of all the gates of the town. This is a *Coup de parti* for the *States*, who did not expect it, else they could not have behaved themselves with the *Hauteur* they lately did. The thing was so well and secretly managed, that all preparations were made to march about to *Warneton*, between *Lille* and *Ypres*, to have lived upon the *French* country; and, till we marched a day's march on this side the *Scarpe*, the *Dutch* and their friends did not perceive our design, which, as soon as they did, their surprize and uneasiness were equally great.' *Rep. of the Com. of Secrs.*

How agreeable to the Queen and her Ministers the Duke of *Ormond's* conduct was, is plain from Mr *St John's* letter to him, acquainting him: 'That, though the orders, he transmitted to his Grace in his last, did appear to her Majesty, at that time, to be the most proper, the methods he had pursued were so rightly judged, and so well adapted to the present conjuncture of affairs, that they answered, in every point, what she would have wished. That she was unwilling to restrain his Grace, by particular and positive instructions, who made use of the discretionary power given him, so much to her honour, and the good of her subjects.

That the news, of *Dunkirk's* being in our hands, could not have been followed by any more agreeable, than that of his Grace's having directed his march towards *Ghent*: For as, by the possession of the former place, we should treat with the *French* under great advantage; so, by the steps which he had taken for securing the latter, the *Dutch* and Imperialists would be brought to a more decent way of behaviour to the Queen, than they had hitherto been in. That her Majesty recommended to his Grace the securing to himself the possession of *Ghent*, as long as might be thought necessary; as also the reinforcing the garrison of *Dunkirk*, and the furnishing that place with what stores he might spare, and the garrison want.' *Cond. of the Duke of Ormond.*

The Lord-Treasurer also complimented the Duke of *Ormond* in a very uncommon strain:

My Lord,

Aug. 5, 1712.

'No pen, nor tongue, is able to express the great pleasure I took in your Grace's successes. It was a very great satisfaction to see so much done for the public; to see such an example of steady conduct, in so great a Nobleman, and so courageous a heart, is what has made you envied by some, dreaded by your enemies, and applauded by all men of knowledge and understanding. Your Grace's march to *Ghent*, &c. is a *Coup de Maitre*; it is owned to be so in *France* and *Holland*: And I must own, I take a double pleasure in it, because it is done by the Duke of *Ormond*, to whose person I have so entire a friendship, and in whose success I take so particular an interest. Monsieur *Torcy* wrote a very just compliment on the affair of *Denain*, That the Allies might now see, what they had lost by her Majesty's withdrawing her forces, and what value they ought to put upon a Nation, which every where led victory with it. I am, with the utmost respect and attachments, &c.'

OXFORD.

1712.

be followed by Count *Albergotti* with twenty other battalions, and by all the army, in four columns, and a fifth of artillery, having some days before sent the heavy baggage to *St Quintin*. Notwithstanding the Marquis de *Vieuxpont* made all possible expedition, he could not reach *Neufville* till the 24th of July, at eight in the morning, where he immediately caused bridges to be laid over the *Scheld*. *Broglie* arrived about nine, with his forty squadrons; as did likewise *Villars*, who ordered him to pass over before the infantry, which he did with great difficulty, by reason of a morass, which was beyond the bridge, which the horse and dragoons were forced to march through four a-breast.

The precautions, which *Villars* had used, to conceal his true design, and his march from the Confederates, succeeded so well, that Prince *Eugene* had no intelligence of either till the 24th, at seven in the morning; when being informed, that the enemy laid bridges over the *Scheld*, he hastened to the Camp at *Denain*, after having given orders to the troops, which he had drawn to some distance from it, to follow him. The Prince viewed the camp and intrenchments at *Denain*: gave the Earl of *Albemarle* such Directions as he thought necessary for the defence of that important post; reinforced the eleven battalions, that were there, with six more from the army; and judging, that fourteen squadrons, which were also in the intrenchments, would be useless, he caused them to retire with the baggage. After which he went away himself, to hasten the march of his troops, in order to attempt the succour of the Earl of *Albemarle*, or

The action at Denain.

at least to save part of the infantry. The Prince was scarce got out of the lines, when *Broglie* attacked those between *Neufville* and *Denain*; and, finding them weakly guarded, he forced them almost without any resistance; four battalions of *Palatines*, and other German Auxiliaries, who were posted there, throwing down their arms, upon the first discharge. He found within these lines five hundred waggons loaden with bread for the Confederate army, guarded by five hundred horse, and the same number of foot, who were surrounded, and most of them either killed or taken. Upon the first appearance of the enemy on that side, the Earl of *Albemarle* advanced with part of his forces to defend the convoy, and sustain the four battalions; but finding, they had cowardly left that post, and a great body of the French infantry were advancing, he returned into his camp, the approach of which was defended by twelve pieces of cannon. The French infantry having passed the *Scheld*, and the lines, which *Broglie* had gained, *Villars* made the dispositions for the attack with thirty-six battalions, in three columns, distant two hundred paces from each other, with a reserve of six battalions, marching in a second line, and the cavalry behind to support them. *Villars* put himself at the right of the infantry, as did the Marshal de *Montequieu* and *Albergotti* at the left. The signal being given, the whole line advanced, and marched seven or eight hundred paces, towards the intrenchment, without firing once. When they were come within half a musket-shot, the troops of the Allies, who lined the rampart, made a discharge of their cannon loaded with cartridge-shot, and three discharges of their muskets, without disordering any one battalion. The enemy coming up within fifty paces of the

intrenchment, the piquets and grenadiers leaped into the ditch, followed by the battalions, and, after a long resistance, they entered the camp, cutting down all who made head against them. The rest retired into the Village and the Abbey, where they were forced and pursued so close, that entire battalions threw themselves into the *Scheld*; so that of those seventeen battalions, hardly three thousand men escaped, all the rest being killed, taken, or drowned. The action was scarce over, when *Albergotti* and the Marquis de *Nangis* marched and possessed themselves of the redoubt and bridge, which the Confederates had built at the village of *Provi*, by reason of a morass lying over-against *Denain*, in order to cut off the retreat of the runaways, and hinder their being succoured by Prince *Eugene's* army, which was seen advancing in columns on the other side of the *Scheld*. Upon his arrival, the Prince caused that redoubt to be attacked; but, it being defended by the regiment of *Navarre*, sustained by part of the French army, posted on the bank of the *Scheld* with artillery, he was obliged to draw off, and encamp the next day near *Quefnoy* and *Bavory*, to support the troops employed in the siege of *Landrecy*. The loss of the French (if we may credit their own accounts) did not amount to above four hundred men killed and wounded; among whom were no persons of distinction, besides the Marquis de *Tourville*, son of the late Marshal of that name, killed; the Marquis de *Moussy-Cboiscul*, dangerously wounded; the Chevalier de *Tessé*, Colonel of the regiment of *Champagne*, and Monsieur de *Gausfac*, wounded. As to the Confederates, it was reckoned, they had about one thousand killed, two thousand five hundred taken prisoners, and near one thousand five hundred drowned; among which last was the brave Count *Dhona*, Governor of *Mont*; and among the slain Count *Nassau-Weidenbourg*, an Officer of great merit, and highly esteemed by Prince *Eugene*. Among the prisoners were the Earl of *Albemarle*, General, the Prince of *Anhalt* (Brother of the Prince of *Anhalt-Dessein*) the Prince of *Nassau-Seckin*, Lieutenant Generals; the Prince of *Holstein*, the Baron *Dalbergh*, and Monsieur *Zobel*, Major-Generals; the Colonels, Count de *la Lippe*, *Tengnagel*, *Spaen*, *Kavanoch*, and *Greck*; and Lieutenant-Colonels, *Donelly*, *Hei sbause*, *Heuske*, *Brakel*, *Munnik*, *Els*, and *Goumoins*; and the Majors, *Winkel*, *Fabrice*, *Bulome*, *Till*, and *Styrum*; 50 Captains, 121 Lieutenants and Ensigns; besides four Aids de Camp, and the Commissary of the Artillery *Taurinus*. In the camp were found twelve brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty, which was given to the soldiers.

As it is usual for the multitude to judge of events, especially those of war, by the success, and to censure the unfortunate, Prince *Eugene* was blamed, both for seeming to despise the enemy, and leaving the Earl of *Albemarle* exposed at a great distance from the main army; and for sending him no greater reinforcement than six battalions. As to the first, it is certain, the Prince was not insensible of the danger, which the Earl was in; and therefore he had proposed the removing the stores of artillery, ammunition, and provisions from *Marchiennes* to *Bouchain*; but it seems, the *States Deputies*, thro' parsimony, were against that counsel. As to the

1712.

1712. the second point, the Prince, with several other experienced Generals, having viewed the intrenchments at *Denain*, could not but think seventeen battalions sufficient to defend that post, till he came up to their assistance with the whole army; which they would infallibly have done, had the battalions, attacked by Count *Broglie*, performed their duty. And, if it had not been for the breaking of the bridge by the weight, which was on it, so that the reinforcement sent by the Prince could not join the troops under the Earl of *Albemarle*, *Villars*'s attempt might have turned fatally on himself, and to the ruin of his whole army. However, the Prince's march to *Landrecy* is thought by some to have been the greatest oversight he ever made, considering, that, at this juncture, the French had delivered *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *English*; that *Villars* was greatly reinforced from the *Rhine*, and all the garriſons about him; and the Duke of *Ormond* had received his orders for marching off with his troops. It is observable likewise, that the Duke of *Ormond*, the very evening of the day, on which he declared the cessation of arms, sent to *Denain*, for the pontons, which he had lent the Earl of *Albemarle*; nor could all, that either the Earl, Prince *Eugene*, or the *States* Deputies say, prevail with him to leave them but for eight days; and the next day it was reported, that two French Engineers in disguise went with those, who took up the pontons, and made such observations on the Earl of *Albemarle*'s works, as served their purpose. However, it does not appear, that the Duke knew any thing of it; but his conduct in this affair was very much censured, and gave his enemies an handle to say, that matters had been concerted between him and those sent by *Villars*. And it is certain, that the want of the pontons was the loss of *Denain*; for Prince *Eugene*, having some notice of the Marshal's design, marched the evening before the action, with the greatest part of the army from *Landrecy*, and was up time enough to have succoured the Earl of *Albemarle*; but, by the time he got to the *Scheldt*, the bridge was broke by the crowd of baggage they had been sending over; so that he was not able to give the Earl the least assistance, but looked on, and saw his fate.

Severe reflections were likewise made upon the Earl of *Albemarle*; but, the *States* having appointed some Deputies of their own, and the Council of State some of their Members, to examine his reasons, it was resolved, upon the report of the examination, not only to declare, that the Earl had behaved with prudence and

bravery in that unfortunate action, but also to return him thanks for his conduct (1).

But though it be hard to determine what errors were committed either in the counsels or orders, or in the execution of them, and at whose door these ought to be laid, yet this misfortune served not a little to raise the Duke of *Marlborough*'s character, under whose command no such thing had ever happened.

The action of *Denain* being over, *Villars* ordered *Broglie* to invest *Marchiennes* on the French *Scarpe*, where the Allies principal stores were lodged, with above a hundred and fifty *Bil-landers* laden with artillery, and all sorts of ammunition, and provisions for a whole campaign. At the same time he commanded *Albergotti* to attack *St Amand*, ordering other detachments to possess themselves of the rest of the posts on the *Scarpe*. Two hundred of the troops of the Allies, who were in the Abbey of *Anchin*, and at *Pont-a-Rocbe*, yielded themselves prisoners of war. At the same time, Count de *Esparre* made himself Master of the Abbey of *Hamon*, where he took a hundred prisoners. *Albergotti* possessed himself likewise of *Mortagne*, at the mouth of the *Scarpe*, where he took an hundred men; and then of *St Amand*, which was defended by eight hundred men, who yielded themselves prisoners of war. In the mean time, *Broglie* invested *Marchiennes*, and, having viewed it, found the enterprize much more difficult than he at first imagined; that post being encompassed with morasses and ditches full of water; fortified with several works; defended by Brigadier *Berkoffen*, with six battalions and five hundred men, detached from the garriſon of *Doway*, and by the regiment of *Schellart*, consisting of three squadrons of Cuirassiers, of the Elector *Palatine*'s troops. These difficulties obliged *Villars* to desire the Marquis de *Montesquieu* to take upon him the care of the siege. On the last day of July (*Villars* being returned to the siege) the town surrendered, and the garriſon, to the number of five thousand, were made prisoners of war, and conducted to *Valenciennes*. The loss of this post was of very bad consequence to the Allies; for they had there a general magazine of all sorts of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, designed for the further operations of the campaign. On the other hand, the advantage the enemy obtained by forcing the intrenchments of *Denain*, and by the taking of *Marchiennes*, were so considerable, that the French King wrote an account of it to the Archbishop of *Paris* (2). After this, *Doway* was invested, which obliged

Doway
Prince invested.
Aug. 12.

(1) Prince *Eugene*, in a letter to an eminent Minister, says: 'I am surprized and troubled to hear of the injurious people do my Lord *Albemarle*. — He performed all that a courageous, prudent, and vigilant General could do; and, had all the troops done their duty, the affair would not have gone as it did: But, when they run as soon as they have given one fire, and cannot be rallied, no General in the world can help it: And therefore, Sir, I doubt not that you will contribute to the disabusing those of the Regency, who may have been misinformed.'

(2) The letter was as follows:

Cousin,

'The steps I have taken to effect a general peace,
No. 70. VOL. IV.

and the suspension, which I have agreed on with the Queen of England, have not availed to determine the other Allies to enter into the same sentiments. On the contrary, they formed a design to push on their conquests, and besiege *Landrecy*. The importance of that place (the taking of which would have opened to the enemy an entrance into my Kingdom) determined me to give my orders to the Marshals de *Villars*, and de *Montesquieu* (who command my army in Flanders) to attack and fight the enemy, to oblige them to raise the siege. They have acted with so much conduct and prudence, and the success has been so happy, that the camp, which was possessed by the enemy at *Denain* (notwithstanding the strength of its intrenchments) was forced and defeated with the entire loss of 17 battalions, which defended

Cccc

1712.

Prince Eugene to abandon the design of besieging Landrecy, and march to the relief of Douay. The Prince tried to raise the siege, but did not succeed. Indeed the States would not put things to so great a venture after such losses: So Villars prosecuted the siege with vigour, and battered Fort Scarpe with eighty pieces of cannon: But, notwithstanding the garrison of the fort consisted but of four hundred men, they defended it fourteen days, and surrendered prisoners of war on the 28th of August, having repulsed the French in several attacks. After the taking of that fort, the enemy redoubled their fire against the town; and, although the garrison was but weak, General Hompesch, the Governor, contrary to the expectations of the Allies or the French, held out till the 8th of September, N. S. when he surrendered the garrison prisoners of War. The enemy during this siege were repulsed in several attacks, and lost a great number of men (especially when they took the counterscarp and a half-moon, which they were obliged to abandon) and, had the garrison been numerous enough in proportion to the extent of the place, it is very probable, the French would not have retaken it. Prince Eugene had the mortification to be a spectator of the loss of this place; but it was not his fault, if a vigorous attempt was not made to prevent it, for, during the siege, he used all possible endeavours to engage the enemy; but the French had so strongly fortified their camp on the one hand, and the Dutch were so cautious of running any hazards in this critical juncture, that the Prince, seeing no possibility of coming to action, returned to his camp at Seclin, from whence detachments were made to secure Lisle, Mons, Betbune, Aire, St Venant, and other places. After the surrender of Douay, advice being brought to Prince Eugene, that the French were advanced to Malplaquet, and posted on the same ground, where the famous battle of that name was fought three years before, a disposition was made to dislodge them, and prevent the siege of Quefnoy. But the enemy having with great diligence advanced within half a league of Quefnoy, and taken a very advantageous camp, Prince Eugene thought fit to stop his march near the wood of Dour, and to encamp with the right near St Guilain, the left at the mill of Saart, near the wood of Lagniere, and the head quarters at Belian. Villars having, with the utmost care, secured all the passes, and fortified his camp, the necessary dispositions were made, for carrying on the siege of Quefnoy, which was invested the 8th of September, N. S. The French expected to have made themselves masters

Quefnoy
invested
and taken.

of the town in eight or ten days; but Major-General Ivey, who commanded in the place, made so good use of the heavy artillery, which the Allies left there, after the taking of Quefnoy, that it was the 14th of October, N. S. before he was obliged to submit to the same terms, on which Douay had been surrendered, that the garrison should remain prisoners of war: The French gave out, that they found in the place one hundred and sixteen heavy cannon; a great number of others of small size; forty mortars, five hundred thousand weight of powder; a great quantity of bullets, bombs, grenades, and provisions of all sorts; the whole being valued at three millions of Livres; and that this garrison completed the number of forty battalions of the Allies, killed or made prisoners since the 24th of July, N. S. on which happened the unfortunate affair of Denain. The French being resolved to lose no time in enlarging their conquests, opened their trenches before Bouchain; which place was so indifferently provided, and the garrison so weak, that they made but a slender resistance; for, the enemy having taken possession of the covered-way, and made the dispositions for storming the place, the garrison beat a parley, and surrendered at discretion.

While the French were before Bouchain, the Allies surprized the Fort Knoque in the following manner: Brigadier Caris, Commander of Offend, having received certain intelligence, that the garrison of Fort Knoque was very weak, resolved to try to surprize it. Accordingly Caris detached one hundred and eighty men, under the direction of Captain De Rue, a famous partisan, who, having marched with the utmost privacy, found means to hide themselves in three little houses, and in the governor's garden, standing between four draw-bridges, where they lay close all night. In the morning, at the opening of the gates, some of the detachment advanced on a sudden, and made themselves masters of the bridge nearest the Fort, having killed the guard. De Rue divided his men into four bodies, and with one of them seized a gate, while two other divisions ran to the other two gates, and the fourth drew up near the Cazernis, to hinder the garrison from drawing together; which succeeded so well, that with the loss of only two men killed, and one wounded, that important Fort was taken. The French Governor hearing the noise, leaped out of bed, and, looking out of the window, cried, *Quarter!* and was made prisoner of war with the garrison, which consisted of three French companies, and one of Swiss, but a great many of them were sick. De Rue, having secured that post, sent out

1712.

Bouchain
taken
Oct. 10.

Oct. 10.

Oct. 4.

part

defended it, and of a convoy of about five hundred waggon, who were at the same time on the march towards the camp before Landrecy. The defeat of these troops encamped at Denain was followed by the taking of the post of Marchiennes, where the enemy had six battalions, five hundred foot detached from the garrison of Douay, and three squadrons of horse, who were all made prisoners of war: And being added to those taken in the camp at Denain, and in some other posts along the Scarpe, make the number of above seven thousand men, and upwards of four hundred Officers, prisoners; among whom are several of their general Officers. My troops, who in these two actions shewed all possible valour, took thirty-seven colours, and three

standards. The enemy lost with Marchiennes a great number of cannon, and stores of all sorts of ammunition, and provisions laden in above one hundred and fifty Bilanders; and their army being weakened by so considerable a loss, having no longer communication with the places they are possessed of towards the Scarpe, have been forced to raise the siege of Landrecy, to retire towards Mons. And as such an event is a visible mark of the protection of God, who knows the recititude of my intentions, I hold myself obliged to render to him most humble acts of thanksgiving. I desire therefore, that you will cause *Te Deum* to be sung in the Metropolitan Church of my good City of Paris, &c.

(1) And

1712. part of his men, to seize all the provisions in the neighbouring villages, and to bring the same into the Fort, before the garrison of *Ypres* could be informed of the loss of the place. He dispatched also an express with an account of this success to Brigadier *Caris*, who detached forty men to reinforce the garrison. The precautions taken by *De Rue* were not useless; for the loss of that post occasioned the motion of a great body of troops on each side towards the *Lys*, as if the *French* designed to retake it; but they found that Fortrefs was so well and so seasonably provided, that the *French* entirely abandoned the design of attacking it.

The campaign in the *Netherlands* ended with the taking of *Bouchain* by the *French*; for, a few days after, both armies marched into winter-quarters; and Prince *Eugene*, having staid some days at *Brussels* to settle some matters with the Council of *Brabant*, proceeded to the *Hague* on the 28th of *October*, N. S.

The losses in the *Netherlands* created a great distraction in the Councils at the *Hague*, and it was expected by the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*, that the turn of affairs in the field, after the misfortune at *Denain*, would occasion an alteration in the Negotiation at *Utrecht*; and that the *Dutch* would at last agree to a suspension of arms, for which the *British* Ministers made very pressing instances. The Marquis de *Torcy* would have persuaded the *British* Court to force the *States* to come into their measures. In a letter to Mr *St John* upon the news of the Earl of *Albemarle's* defeat at *Denain*, he took notice of the advantage which the Queen had at this time over the *Dutch*, and insinuated, 'That she might give law to those people, provided she made the right use of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which the Duke of *Ormond* was in possession of.' Marshal *Villars* also at the same time sent a letter to the Duke of *Ormond*, about the action at *Denain*, wherein he ascribes the victory to the separation of the brave *English*, and insults the Allies as common enemies, who must be now sensible what wrong measures they had taken. He likewise desires the Duke to transmit this account to the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, and to make a thousand compliments from him to Lord *Stratford*. This letter the Duke of *Ormond* caused to be made known to his army, several copies of it being handed about, which indeed ought rather to have been burnt*; for it made those, who wished well to the Allies, believe he had not acted fairly by them (1). The *Dutch*, though the Earl of *Stratford* continued to press them, and that with great importuness, to agree to a cessation of arms, shewed, on this occasion, a remarkable firmness. The states of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, having agreed to take upon them the paying most of the Auxiliaries lately in *British* pay, and resolved to treat of peace, sword in hand, the *States-General* ordered their Plenipotentiaries

at *Utrecht* to insist upon several points, as further preliminaries of the treaty, particularly the restoring of *Strasbourg* to the Empire, and the demolition of all the fortified places possessed by *France* on the *Rhine*. The payment and subsistence of the *German* and *Danish* troops in the service of *Great-Britain*, who had joined the forces under Prince *Eugene*, being the most pressing affair, several conferences were held about it between the Ministers of the Princes, to whom those troops belonged, the Deputies of the *States*, and the Imperial Ministers. These last were not wanting to represent the great difficulties, which their Master had laboured under since the death of the late Emperor, his brother; and the vast charge he had been indispensably obliged to be at by his Coronation at *Frankfort* and *Presburg*, and other growing expences, for the preservation of the principality of *Catalonia*, whereby the Imperial Treasury was quite exhausted. That, however, his Imperial Majesty offered to contribute three hundred thousand crowns towards the subsistence of the auxiliary troops, provided the city of *Amsterdam* would advance that sum under the security of the *States*, for the payment of which he was willing to mortgage the funds in *Silesia*, which had punctually answered both the principal and interest of the loan made some years before by the *English*. But, though no positive answer was then returned to the Imperial Ministers, yet some months after their proposal was closed with. The King of *Prussia* offered to maintain his troops at his own charge, provided the *States* would give him satisfaction as to his pretensions to the inheritance of the late King *William*; and the Elector of *Hanover* offered, in the first place, to maintain during the war, at his own expence, one half of the troops he had in the service of *Great-Britain*, besides the regiment of dragoons of *Bohmar*, and to agree for the maintaining of the rest upon easy terms. The King of *Denmark* took no less vigorous resolutions than any of the Princes of the Empire, it being his interest not to disoblige the Emperor and his Allies, at a juncture when he and the Czar of *Muscovy* was threatened with a powerful Confederacy of *France*, *Spain*, *Great Britain*, and *Sweden*, in order to restore the King of *Sweden* to all his Dominions.

On the other hand, the *British* Ministers in *Holland* proposed and insisted on the admission of King *Philip's* Plenipotentiaries to the Congress at *Utrecht*; and it was given out, that, if this was not shortly agreed to, the Congress would be transferred to a town, where the *Spanish* Ministry might repair without any opposition; and *Dunkirk* was said to be the place. But, the *States* not thinking it their interest to disoblige the Emperor so far, as to yield a point so derogatory to his title to the *Spanish* Throne, the Court of *Great-Britain* resolved to pursue other measures, to bring the *Dutch* to compliance; or, if that failed, to conclude the peace upon the scheme near

(1) And, that there might be no part of the world, where it was in the power of the *English* Ministry to assist their new Friends at the expence of their old Allies, *Torcy* further proposed, 'That the Queen should put a stop to Count *Staremberg's* projects in *Catalonia*, by sending orders to her troops in *Tarragona* not to let the *Germans* into that place; and, not content with

this, he further desired, that express orders might be sent (and through *France*, as the shortest way) to the *English* men of war, that were then cruising in the *Mediterranean*, to suffer the *French* ships, that were then returning from the *Levant*, to pass unmolested; which was immediately complied with.

(1) It

1712. near agreed on with *France* and *Spain*. To this end, it was judged necessary to renew the suspension of arms, now expiring; and, the Lord *Bolingbroke* having had the chief management of the present Negotiation, he was pitched upon to go *incognito* to the Court of *France*, 'to remove, as his instructions expressed it, all difficulties and differences, that might obstruct the general suspension of arms between *England* and *France* from taking place, or settling the treaty of peace in such a course, as may bring it to a happy and speedy conclusion. But to declare, that he does not imagine there will be any possibility to prevail with the Queen to sign the peace with *France* and *Spain*, unless full satisfaction be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, and unless they can take him along with him in the doing thereof. He is therefore to take particular care to settle his Barrier, and to procure *Sicily* for him; to settle the renunciation in such a manner, that there may be as little room left as possible for dispute or delay: That the Elector of *Bavaria* may have *Sardinia*, and be restored to his Dominions in the Empire, except the *Upper-Palatinate*, and the first Electorate (1); and, when he has had satisfaction in these points, he is to proceed to speak to such articles, as relate particularly to the interest of *Great-Britain*, and endeavour to have such of them, as there may appear to be any doubt concerning, explained in the most advantageous manner. And then he is to do his best to discover upon the several parts of the general plan of peace, what the real *ultimatum* of *France* may be; and, when the peace between *England* and *France* shall be signed, that it may be expedient to fix the Allies a time to come in, wherein the Queen will use her good offices, but will not be under any obligation to impose upon the Allies the scheme offered by *France*, or to debar them from obtaining better terms for themselves.' By these instructions it

appears, that Lord *Bolingbroke* was empowered to conclude a separate peace with *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*: That at this time there was some doubt concerning several articles relating to the particular interests of *Great Britain*, which he was to endeavour to get explained; but no instruction, if his endeavours prove ineffectual, in behalf of *Great-Britain*, not to conclude the treaty, which in these very instructions is expressly provided for in favour of *Savoy*; and he is ordered to do his best to discover the *ultimatum* of *France*, which hitherto, it seems, the Ministry were ignorant of; but, whether *France* condescended so far or not, as to let him into this secret, the treaty was concluded; and the Ministry seemed to think, they had sufficiently discharged their duty, in declining to be engaged to impose what terms *France* should think proper upon the Allies, those Allies, to whom the Queen was bound by the faith of treaties, and all the most solemn engagements and public declarations, to procure all just and reasonable satisfaction, according to their several Alliances. But now it seemed sufficient, that the *British* Ministry did not debar them from the liberty of endeavouring to obtain still better terms for themselves.

With these instructions the Lord *Bolingbroke* set out for *Dover* on the second of *August*, accompanied by Mr *Prior* and the Abbot *Gaultier*. The next day he landed at *Calais*, and was received with all imaginable demonstrations of joy from the inhabitants, and particular marks of respect from the Governor. On the 17th of *August*, N. S. he arrived at *Paris*, and alighted at the House of the Marquis de *Torcy*, where an apartment was prepared for him. The French Minister received the *British* with uncommon civility, and assured him, 'That the King his Master had ever entertained a great esteem and respect for the Queen of *Great-Britain*; to which sentiments

(1) It seems the French had demanded *Sicily* also for the Elector of *Bavaria*, as appears from the following particulars: The constant compliances in the *English* Ministry encouraged Monsieur de *Torcy* to believe, that they would now stick at nothing that could be proposed. He pressed, on the 18th of *July*, the concluding the separate peace between *England* and *France*, as what they both agreed in to be the most effectual way to make the rest of the Allies comply. He desires, that the troops in *Flanders*, under the command of the Duke of *Ormond*, may be left there to make a good use of the towns, which he was in possession of; but as the King of *France* could not consent to the Duke of *Savoy's* having *Sicily*, except the Elector of *Bavaria* had also the *Netherlands* besides his Electorate, he thinks the Queen's having a good army in *Flanders*, under the Duke of *Ormond*, may render this very practicable; and, as the Queen has done a great deal for her own ungrateful Allies, it will be for her glory now to contribute to the good of a Prince of so much merit as the Elector of *Bavaria*, whose acknowledgments will be equal to the benefits he shall receive. But this would not pass, even with the Ministry of *Great-Britain*. The giving *Flanders* to the Elector of *Bavaria* was not only contrary to all the propositions of peace, that had been made between *England* and *France*, but was what would absolutely engage *England* in a new war, to oblige the Imperialists and *Dutch* to agree to it: And they could not think it for the honour or interest of the Queen, to make war upon her Allies, as ungrateful as they had been, in favour of the Elector of *Bavaria*; and especially, considering, that, although *Ghent* and *Bruges* were for him, the Al-

lies had yet an army in *Flanders* so considerable, both for the number and goodness of their troops, that they were able to defend the conquests they had made. And to give him *Sicily*, which was likewise demanded, Lord *Bolingbroke* hoped, that it would not be insisted on; 'because it might be the occasion of continual jealousies; it might, in particular, be the source of disputes and quarrels betwixt *England* and *France*, whose strict union and indissoluble friendship were the points in view, to which all our measures had been directed for so long a time.' The Queen's Ministers think, that, when the King of *France* has made all reasonable efforts for his Allies, he must do something for the love of peace, and that a particular interest should yield to the general. 'You cannot, says Lord *Bolingbroke*, but feel the force of this argument, because you are not at all ignorant, that this Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a supposition, that the Queen must desist from many conditions, which in right she was obliged to procure for her Allies.' He very strongly urges the necessity of concluding immediately the peace between *England*, *France*, and *Spain*; but absolutely insists upon *Sicily* for the Duke of *Savoy*; which at last the King of *France* consented to, upon certain conditions, wherein very ample provision was made for satisfaction to the Elector of *Bavaria*; and one express condition was, that a peace be concluded between *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Savoy*. In answer to this letter, Lord *Bolingbroke* acquaints Monsieur de *Torcy*, that he had received the Queen's orders to go immediately to *France*; and he hoped, under the auspices of the Abbot *Gaultier*, in a week's time, to salute him at *Fontainebleau*. Rep. of the Com of Secr.

Bolingbroke sent to France. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.

1712.

1712. sentiments he now added to perfect a friendship, that notwithstanding the late successes of his arms in *Flanders*, he was still willing to make her *Britannic Majesty* the umpire of the general peace.¹⁹ Compliments being passed on both sides, the two Ministers entered upon business, and having adjusted the principal interests of the Duke of *Savoy*, and of the Elector of *Bavaria*, and settled the time and manner of the renunciations, agreed to a treaty for a suspension of arms between *Great-Britain* and *France*, both by sea and land, for the space of four months. The next day the Lord *Bolingbroke* was conducted by the Marquis de *Torcy* to *Fontainebleau*, where the King of *France* then was with his Court; and the apartment formerly belonging to the Marshal de *Boufflers* was magnificently fitted up for him, and he was received with greater marks of distinction than were ever shewn to any person of his character, who made no public appearance. He was the next morning introduced to a private audience of the King, to whom he presented the Queen's letter. The *French King* received him in a very gracious manner, and assured him, 'That he ever had the highest esteem for the Queen: That he had proceeded in such a manner, as to turn that esteem into the sincerest friendship; and he hoped, she was satisfied he had done every thing on his part, which might facilitate the peace: That he was pleased to find it so near a conclusion: That there were some indeed, who used all endeavours to obstruct it; but that, God be praised, they would not be long able to do so; and that the success of his arms should make no alteration in him; for he would make good all he had offered.' The Elector of *Bavaria*, who arrived at *Paris* on the 16th of *August*, and repaired to *Fontainebleau* the same day the Lord *Bolingbroke* went thither, was also in conference with him, whom he desired to recommend both his and his brother the Elector of *Cologne's* concerns to her *Britannic Majesty*. The *French Courtiers*, in imitation of their Sovereign, vied with each other, who should best entertain the *British Minister*; and, among the rest, the Duke of *Noailles* gave him a most magnificent supper, to which the persons of the first rank were invited; as was also General *Stanbope*, who, being lately exchanged for the Duke of *Escalona*, took *Fontainebleau* in his way to *England*. The Lord *Bolingbroke*, offered that General to present him to the King of *France*; but Mr. *Stanbope* thought fit to decline it. What was transacted in the private Conferences between the King, or his Ministers, and the Lord *Bolingbroke*, besides the treaty for a suspension of arms, was kept very secret: except only, that it was agreed, that the Court of *Great-Britain* should pay the annual sum of threecore thousand pounds by way of Dower to the late King *James's* Queen; and that the Chevalier de *St. George* should retire out of *France*. On the 27th of *August*, N. S. the Lord *Bolingbroke* took his leave of the King of *France* who presented him with a fine diamond ring, valued at about 4,000 *l.* sterling, which formerly belonged to his son the Dauphin, and on the 25th his Lordship returned to *Paris*, being still accompanied by the Marquis de *Torcy*.

On the 24th of *August*, N. S. the suspension of arms for four months was proclaimed at *Paris* with the same ceremonies usually observed at the proclaiming of peace, except that there were no Numb. LXXI. Vol. IV.

public rejoicings. Two days after, one of the Queen's Messengers, who attended the Lord *Bolingbroke*, brought the treaty to *Whitehall*; and, the Lord-Treasurer having, the next day, carried it to the Queen at *Windſor*, to be ratified, her Majesty, in Council, signed a proclamation, declaring the suspension of arms, as well by sea as land, and injoining the observance thereof. O. S. This proclamation was published both by itself, and in the *London Gazette*, in which an order of Council was subjoined, importing, "That for preventing any inconveniencies, to which her Majesty's subjects might be liable, by misapprehending the purport or effect of this proclamation, and for the improvement and security of the commerce of her loving subjects, her Majesty was pleased to declare, that, as soon as passes could be interchanged, they would be delivered to such of her subjects, as should desire the same." Upon perusal of this order, which laid the *English Merchants* under a necessity of buying *French* passes, many were at a loss to discover wherein the benefit of the suspension consisted, unless it were in gratifying the avarice of the Secretaries of State, who sold, at a dear rate, what had cost them nothing. Besides, it is observable, that, the *French Court* not having sent over the passes so soon as the *English Ministers* transmitted theirs, it happened, that several *French ships*, which were taken by Sir *Thomas Hardy*, were released upon producing of the *English* passes, while several *English ships* were, at the same time, made prize for want of *French* passes. This good disposition of Lord *Bolingbroke* to the *French Nation* appears from his own letter to Mr. *Prior*, of the 29th of *September*, wherein he says, 'I have got at last the affair of the *Griffin* [a rich *French East-India ship*] compounded, not without very great difficulty: And tho' the sum paid to the Captors was so large as 35,000 *l.* the ship was plainly prize, and the pass, sent over hither, might have been proved to have been numerically one of those I delivered at *Fontainebleau*, four days after the *Griffin* was in Sir *Thomas Hardy's* power; though *Gaultier* was ready to swear, that he received it some months before; which part of the Abbot has, I confess to you, done him no good, in my opinion.' Hence it appears that, though this pass was none of them, passes had been granted some months before the suspension was concluded.

It may here be observed, that while the peace was negotiating, various reports were spread about the Pretender, who, after the stile used in the Queen's speech of the 6th of *June*, was now called, the person, who has pretended to disturb the Settlement of the Protestant Succession of the House of *Hanover*. About the latter end of *June*, the public was informed from *Utrecht*, that he had been obliged to leave *St. Germain's*, and was already on his way to *Lorrain*. However, about the middle of *August*, he made a visit to the King of *France* at *Fontainebleau*; but, upon the news of Lord *Bolingbroke's* landing at *Calais*, it was thought fit, that the Chevalier should again retire from *St Germain's*, without his ordinary guard, and go to the castle of *Livry*. Not many days after he came to *Paris*, and, going to the Opera, sat in the *French King's* box, which had been appointed for the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who thereupon sat in another box; which, when known, occasioned no small noise in *England*.

land. It was also advised from *Paris*, that the *British* Minister had a private interview with the Queen-Dowager of *England*; which, together with the rumour of the *Chevalier's* taking upon him the title of Duke of *Gloucester*, and retiring to *Rheims* in *Champagne*, occasioned various speculations. Whatever ground there was for these and other reports, it is certain, that the Pretender's friends in *Great-Britain* were, at this juncture, extremely elated with the hopes of his Restoration; and some news-writers in *Holland*, and, after them, others in *London*, did not scruple to take notice of what was said in *Paris*, "That the Pretender was to be associated with her Majesty in the Sovereignty."

On the 28th of *August*, N. S. the Lord *Bolingbroke* set out from *Paris*, where he let Mr. *Prior* to take care of some private affairs still under Negotiation; and with Mr. *Hare*, and the Abbot *Gautier*, proceeded to *Dunkirk*, and, imbarbark for *England*, arrived at *London* the 21st of *August*, O. S.

France was now become intire master of all future Negotiations, and did not fail to make use of the power put into their hands: And upon occasion of a trifling quarrel, which happened at *Utrecht* between the servants of Monsieur *Mefnager*, and of Count *Rechteren*, one of the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, the *French* made use of it as a pretence to keep the Negotiations in suspension, as long as it served their purpose (1). The *Venetian* Ministers immediately offered their mediation to accommodate the matter; and at the same time *Messieurs de Randwyck* and *Buys* engaged the Bishop of *Bristol* to interpose his good offices in this affair. But the *French* Ministers having consulted together refused hearken to any private accommodation, before they had received instructions from their Court; by which they were directed to insist upon a public satisfaction, and on the recalling of Count *Rechteren*; and appointing another Plenipotentiary in his place. The *States* not thinking it consistent with their dignity to submit to those demands, the Negotiations at *Utrecht* were suspended, whilst the Earl of *Strafford* and some other Ministers used their endeavours at the *Hague* to find out an expedient to remove that obstruction, but, the *French* King's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable. On the other hand the *States* seemed resolved not to comply with so extravagant a reparation, being desirous of drawing this dispute into length, that they might avoid entering into a Negotiation of peace, which they thought must be detrimental to their interest, and the common cause, and still hoping, that something might happen, which would occasion some favourable turn in the affairs of *Europe*. To this purpose it was observed, that at the opening of the Assembly of the *States*

of *Holland* on the 13th of *September*, N. S. Pensionary *Heinsius*, in a very pathetic speech shewed 'the impossibility of concluding a peace at this juncture, without losing the fruits of all the blood and treasure they had expended in the present quarrel, and exposing their Country and the liberties of all Christendom, to imminent danger: Urging, that as, of two evils, they ought to choose the least, so they must make extraordinary efforts to carry on the war, till a safe and honourable peace should be obtained: And concluding, that, thanks to the Almighty, they were not wholly destitute of means for that purpose, provided they would act with the same constancy and harmony, which the Republic had exerted on so many occasions.' This speech had its effect, both with the *States of Holland*, and the *States-General*; for the Earl of *Strafford* having signified to them, 'That the Queen was willing to endeavour to engage *France* to admit them, or any other of the Allies, into the suspension of arms;' they answered they could not resolve any thing upon it, without the Emperor and the other Allies; and that it would be too great a disgrace to the Confederacy, to ask a suspension of arms, without being assured of obtaining it. As to the Earl of *Strafford's* proposition of granting passports to the Plenipotentiaries of King *Philip*, the *States* alledged, they could not comply with it, without doing a manifest injury to the Emperor, who had at least an equal title with King *Philip* to the Crown of *Spain*.

About this time another accident happened at *Utrecht*, which was like to prove a new obstruction to the Negotiation of peace. The Earl of *Strafford* had, by his lofty carriage, made himself very obnoxious to the *Dutch*; and, it being given out, that the Duke of *Savoy* had abandoned the Allies, and agreed to a suspension of arms, some of the common people, in the night-time, broke the windows, both of the Marquis *del Borgo*, one of the Duke's Plenipotentiaries, and of the Earl of *Strafford*; and, as a farther indignity to the Earl they set up a wheel on the rails before his house, with a paper on it, in which was written the *Dutch* word, *Straff-art*, alluding to the Earl's name, and implying, that he deserved the punishment denoted by the wheel; the word *Straffen* in *Dutch* signifying, to punish or chastise. This insult was highly resented by the *British* Plenipotentiaries; but the Magistrates of *Utrecht* having published a reward of four hundred guilders to any one, who should discover the authors of it; and that the name of the Informer should be concealed; the *British* Court thought fit not to take any notice of the affront at this juncture, the rather, because it was by many suspected, that the *French* emissaries were at the bottom of this

It was a Count *Rutten* was passing by the house of Monsieur *Mefnager*, his footmen were laughing and making sport at his servants that were standing before the door. Monsieur *Mefnager* complained of by Count *Rutten*, who expressed the servants should be contented that their master's word, he had examined the matter, and that he denied the fact. Upon this the Count *Rutten* said that the servants should be contented that their master's word, and *Mefnager* still repeated, that the Count *Rutten* said, since he could get no satisfaction, they must decide their own quar-

rels themselves. Presently after, one of Count *Rechteren's* footmen struck one of Monsieur *Mefnager's*, and owned the fact, saying, It was true, he had given him a blow or two on the face; but that it was also true, he was one of those who had hissed at him; which was not denied by the other. This was so highly resented by the *French* King, and such reparation demanded, that the *Dutch* would not comply with it: So a full stop was put to all the proceedings at *Utrecht* for some months.

1712. this insult, in order to irritate the *British* Nation against the *Dutch*.

The ascendant, which *France* had now gained in all the Negotiations of peace, was evident from their insulting upon the restitution of *Tournay*, which deserves to be particularly set forth. On the 30th of *August* the *British* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* acquainted the Lord *Bolingbroke*, that in some discourse with the Ministers of the Allies they had carried matters so far as to tell them, that though her Majesty would endeavour to promote their interest in a peace, and obtain for them the best terms, that should be possible; yet, if those endeavours should not procure more than the contents of her Majesty's speech, or even in some degree fall short of that plan, the fault would be intirely theirs, who had rendered things difficult and uncertain, which otherwise would have been easy and practicable. And having thus far complied with their late orders to lay all the blame upon the Allies, they further inform his Lordship, that they had however obtained the consent of the Ministers of the Allies to come to a Conference with those of *France*, in order to renew the Negotiations; the time to be fixed between the *British* and *French* Plenipotentiaries, who meeting to have some discourse previous to the general conference, parted without coming to any conclusion. The occasion of their difference, that prevented renewing the Conferences, arose upon proposals made by the *British* Ministers in relation to *Tournay*. They, in a letter of the 2d of *September*, N. S. to Lord *Bolingbroke*, state the case in this manner: 'In her Majesty's speech it is expressed, That the *Dutch* are to have the intire Barrier, as demanded in 1709, except two or three places at most. The *French* Ministers insist, that they must have *Lisle* as an equivalent for *Dunkirk*; and that the same is not to be understood as one of the three places mentioned in the speech; and consequently that they must, in all, have four of the places mentioned in the demands of 1709. This to us appears to be altogether inconsistent with what her Majesty has declared; and we accordingly think it contrary to our duty to bring on a Conference, in which such an explication is to be made. The *French* Ministers, on the other hand, have shewed us their orders, which positively require them to insist upon the restitution of *Tournay* as well as *Lisle*; and that they can by no means consent to the cession of *Maubeuge* or *Condé*. The *British* Ministers then pressed the *French* to speak at first in terms as general, as their proposal was conceived in; but the *French* thought it necessary to be particular and express in that point above all others, because they shall otherwise have tied themselves up, and given the *Dutch* an advantage. The result of this debate was, not to proceed to a Conference, till this point be determined; the *French* insisting, that their orders were so plain, as neither to need nor admit any explication; and the *British* Ministers thinking the matter as plain on their side. They hoped, their zeal for her Majesty's honour would be graciously approved, and desire to be directed what further they are to do in this matter, which they apprehend to be of a decisive consequence; because they find even those among the *Dutch*, who appear to be most cordially disposed to such a peace, as may re-establish a good harmony between her Majesty and the *States*, as absolutely

necessary for their mutual preservation, fully resolved, either to retain *Tournay*, and have *Condé* yielded to them; or to take one of these two courses, either to come into any terms, that *France* offers, or to continue the war at all hazards.' The language, which our Plenipotentiaries had used to the Allies, is very much approved of by Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter of the 26th of *August*, who says, they had spoke the sentiments of the Queen's heart, in what they declared the 30th of *August*, N. S. and that, 'if the Allies did fall short of the plan laid down in the Queen's speech, the fault was intirely their own. His Lordship says, 'Sure it is, that this plan was nothing more than an ultimatum of what *France* would offer; but he wished, that the Imperial and *Dutch* policy had not rendered it the ultimatum of what *France* will grant. The same general reflections might be applied to the particular case mentioned in their Lordships letter. *France* would have yielded *Tournay*, though much against the grain. If *France* has now any advantages, and refuses flatly to yield what she only begged to have restored, the fault is intirely theirs.' But the dispatch of the Plenipotentiaries, of the 2d of *September*, relating to *Tournay* having not yet been considered by the Lords of the Council, his Lordship could not give any positive instructions about it till the next opportunity; but, in the mean time, recommended to them two considerations: That the keeping of the *Dutch* in hopes of her Majesty's good offices will prevent them from taking any desperate resolutions; and the *French* insisting to have Count *Rechteren* disavowed, before any further treaty, will put off, for some time the decision of that great point. The Earl of *Stratford*, in the mean time, by his letters of the 13th and 16th of *September*, N. S. represented the *States*, 'as mightily sunk with their misfortunes, and not knowing well what measures to take; but that they insisted upon *Tournay* as so essential to their Barrier, that they had actually none without it: And his Lordship was so much of that opinion, that he wished they might have *Tournay*, though they were forced to truck *Tpres*, for it: That if he could positively assure them they should have *Tournay*, he believed they would submit to the plan of the Queen's speech.' This opinion of his Lordship is not very easily reconcilable to what he afterwards wrote to Mr. *Prior* upon this subject *Octob.* 12, 1712: 'If we had a mind to have *Nick Frog* sign with us, we might, for he is ready to do it for *Tournay*; which, if we sign together, we cannot well refuse him: But I expect you will cut that matter short, and I long to hear from you.' But this affair of *Tournay* was not so soon settled in *England*; although the difficulty does not seem to be, whether the *French* or *Dutch* were to have it; but in what manner it was to be procured for *France*, without a manifest contradiction to what was said by the Queen, in her speech concerning the Barrier. Lord *Bolingbroke*, on the 10th of *September*, O. S. writes three letters upon this subject, to Monsieur de *Torcy*, to Mr. *Prior*, and to the Plenipotentiaries. In that to Monsieur de *Torcy*, he desires him 'to remember the proposition, which was often laid down by him when in *France*, and insisted upon as a fundamental in all their future proceedings upon the general peace: That the conduct of the Queen, in regard to the interests

1712.

of

1712. of her Allies, was in a great measure determined by their behaviour: That the violent measures, which they had taken to obstruct the peace, had put the Queen in a condition to make her peace, without waiting for their concurrence; in which case the Queen would declare, that she had signed the treaty with *France* and *Spain*, and would propose the plan brought over by Abbot *Gaultier*, and delivered the 29th of April 1712, for the Allies to treat upon, and would do no more than by her good offices, as a common friend to both parties. But, in case the *Dutch* in particular, or the other Allies, should, before the conclusion of her peace with *France*, enter into concert with her Majesty, we should have more measures to keep with them; the compassion of our people would be moved in their behalf; and the Queen's Ministers obliged to make some steps, which otherwise they would absolutely refuse to do. Upon this foundation, continues his Lordship, the King's Ministers seem to act something more, when they insist the Queen's Ministers should propose the holding a Conference, in which the first propositions started would appear, in some measure, contrary to what the Queen said in her speech, touching the Barrier of the *States*. The point in dispute between your Plenipotentiaries and ours is not to know, Whether *Tournay* shall be restored to the King, or not? For, to obtain that place, it is not necessary you should begin by making this specific declaration. But the question is, Whether the Queen ought formally, and at present, to declare that *Tournay* shall be restored to *France*? Which would be to consent to the explanation, which your Ministers give to this article of the Queen's speech. His Lordship then says: 'Not to swell my letter too much, which may already seem tedious, I refer myself to what Mr. *Prior* shall have the honour to explain to you upon this point; and I shall content myself with saying, that, as it is not difficult to find a temperament, I hope we shall avoid all things, that may occasion a dispute between the Ministers of *Great-Britain* and *France*. This temperament is to be found in his letter to Mr. *Prior* of the same day, which, he says, is to be looked upon only as a letter from *Harry to Mat*, and not the Secretary to the Minister.' He sends him inclosed an extract of his letter to Monsieur de *Torcy*, 'which, he says, relates to a matter, that has given Lord Treasurer and himself no small trouble in the Cabinet. He likewise sends him a copy of the Plenipotentiaries dispatch of the 2d of September upon the same subject; wherein, as he will observe, their Lordships are very warm about the disputes. He can assure him, we have those, who are not a jot cooler. His Lordship goes on: The solution of this difficulty must come from you; which is a matter of management and appearance, more than of substance. The method of doing it is by making Monsieur de *Torcy* sensible of the proposition settled between them in *France*, that the Queen can never do any thing, which shall look like a direct restraint on her Allies from demanding what they judge necessary; but as long as they act the part which they now do, she can very justly be passive and neuter as to their interests. This his Lordship thinks is advantage enough for *France*, and such a one, fairly speaking, as a year ago they would have given more than *Tournay* to be sure of. They must not therefore press us to go

further than this, nor to do any thing, which may seem contradictory to what the Queen delivered from the Throne. In a word, the use which the *French* will make of the unaccountable obduracy of the *Dutch*, and the other Allies, may, in several respects, and particularly, for aught I know, in the instance of *Tournay*, give them an opportunity of saving and gaining more than they could have hoped for; and the Queen may in the present circumstances contribute passively to this end, but actively she never can in any circumstances.' His Lordship then very plainly gives his advice how this matter is to be managed in these words: 'I think in my opinion, and I believe I speak the Queen's upon this occasion, it were better the *French* should in the course of the treaty declare, that whatever they intended to have given the *Dutch*, when the Queen spoke from the Throne, their conduct has been such, and the situation of affairs is so altered, that the King is resolved to have *Tournay* restored to him: I say, I believe this were better, than to expect, that we should assent to an exposition of the Queen's words, by which her Majesty would yield the Town up. Let the Conferences begin as soon as they will, I dare say, business will not very speedily be dispatched in them. We shall go on to ripen every thing for a conclusion between us and *Savoy*, *France*, and *Spain*, and this is the true point of view, which the *French* ought to have before their eyes.' This scheme being concerted here, and transmitted to *France*, Lord *Bolingbroke* on the same day writes to the Plenipotentiaries, in answer to theirs of the 2d of September, N. S. upon which he had before told them, he could give no instructions, till their letter was considered by the Lords of the Council; neither does his Lordship now send them any directions, but enlarges upon the same general topics of imputing all the mischiefs that had happened, and in particular this affair of *Tournay*, to the obduracy of the Allies. His Lordship observes, 'That, in the plan brought over by Abbot *Gaultier*, the King of *France* begged for *Tournay*, rather than insisted upon it; but was now encouraged to refuse what he only endeavoured to save: And, in short, that *France* had now gathered strength by our divisions, and was grown sanguine enough to make that plan the ultimatum of her concessions, which was at first nothing more than the ultimatum of her offers; but that the *Dutch* had no body to blame for all this but themselves.' His Lordship adds, 'Her Majesty is very sensible of the concern you express for her honour, and will not, you may be sure, suffer herself to be a party to any thing, which may appear contradictory to what she has once advanced: And although perhaps the yielding of *Tournay* might be reconciled to the terms of her speech; yet should the Queen consent to this exposition of it, such consent would be almost a formal restoration of this place to *France*: And this, my Lords, is what her Majesty will avoid. But I hope the solution of this difficulty will come from *France*; and that, when they have so many other quarrels to decide, that Court will go back from a measure, which must involve them in a dispute with the Queen.' Among Mr. *Prior*'s papers the Committee of Secrecy in 1715 found one, which seemed to be the draught of a letter from him to Monsieur de *Torcy*, pursuant to what Lord *Bolingbroke* had written to him upon the subject of *Tournay*; which

1712. which is in substance the same, and almost in the very words of Lord *Bolingbroke's* letter to Mr. *Prior* of the 10th of *September*, with this addition, that it begins thus: 'There is more appearance than substance in this affair, that is now under agitation at *Utrecht*; and my Lord *Treasurer* does not at all doubt but the Court of *France* will find a remedy.' And his Lordship was not mistaken in his expectations. For Monsieur de *Torcy* very readily followed the advice, that was given by the *English* Ministry; and on the 27th of *September*, N. S. sends Lord *Bolingbroke* a declaration to be made by the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, wherein the King's Ministers are ordered to declare to those of *Great-Britain*, 'That the King did consent to treat of the peace upon the plan laid down in the Queen's speech to her Parliament; but at the same time they were to say, that the *Dutch* having refused to conform to the sentiments of that Prince, having rejected the suspension of arms, and given opportunity to the several changes in affairs, that had happened; it is but just, that his Majesty should be recompensed for the expence he has been obliged to make during the course of this campaign. Upon this foundation his Majesty orders his Plenipotentiaries not to sign a peace but upon condition, that *Tournay* should be restored to him, besides the other places, which he has demanded, and which he had reason to believe the Queen of *Great-Britain* did design to comprehend in her speech.' However, the measures and councils relating to this affair were afterwards altered upon great concessions made to *France*, and advantageous terms procured for the Elector of *Bavaria*. But that *Tournay* was, at last, obtained for the *Dutch*, was principally owing to the firmness and resolution of the *States*, and to the assistance of the Earl of *Strafford*, who refused to sign the treaty without the cession of that place to the *States*, on which account he received their solemn thanks.

Mr. *Prior* having been left by Lord *Bolingbroke* at *Paris*, as the Queen's Plenipotentiary, he was introduced by the Marquis de *Torcy* to a private audience of the King; and obtained a favourable interpretation of a clause inserted in the late treaty for a suspension of arms, which had raised a clamour among the Merchants in *London*. For it having been stipulated, 'That none of the Queen's men of war, or merchants ships, should transport or convoy into *Portugal* or *Catalonia*, or any of the places, where they made war at present, any troops, arms, cloaths, provisions, or ammunition.' The *English* traders were justly apprehensive, that under that pretence they might be debarred from their usual traffic of corn and fish, of which there are great demands at *Lisbon* and *Barcelona*, in time of peace as well as in war.

While Mr. *Prior* was in *France*, news came, that a *French* Squadron in the *West-Indies* was taking the *Sugar Islands* belonging to the *English*, destroying their Plantations, carrying away their Negroes, and making hostages of the Planters. Upon notice of this invasion of the *Leeward-Islands* by the *French*, the Lord *Bolingbroke* wrote thus to *Prior*, *September* the 19th, O. S. 'This proves a very untoward *Contretemps*. It gives a theme to the Whigs, and serves to awaken the passions that were almost lulled asleep. We expected that *Coffart's* Squadron might have

No. 71. Vol. IV.

gone to the coast of *Brazil*, or to *Surinam*; but we never imagined our Colonies would have been attacked by him, at a time when we were knitting the bonds of friendship between the two Nations with all possible industry. Could this ill opinion of our new friends have entered into our heads, I do assure you, he should have been accompanied by a fleet of the Queen's, which would have kept him in respect.' He remembers the orders that were so punctually and cheerfully obeyed by the Duke of *Ormond*, which, as he thinks, saved the *French* a beating, and then adds: 'In a word, we depended so much upon the good understanding which we thought established, and were so earnest to prevent any thing, which might break in upon it, that we not only avoided to fortify our Squadron, as we might have done, but we also neglected to put in execution some designs, which would have annoyed the *French* and *Spaniards* perhaps more than any which have been effected in the course of the war.'

Mr. *Prior* was so entirely devoted to the *French* Court, that, towards the latter end of *October*, without either leave or orders from the Queen, he came over into *England*, at the desire of the King of *France*, who thought him a proper person to be intrusted with the great secret of prevailing with the Queen, by her credit, to obtain what he demanded for the Elector of *Bavaria*; for which purpose he brought a credential letter to the Queen, importing, 'That his conduct was very agreeable to that Monarch.' About the middle of *November* he was sent back to *France* with new instructions, wherein the proposal of a neutrality in *Italy* was one of the chief articles: And, that he might have a perfect knowledge of the Queen's present resolutions and councils, in relation to the present treaty of peace, a copy of the last instructions to the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* was given him, that, as occasion should require, he might act in all things conformable to the Queen's intentions therein expressed. He carried likewise a letter from the Queen to the King of *France*, wherein, among other things it is said, that, Mr. *Prior* continuing to behave himself so, as that his conduct may be entirely agreeable to the King of *France*, he does but literally execute the order the Queen had given him, and is a proof of his duty and zeal for her service.

About this time, in order to conquer the obstinacy of the *Dutch*, it was industriously given out in *England* and *Holland*, that the Duke of *Savoy* had agreed to a suspension of arms; which report had, as yet, no other foundation, than the earnest endeavours of the *British* Ministers to bring him into the Queen's measures; for which the Emperor's backwardness to give him satisfaction about some claims, not ill-grounded, gave them a very plausible handle. The differences, which had been long depending between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Turin*, having been very prejudicial to the Confederate interest, because the Duke of *Savoy* rather chose to stand still, than, by going into the field, to promote the interest of an Ally, who still put off the performance of his engagements to him: The maritime Powers used their utmost endeavours to put an end to these fatal disputes. Both parties were at last prevail-

E e e e

1712.

Prior returns to England. Rep of the Com. of Secr.

ed

1712. ed with, to refer the controversy to the arbitration of the Queen and the States, whose Envoys, Mr. Stanyan and Monsieur Vander Meer, having met at Milan the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, and maturely weighed the allegations on both sides, they agreed on a sentence of arbitration, importing in substance, that either the town of Vigevano, or an equivalent for it, should be given to the Duke, together with several other districts. The Duke of Savoy readily acquiesced in this decision, for which he returned thanks to the British and Dutch Ministers; but the Imperial Commissioners solemnly protested against it; which was very ill relished at the Court of Great-Britain. While this affair was depending, the Duke of Savoy ordered Count Maffei, his first Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, to repair, about the middle of May, to London, to solicit the arrears of subsidies due to him; and, the better to succeed in his Negotiation, that Minister did not fail insinuating, that his Master was inclinable to enter into the British measures. Upon this hint, Mr. St. John, who seized all opportunities to mortify the House of Austria, started the proposals of giving the Kingdom of Sicily to the Duke of Savoy, in order to engage him in his views. And therefore, though the French Plenipotentiary at Utrecht, had early offered that Island to the Emperor, yet the British Minister declared to the Marquis de Torcy, that the Queen absolutely demanded it for the Duke of Savoy. It is, however, observable, that the Duke was so far from relishing this proposition, that he declared to the Earl of Peterborough at Turin, 'That he was not so vainly impatient for the title of a King, as to lose or hazard any real interest for an empty name; but that he thought it much more extraordinary, that a Prince defeated ten years together by his enemies should remain, at last, with the prize contended for, and which so often, by Parliament, had been declared the just and unavoidable motive of the war.' To calm the uneasiness of mind the Duke of Savoy was in, the Earl of Peterborough represented in a memorial to him, 'That, in refusing those offers, he must fall out with the Queen and the English Ministers, whom he endeavoured to excuse from the reproaches cast upon them, as if they were persons devoted to France. That, for the support of what was proposed, a sufficient fleet would be furnished, either by England or France, or by both powers jointly; and that he should be guaranteed and protected against any power, that should oppose this project, or should insult him for having accepted these offers.' The arguments of the British Ministers prevailed at length with the Duke; and, if their design was effectually to disabuse the Emperor from supporting himself against France, after the separation of the English, by forcing into the interest of France an Ally so considerable as the Duke of Savoy, these measures were certainly extremely well calculated for such an end. This forwardness of the British Ministry to make England a guarantee for conditions advantageous only to France, and which must naturally have engaged the Nation in a war with the Emperor, was the more extraordinary, in that, during the whole course of this Negotiation, no endeavours were used to procure a guaranty of the Allies to secure the Protestant Succession, which had been addressed

for by both Houses of Parliament. While the Earl of Peterborough was alluring the Duke of Savoy with the promise of Sicily, the French endeavoured to draw him off by open force. But the Duke of Berwick, after an unsuccessful attempt to surprize Fort Edmund and Conti, and the plundering of the neighbourhood of Saluzzes, which occasioned a warm skirmish, was obliged to repals the Alpes with an inconsiderable booty. On the other hand, Count Maffei having, with great address, obtained from the British Court a large sum of money, in part of the arrears due to his Master, he returned to his post at Utrecht, towards the end of September, O. S. by which time the Emperor had sent orders to his Ministers at Milan, to give the Duke of Savoy intire satisfaction. But his condescension had no effect upon a Prince, who was already biased by the gold and promises of Great-Britain.

The English Ministers, and their agents, were not equally successful in some Courts of Germany. Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the Lord Treasurer, who, about the beginning of this year, had been appointed to go to Hanover with a secret commission, having staid some months in Holland, to watch the progress of the Negotiations at Utrecht and the Hague, set out, at last, about the beginning of July for Germany. On the 12th of that month, N. S. he arrived at Hanover, accompanied by Mr. St. John, brother to the Lord Bolingbroke, and some other young English Gentlemen, who were all entertained at the Elector's expence. Three days after, Mr. Harley, who from the station of coadjutor to the Secretary of the Treasury, was now raised to the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, had a public audience of the Elector, and afterwards of the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager, and of the Electoral Prince and Princess, by whom he was received with distinguishing marks of favour, as one so nearly related to the Prime Minister of Great-Britain. The design of this Embassy was to persuade the Elector to come into the British measures, which Mr. Harley pressed strongly, and, amongst other arguments, told him, 'That the contrary would do him an injury in the minds of the people, who were set upon peace.' But the Elector remained firm in the sentiments, which he formerly expressed in the Memorial presented about a year before by Baron Boibmar, and answered Mr. Harley to this effect: 'I do not put myself upon the foot of one pretending immediately to the Throne of Great-Britain. The Queen is a young woman, and, I hope, will live a great many years. When she dies, my mother is before me. Whenever it pleases God to call me to that station, I hope to act as becomes me, for the advantage of the people. In the mean time, speak to me, as to a German Prince, and a Prince of the Empire. As such, I must tell you, I cannot depart from what I take to be the true interest of the Empire and the Dutch.' Mr. Harley, having continued above two months at Hanover, set out from thence to return to Great-Britain.

Endeavours were likewise used about this time to bring the King of Prussia into pacific measures, with no better success than at the Court of Hanover. But, notwithstanding these and other disappointments, the British Ministers pursued their scheme with steadiness and resolution; which being chiefly founded on King Philip's renunciation of the Crown of France, the Lord

Lexington

June 27.
N. S.

1712.

The Elector of Hanover refuses to come into the British measures.

1712. *Lexington* was appointed to go to *Spain*, to preside and be witness of the performance of that important Preliminary.

New scheme of peace proposed by the Dutch. Though the public Negotiation at *Utrecht* was, for some months, at a stand, upon account of the dispute between *Mefnager* and *Rechteren*; yet some private steps were made in the mean while for bringing the war to a conclusion: For on the 9th of *October*, N. S. the Ministers of the *States* declared to those of *Great-Britain*, 'That, for the good of peace, the *States* were willing to yield *Lisle* to *France*, and recede from their pretensions to have *Doway*, *Valenciennes*, and *Maubeuge*, which they had hitherto insisted upon; provided *Condé* and *Tournay* were included in the Barrier, the Tariffs of 1664 restored, and that *Sicily* be yielded to the Emperor, and *Straßburg* to the Empire.' This proposal was immediately transmitted to the Court of *Great-Britain*, where it was looked upon as more reasonable than any of the former schemes. On the other hand, the Imperial Ministers finding the *States* inclined to yield up *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to King *Philip*, to which they knew their Master was unwilling to consent, Count *Zinzendorf* proposed a plan, according to which the Emperor, and the *States* of the Empire should furnish four millions of crowns, which were supposed to be sufficient to put their forces in a condition to act offensively, and to maintain most of the Auxiliaries lately in the *British* pay. But, it having been found by long experience, that there was no great dependance to be made on such promises, some of the Princes, to whom those troops belonged, resolved to recall them upon various pretences.

The Earl of Strafford comes to England. On the 4th of *October*, one of the Queen's Messengers arrived at *Utrecht* with dispatches for her Ministers; and after a Conference with those of the *States*, the Earl of *Strafford*, the next morning, set out for *England*, and on the 13th arrived at *Whitehall*.

Various conjectures about it. The Earl's sudden departure from *Holland* occasioned various conjectures both at home and abroad. The general opinion was, that he was sent for to give the Queen and her Ministers a verbal account of the disposition, in which he left the *Dutch* as to peace and war, and to receive the Queen's instructions in relation to their late scheme. But those, who observed what passed at Court, ascribed his coming over to a misunderstanding, which, about this time, appeared to be among the Queen's servants. It is evident (from the Lord-Treasurer's account of public affairs, sent to the Queen in *August* 1714) that there had been several misunderstandings between him and the Lord *Bolingbroke*. He observes particularly, that, when it was found necessary to create some new Peers in the Session of Parliament in 1711, so many having been brought formerly out of the House of Commons of those who used to manage public affairs, it was proposed to Mr. Secretary *St. John*, that, if he would be contented to stay in the House of Commons that Session, the Queen would create him a Peer, and he should not lose his rank: Accordingly, after the Session was ended, the Queen ordered a warrant for him to be a Viscount; which put him into the utmost rage against the Lord-Treasurer and Lady *Masbam*. It availed but little to tell him, how much he had got in place; for, had he been created with the other Lords, it would have fallen

to his share to have come next after Lord *Trevor*. But the Treasurer, with great patience, bore all that storm, of which Lady *Masbam* was often a witness; and Mr. *Arthur Moore*, a considerable time after, told the Treasurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* said to him, he owed him a revenge upon that head. This discontent continued, till there happened an opportunity of sending him to *France*, of which there was, says the Treasurer, not much occasion; but it was hoped, this would put him in good humour; which it did, till, in *October* 1712, there were Knights of the Garter made; which occasioned a new resentment from Lord *Bolingbroke*, which frequently broke out in outrageous expressions publicly against all then made; who were the Dukes of *Beaufort*, *Hamilton*, and *Kent*; the Earl *Paulet*, and the Earls of *Oxford* and *Strafford*. The Duke of *Hamilton* made a private application to the Queen, desiring, he might be permitted to wear both the Garter and the order of the Thistle; but was answered, the same was unprecedented; and that the Duke of *Argyle* had laid down the Thistle, upon his being made Knight of the Garter.

Octob. 21 The Lord *Lexington*, who was appointed to King *Philip* to go to *Spain*, to preside the renunciation of King *Philip* to the Crown of *France*, having embarked at *Portsmouth* on the 15th of *September*, arrived, on the 7th, at *Madrid*, where he was received with great marks of honour and distinction. Before his arrival, upon information, that Sir — *Burke* resided there, as Minister of the King of *England*, whose arms he had set up before his House; the Lord *Lexington* complained of it to the Court, and demanded, that he should depart from *Madrid*, which he was immediately ordered to do. The Lord *Lexington* had then several Conferences with King *Philip*'s Ministers about that Prince's renunciation; which being drawn up in form, and agreed to, his Majesty signed it on the 5th of *November*, N. S. and swore upon the *Holy Evangelists*, to observe it, in presence of the Council of State, and of the chief Nobility. The *Cortez*, or *States of Spain*, having been summoned to meet at *Madrid*, in order to enact this renunciation into a law, King *Philip*, attended by the President of *Castile*, and Council of State, went to that assembly, and told them, 'That the efforts, which the Nation made with so much zeal and fidelity, to secure his Crown in two perilous occasions, were of such a nature, as never to be forgot. And to shew his gratitude, to procure peace for his people, and to be never separated from them, he renounced all pretensions, which either himself, or his issue, might have to the Crown of *France*; and desired them to give their consent to it.' Upon this the *Cortez* confirmed and approved the renunciation, and the Crown of *Spain*, after King *Philip*'s posterity, was limited to the House of *Savoy*. The Queen, and Prince of *Asturias*, and the Lord *Lexington*, were present at the whole solemnity. But it is to be observed, that his Lordship did not yet take upon him any character; and that some time before King *Philip* sent orders to the Marquis de *Monteleone*, who was then at *Paris*, to repair to the Court of *Great-Britain*.

The like renunciation was made some months after, by the Princes of *France* to the Crown of *Spain*: And King *Philip* was declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown of *France*. It

was

1712

was something strange, to see so much weight laid on these renunciations, since the King of France had so often, and so solemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the *Spanish Netherlands*; when the renunciation made by his Queen before the marriage, pursuant to the treaty of the *Pyrenees*, of all rights of Succession to her Father's Dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could destroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: But this was now forgot, or very little considered.

The Spaniards invade Portugal.

Sept. 22.
N. S.

While these things were transacting, endeavours were used to bring the Crown of Portugal into the present measures of peace; and, lest persuasion should fail, it was thought proper to use more forcible arguments. The Marquis de Bay who commanded King Philip's forces in *Effremadura*, marched with his army, and incamped within half a league of *Elvas*. To increase the jealousy, which by this march he had given the Portuguese, as if he designed to besiege that place, he went to take a nearer view of it, and then returned to his camp. On the other hand, the Portuguese, deceived by these appearances, worked hard in repairing the fortifications of *Elvas*, and conveyed into it two battalions, drawn out of *Campo-Major*; which being the town the Marquis de Bay had a design upon, he marched with the whole army, and invested that place. This irruption of the Spaniards, to the number of near twenty thousand men, at a juncture, when Great Britain (the main support of Portugal for many years past) had reduced all her forces in that country, except two regiments, could not but make the Court of Portugal very uneasy. Their consternation was very much increased, upon the news, that the Spaniards had invested *Campo-Major*, the most regular fortification on the frontiers of Portugal; but which, at that time, was not provided either with a sufficient garrison, or with ammunition and provisions for a long siege. However, on this occasion, the Portuguese exerted themselves with vigour and resolution, which was in great measure owing to the conduct of Major-General Hogan, an Irish Gentleman, and of Brigadier Maffey, an experienced French Protestant Engineer, who formed, in conjunction with the Count de Ribeira, and several other Officers of note, the design of getting into *Campo-Major*, which was executed with very good success at the head of two or three hundred Portuguese Grenadiers, a day or two after the enemy had opened the trenches. Hogan having also got into the town with a supply of four or five hundred men, the Count de Ribeira, who commanded there in chief, made the necessary dispositions to defend the place to the last extremity, and was so well seconded by the officers and troops under him, that he obliged the Marquis de Bay to raise the siege. Notwithstanding this success, the expedition of the Spaniards had the effect desired by the Court of France and Great-Britain. For, the Portuguese finding they were like to be left by England, if they continued the war against Spain, the Count de Tarouca, the Portuguese Minister at *Utrecht*, was prevailed upon by the Bishop of *Bristol* to come into the Queen's measures, and sign the suspension of arms the 7th of November. He excused this proceeding to the Ministers of the Allies as a pure effect of necessity,

Thus ended the war in Portugal. As to the army in Spain, the latter end of September, Brigadier Price, who commanded the English, received a letter by a Trumpeter of the enemy, from Mr. Secretary St. John, with orders from the Queen to leave immediately the army of Count Staremberg, and march to the sea-side near *Barcelona*, and there to wait the arrival of Sir John Jennings, who was to transport them to *Port-Mabon*. This surprizing news (says the Author of the manuscript account) caused a great consternation among our Confederates, and very much enraged the Catalans, who found, they were going to be forsaken by those they had most reason to trust. To prevent the effects of their resentment, and our being molested upon our march by the Miquelets and other country people, the Queen of Spain sent four persons of distinction to be as safe-guards to us, and to take care we should be supplied with provisions. We came to *Barcelona* and incamped by the sea-side, on the very spot of ground where King Charles landed with the troops, when he besieged and took that City. Here we continued some time before Sir John Jennings arrived. With him came over Colonel Kane, with a Commission to break Lepel's regiment, that they might sell their horses, and to see the men on board, with the regiments of foot, and the train of artillery; which orders were executed in a very short time, and we were all carried to *Port-Mabon*.

The Duke of Hamilton (who had been made Master of the Ordnance, vacant by the death of Earl Rivers) was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France. The choice of the Duke for that embassy gave melancholy speculations to those who thought him much in the Pretender's interest, and knew, that he was considered, not only in Scotland, but likewise in England, as the head of his party. On the other hand the King of France named the Duke d'Aumont, first Gentleman of his bed-chamber to go into England with the same character of Ambassador Extraordinary; which was likewise agreeable to the Pretender's friends, to whose interest he was openly attached.

All this while the Duke of Ormond continued in his quarters in *Ghent*, where one of the Field-Deputies came to him the 7th of September, N. S. being sent by his colleagues, to sound him upon several points. He asked first, Whether the English troops were to stay at *Ghent* and *Bruges* the winter, or how long? To which the Duke answered, He could not tell, but saw no appearance of their being withdrawn as yet. He asked next, Whether the Duke would consent to the States putting some of their troops into *Ghent*, to take care of their convoys, and escort them to their frontier garrisons? The Duke said, He thought himself obliged not to suffer any troops, but those of the Queen, to continue in the town. However he had no intention, by taking or keeping possession of that place, to obstruct their convoys; and that the Dutch troops might still come to the counterscarp of the town, and receive whatever was to be carried to the camp, as had been practised ever since *Ghent* was in our hands. The Deputy's next question was, Whether the Duke would let part of the Dutch troops take their winter quarters in *Bruges*, as they had done ever since the reduction of that place? The Duke answered, He could

1712.

The forces in Spain called home.

Duke Hamilton Ambassador to France. Burnet.

Conference between the Duke of Ormond and a Dutch Deputy. Cond. of the D. of Orm.

1712. could not admit of any troops whatever, besides those of the Queen, either into *Ghent*, or *Bruges*, till he had her Majesty's orders. The Lord *Bolingbroke* highly applauded the Duke's conduct on this occasion, and told him in a letter, 'That the Queen had received so much ill usage with respect to the commerce of her subjects in the *Netherlands*, and had so much reason to expect more of the same kind, that she was resolved to treat upon that head with those pawns in her hand.' But, upon recollection, the Lord *Bolingbroke*, in a second letter, acquainted the Duke, 'That the positive order, contained in his first, was not sent to prevent the admission of other troops besides her Majesty's, into *Ghent* and *Bruges*. That the Queen was enough satisfied, that his Grace would take effectual care to preserve those cautionary places, which could alone secure to her any tolerable conditions, with respect to the *Netherlands*, in the terms of peace, but he confessed he thought, it could be no way unnecessary to give his Grace a very positive and clear order, in an affair, which might perhaps make a great deal of noise.' The Duke not only punctually obey'd the orders which he received from *England*, but was also very forward in assisting the Queen's new Friends, the *French*, even at the expence of her old Allies. For being informed of a design, which the *Dutch*, from the late success of their enterprize upon *Fort Knocque*, had been encouraged to form, for surprizing *Newport* or *Furnes*; and that the fortifying *Dismuyde* was made use of as a pretence for drawing together a body of troops sufficient to put the design in execution, the Duke knew not, but the Queen might think it for her service, that the design should not succeed, since if the *Dutch* were not suffered to take possession of those garrisons, the Queen would not only have a greater influence towards settling the commerce of the *Netherlands* on a good foot, but would be able to secure, what was of the highest consequence at that time, a free communication between her troops, which were in *Ghent*, *Bruges*, or *Dunkirk*. He therefore, in a letter of *October* the 21st, acquainted the Secretary with this affair, and left his Lordship to judge of the importance of it, and the use that was to be made of it. But, if the Queen thought it most for her service to prevent it, he was humbly of opinion, some means should be found out to give advice of it to the *Marshal de Villars*, who might possibly think, we owed him that good office, in requital of some informations, his Lordship knew had been sent by the *Marshal*, with a design to serve her Majesty and the Nation.' The Queen was of the same opinion concerning the use to be made of the intelligence mentioned in this letter; but, the campaign being by this time at an end, the Duke asked and readily obtained leave to return to *England*; and, having taken a view of *Dunkirk*, embarked there, landed at *Dover* the first of *November*, arrived in *London*

the next day, and on the fourth waited on the Queen at *Windsor*, where he met with a most gracious reception (1).

The same day being the Anniversary of the birth of King *William III.*, great rejoicings were made in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, by the well-affected to the Revolution, and the Protestant Succession. Among the rest, a considerable number of Lords, Gentlemen, and Citizens, being met at the *Three Tuns* and *Rummer* in *Grace-Church-Street*, to celebrate that festival, caused a great bonfire to be made before the house. The High-Church party, being offended at this, raised an opposite mob, who offering to disturb the rejoicing round the bonfire, a scuffle ensued, in which the aggressors were repulsed; but the Trained-bands being that day under arms, the fray was soon appeased, and all was quiet, till the bonfire was consumed, and the company in the tavern retired. However, this rejoicing was by the Tories represented as a set design to disturb the Government, particularly in the *Post-Boy*. But what was more ridiculous, a report was spread of a strange conspiracy against the Lord-Treasurer, by sending him that very day, 'a band-box, with three pistols charged and cocked, whose triggers being tied to a packthread fastened to the cover, the pistols would have gone off, and done execution, at the opening of the box, had not the same been miraculously prevented by Dr. *Jonathan Swift*, who being then in the room, whilst his Lordship was having, suspected something, and opened the box in such a manner, that no mischief was done.' This was the first story, that was whispered about; but the belief of such an extravagant plot was soon exploded; when it was found that the three pistols were no more than a steel set on a pistol-stock to strike fire, and two inkhorns or squibs; so that the lucky discoverer, Dr. *Swift*, was by many suspected to have been the ingenious contriver of this political machine.

Another accident happened about this time, *Duke Hamilton* and *Lord Mobun* had created a great animosity between these two Noblemen; so that, on the 13th of *November*, at a meeting at Mr. *Orlebar's*, a Master in Chancery's Chambers in the *Rolls*, the Duke having reflected on Mr. *Whiteworth*, (father of Lord *Whiteworth*, late Ambassador to the Czar) who was examined as a witness on the Lord *Mobun's* side, saying, 'He had neither truth nor justice in him; the Lord *Mobun* thought himself obliged to vindicate that Gentleman, which he did, by saying, 'He had as much as his Grace.' The Duke having made no reply, all seemed to end amicably; for they both continued in the same place above half an hour, and, at parting, the Duke, going out first,

(1) *Burnet* says, our army continued this winter about *Ghent* and *Bruges*; and we kept a sort of garrison in *Dunkirk*. But that was so ill supplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was visible they were not in a condition to keep the place, any longer than

the *French* were willing to let them stay in it. And, during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worship God, nor to bury their dead in, tho' by a mortality that raged there some thousands died. *Burnet*, II. 615.

1712. first, made a low bow to the Lord *Mobun*, who, in like manner, returned his civility; so that none of the persons there present, suspected any consequence from what had passed. But, the next day, General *Maccartney* went twice to the Duke of *Hamilton's* house, with a challenge to him from the Lord *Mobun*; and, in the evening, the Duke, accompanied by Colonel *John Hamilton*, went to meet General *Maccartney* at the *Rose-Tavern*, and was a few minutes in private with him; whilst the Lord *Mobun* and the Colonel were in separate rooms, Mr. *Maccartney* went several times between the Duke and Lord *Mobun*; from which and other circumstances, his enemies took occasion to give out, that he had rather inflamed, than endeavoured to compose the quarrel. But all that can be fairly conjectured is, that the time and place of the duel was there fixed and agreed on. The Lord *Mobun* and General *Maccartney* lay that night at the *Bagnio in Long-Acre*; and on Sunday the 15th of November about seven o'clock in the morning went in a hackney-coach to the lodge in *Hyde-Park*, where being soon after met by the Duke of *Hamilton*, and his Second Colonel *Hamilton*, they all leaped over a ditch, into a place called the *Nursery*. Lord *Mobun* went not have had the Seconds engage; but the Duke insisted that Mr. *Maccartney* should have a share in the dance; from whence the General's enemies strengthened their suggestion, that he had been the instigator of the duel. All having drawn, the two Principals made such violent and desperate passes at each other, being rather intent to give than to parry thrusts, that they soon fell down, both mortally wounded; so that the Lord *Mobun* died on the spot; and the Duke, as his servants were carrying him to his coach (1). The two Seconds did not fight at all, as one of the

witnesses deposed, or fought with such caution, that Colonel *Hamilton* received only a small wound in his instep, which, he said, happened by his own sword, as he was parrying down a full pass, that *Maccartney* made at him (2).

The Earl of *Godolphin* died of the stone, on the 15th of September, this year. He had served in considerable employments under four Princes of very different tempers and designs. Opposite opinions have been delivered of his merit and character. Great abilities and integrity have been ascribed to him by some; while others have freely censured him for notorious defects in the latter, and allowed him to have been great by the chance of place and distinction. The Treasurer's staff was attended with the ill-will and aversion of the Tories; for his rival, the Earl of *Rocheester*, by his turbulent zeal, had gained the highest place in their favour. As he had commonly acted in opposition to the Whigs, they likewise entertained great fears and jealousies of him. His whole Ministry was embarrassed with both these circumstances; and even prudence, good temper, and success could not secure him a general good will and confidence. However, the objections, which have been made to him, will, when every thing is duly weighed, be silenced, or perhaps turned to his advantage. He had concurred with the worst of King *Charles II's* Ministers, and adhered to the last to King *James*. In these two Reigns he gave no opposition; but the same active and passive obedience was not practised by him under King *William*. This was ascribed to his retaining principles, very inconsistent with an intire approbation of his Government; to which has been added a passionate admiration of and attachment to King *James's* Queen. The higher esteem therefore seems due to his memory, when we review his conduct in the fulness

1712.

Death and character of the Earl of Godolphin.

of

(1) *Burnet*, on this occasion, says: I will add no character of him: I am sorry I cannot say so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him, to say any evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed so universally, that there is little hope left of seeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the false notions of honour and courage being too strong to be weighed down by prudent or religious considerations. *Burnet* II. 612.

Examiner
Nov. 20.

(2) The High Church men and the Jacobites were so sensibly touched with the loss of one of their principal Champions, that they charged this unfortunate duel on the whole Whig-party; suggesting, 'That, having tried all other methods in vain, they returned to their expedient of Murder, and employed treachery and violence at once. That their General [the Duke of *Marborough*] set the example of party duels, which was only to give them a sanction; and deputed that infamous messenger of his challenge to be the general bully of the faction. That the present Lord Treasurer had almost miraculously escaped their last engine of assassination [meaning the band-box.] That the brave, *Maccartney*, who depended for his support on the Lord *Mobun*, was forced to keep up his patron's courage with wine, till within a very few hours of their meeting in the field: And that the mortal wound, which the Duke received, after his adversary was run through the heart, could not be given by any but *Maccartney*.' This last accusation being like to lay an indelible odium on the Whigs, great industry, and indeed all indirect means were used to propagate the belief of it. In order

to that, Colonel *Hamilton* deposed before the Privy-Council, 'That, seeing Lord *Mobun* fall, and the Duke upon him, he ran to the Duke's assistance; and that he might with the more ease help him, he flung down both their swords; and, as he was raising the Duke up, he saw *Maccartney* make a pass at his Grace.' Upon which an advertisement was published by the Government, for the discovery of Lieutenant General *Maccartney*, suggesting that it had appeared upon oath, that the wound, wherewith the Duke died, was given him by *Maccartney*. On the other hand, it was alleged, in vindication of the Whigs in general, and of General *Maccartney* in particular, 'That the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Lord *Mobun* pursued their private animosities, occasioned by the law-suit before-mentioned, which had been depending many years; which plainly appeared from the Duke's having often been forewarned to avoid the Lord *Mobun's* company. That the latter might probably have been inclined to decide the matter by the sword, upon an apprehension, either that the Duke would at last remove the cause to the House of Peers, where he might hope to supply by friends and interest what he wanted in justice and equity; or that, upon his return from his embassy in France, he might beg and obtain of the Crown, the late Earl of *Macclesfield's* estate, which was the prize contended for, upon a pretence, that the outlawry against that Earl was not reversed in due form.' As to the suggestion, 'That General *Maccartney* stabbed the Duke of *Hamilton*, the falsity of that horrid imputation sufficiently appeared, both from the several depositions taken at the Coroner's Inquest, and from the reports and declarations of two or three eminent Surgeons, who

1712. of his power: In this situation it will appear, how truly superior he became to all prejudices and prepossessions. His deliberations were constant and determined for our prosperity at home, and our success abroad. If his difficulties and disadvantages, particularly those with the Queen, were duly explained, his attention to the welfare of the Nation would be the subject of great admiration. The Union of the two Kingdoms was his work; and, though this transaction has been often condemned by great numbers of both parties, yet that does not lessen the merit of the performance. All changes and alterations, tho' conducted with the utmost honesty and skill must be attended with several inconveniences; and it is too common with mankind to insist only upon these, while they pass over in silence the most substantial advantages. By means of this Union, the Protestant Succession was secured; the influence of *France* on the affairs of *Scotland* was much weakened; many occasions of feuds and animosities were removed; and the benefits refusing to the whole Island were immediate and important, and likely to be perpetually increasing. Our accounts of the manner of carrying on this affair are not sufficiently full and exact; for which reason the great instrument of it cannot have his just praise. Alliances and the force of recommendations imposed upon him in some instances; but his great concern was to employ men of capacity and integrity; and such were sure of his kindest regards. This became the more remarkable, because another great man was not so skilful and cautious, or very unlucky. He had a true sense of the Nation's welfare, and of the proper methods of promoting it. Rude and insolent reproaches from a certain quarter, on the account of his former attachments and correspondencies, were clear proofs of his having renounced them. No person was more earnest and skilful in projects for annoying the enemy by attempts on *France*, *Spain*, *Dunkirk*, and the *West-Indies*; but many of them were defeated by winds and other accidents. Late and expensive experiments have convinced us of the difficulties and hazards of *West-India* expeditions; and such attempts became improper, when encouragement was given to send King *Charles* into *Spain*. Had we secured that Monarchy for the House of *Austria*, when it was in our power, we should have been intitled to advantages superior to any conquest. The piece upon the management of the war, and the four answers to the conduct of the Allies, have clearly proved, that there was no partiality to the Duke of Marl-

borough; but that every part of the war was attended to in the most proper manner; and we have there accounts given of the advantages of the Minister's Treaties and our Alliances with *Savoy* and *Portugal*. Our military co-operations with *Portugal* were embarrassed with many difficulties and inconveniences. But what must have been the case, had the *French* party prevailed there? No impressions could have been made on *Spain*; which would have been a great disadvantage to the common cause. Without their ports, our fleet must have been exposed to many dangers and distresses. The prodigious benefits of the commerce then opened are well known, but have not been sufficiently acknowledged. Those, who study detraction, observe how many circumstances concurred to his successful management of the Treasury. The security and safety of the Bank, punctual payments, and the ready command of money in the funds, had been experienced several years, and most effectually silenced popular objections. Many defective ways of raising the supply in King *William's* time had suggested proper methods of caution; but, above all, our great success abroad was the life and support of public credit. But might not our advantages in some degree be ascribed to the Treasurer's exact care in payments? By his attention to our trade and commerce, did not he lay the foundation for a due and full supply? When all the marks of prudence and regularity are attended with success, the chief conductor hath a fair claim to a large portion of merit. He is said to have preserved great appearances of wisdom by silence and reserve, which are particulars of behaviour supposed to be inconsistent with a great and generous mind. But this was not owing to any thing mean and unworthy; for in all consultations on business he discovered a surprizing greatness of courage, and a quick and most exact discernment. His kind, equal, and obliging temper endeared his memory to all, who had the pleasure and advantage of his conversation. His behaviour to the Queen was so faultless, that, when she was influenced to dismiss him, shame and concern would not allow her to admit him into her presence; and, therefore instead of permitting him to resign into her hands the Treasurer's Staff, a letter was sent to order him to break it. Unbecoming instances of behaviour may be produced in the lives of great men of all ages and all employments. Had this been duly considered, such severe reproaches had not been cast upon this Minister for his love of play and horse-races; by which indeed he became too much, and too frequently engaged with the most worthless

who were unanimous, 'That the wound the Duke received in his right arm, and which was allowed on all hands to have been given by the Lord *Mohun*, was the immediate occasion of his Grace's death.' Colonel *Hamilton* foully prevaricated at his trial on account of this duel, and persisted in accusing General *Maccartney*. But his silence at the place where they fought, and where they both continued a considerable time, taking care of their respective Principals, raised an unanswerable objection to the Colonel's evidence, and fixed upon him an infamous character, either for charging a Murder on an innocent man, or for suffering the Murderer of the noble person, whose Second he was, to make his escape, when it was in his power to secure him. Under this just imputation Colonel *Hamilton*

lived obscurely the remainder of his days, becoming so odious to all men of honour, that he was obliged to sell his company in the guards, and died *October* the 17th, 1716, of a sudden vomiting of blood, which could not be stopped. Strict search was made after Lieutenant-General *Maccartney*; and, besides the five hundred pounds promised by the Queen's proclamation, three hundred more were offered by the *Duchess of Hamilton*, as a reward to whomsoever should discover him. But Mr. *Maccartney* having, after the fatal duel, walked to *Kensington*, and thence to *Chelsea*, went from thence to the Duke of *Richmond's* house in the *Priory-Garden*, near *Whitehall*; lay there that night; and, early the next morning, crossed the *Thames*; and then, in a disguise, went over to *Flanders*.

1712. less of men, gamesters and jockies. But after all, when this objection is thoroughly examined, nothing will appear but a faulty choice of improper amusements; and there were no imputations upon him of any fraudulent practices, tho' such were then not unfamiliar to persons of his rank. Nor did his love for these diversions ever draw him off from the duties of his high station. Complaints have perhaps been too justly made against those, who have the chief power in disposing of places, that the merit of persons of low rank, though very significant, is seldom duly considered. And therefore instances of this kind should not be deemed the peculiar fault of this great man. His letter to the Queen just before his dismissal furnishes us with the fullest ideas of his worth and character; and time hath abundantly verified the representations, which he therein made with dignity and decency, a becoming warmth, and an honest freedom. Such a sense of affairs, and such expressions, could only proceed from a mind truly great and truly good.

The Duke of Marlborough returns to his country in 1712.

Upon his death the Duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea. He went away in the end of November, and his Duchess followed him in the beginning of February following. This was variously censured; some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of his country; and they represented it as the effect of fear, with too anxious a care to secure himself. Others were glad he was free out of ill hands; whereby, if the Nation should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to assist the Elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in by all our military men; whereas, if he had staid in England, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; but now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it.

There were two suits begun against him: The one was for the two and a half per cent. which the foreign Princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account has been given. The other was for arrears due to the builders of *Blenheim-House*. The Queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the Acts of Parliament, which confirmed the grant of *Wood-*

stock to him and his heirs, it is said the Queen built the house for him. Yet now, that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of 30,000 *l.* the Queen refused to pay any more, and set them upon suing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were staid, which gave occasion to people to imagine, that the Ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect paid to a man, whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot, only to render his stay in England uneasy to him.

The Duke set out for *Dover* the 24th of November; embarked on board the *Norib-Britain* packet-boat; and, on the 1st of December, landed at *Ostend*, under a triple discharge of all the cannon on the ramparts. At his landing, he was received by General *Cadogan* and Brigadier *de Caris*, Governor of the place, and conducted by a vast concourse of people to Captain *Brown's*, where he dined. He supped with the Governor; lay that night at the Burgomaster's; and, the next day, set out for *Antwerp*. He was received with extraordinary marks of respect in all the Dutch garrisons, particularly at *Maastricht*, from whence he repaired to *Aix la Chapelle*. But General *Cadogan* paid dear for the civilities he shewed the Duke, being soon after dismissed from all his employments.

Upon the death of Duke *Hamilton*, it was for some days uncertain, who should succeed him as Ambassador to the Court of France, the Lord *Bolingbroke* being very much against the Duke of *Shrewsbury's* being employed in that station; but, however, he was named by the Queen for that employment, and went over to France in the end of December. The same yacht, which carried him to *Calais*, brought over the Duke d'Aumont, the French Ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profuse expence, throwing handfuls of money out of his coach, as he went about the streets. He was not thought a man of business, and seemed to employ himself chiefly in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himself acceptable to the Nation.

On the 20th of November, the Earl of *Stratford* was sent back to the *Hague* with the French plan, which came to be called the Queen's new plan of peace (1). The substance of this plan of peace is contained in the conclusion of what the Earl said to the States. *Annals of Q. Anne.*

(1) A Deputation being made to him on the 8th of December, N. S. (to whom were added the Penitentiary and the Register *Fagel*) the Earl of *Stratford* assured them, 'That he was never more pleased with being there than on this occasion, as wishing nothing more, than to see the antient friendship and good correspondence between her Majesty and that State revived; and flattering himself, that he was charged with orders and instructions, which tended to procure a good peace for all Europe, and the firm security of that State; so a solid and lasting friendship and correspondence might thereby be established between her Majesty and their High Mightinesses. That he could not forbear saying, he wished the love of war, and the private interests of some persons, had never given occasion for a colonels in that friendship, which might have proved, and still might prove fatal to that State, if the last offers now to be made on the part of her Majesty should not be accepted. That the reflecting on what had passed might serve to prevent inconveniences for the

future, since the refusal to agree to the suspension of arms proposed by her Majesty might have brought ruin on that State, and had cost them so dear; and that there was reason to fear much greater evils, in case their High Mightinesses should now refuse to conclude the peace jointly with her Majesty. That the last proposition or overture about peace made by their High Mightinesses, contained one point, which was contrary to the engagements her Majesty had before entered into; namely, that *Sicily* should be given to the Duke of *Savoy*. That, as to some other points, insurmountable obstacles had now arisen, which might have been got over, had not so strong opposition been made to her Majesty's measures, and had not her Majesty been constrained to agree separately to a suspension of arms. That the irresolution of that State had been attended by very unhappy accidents; and therefore her Majesty was very desirous they would at length come to fix upon some propositions, reasonable in themselves, and of such a nature, that, in the un-

lucky

1712. said to the Deputies of the *States* and the Pensionary, 'Pressing for a speedy resolution, whether the *States* were willing or not to sign the peace jointly with her Majesty, immediately and without delay, for otherwise her Majesty would be obliged to sign her peace, without waiting for them to come into it any longer than a fortnight or three weeks at farthest. That her Majesty, assuring herself that the *States* would not delay to conclude the peace with her, would procure *Tournay* for them, which, with many other places, were not to be expected from *France*, if the Queen should sign her peace separately. That, as to the Empire, there would be no alteration in what is contained in the Queen's speech relating thereto, nor in any thing with respect to the Emperor, only that *Sardinia* should be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that the Duke of *Savoy* should have *Sicily*. That her Majesty was very desirous to have the concurrence of the *States* in all that related to that Duke, as well as to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and to oblige the Emperor to consent to the neutrality of *Italy*, and to withdraw his troops from *Catalonia*. That she further desired, that the Plenipotentiaries of the *States* at *Ulrecht* might be furnished with full powers to conclude forthwith the new treaty of Barrier.' This new Barrier treaty, of which he delivered a copy to Register *Fagel*, and by which the former was to be set aside, was designed for drawing the *States* in the more. By it the *States* were to maintain the Succession to the Crown, when required by the Queen, but not otherwise. This gave still new occasion for jealousy. For,

whereas, by the former treaty, they were strictly bound to maintain the Succession, so that they were obliged to oppose any attempts they saw made against it, they were by this treaty obliged to stay till they were sent to: And, if our Ministers should come to entertain ill designs that way, they would take care no notice should be given to the *States*.

The new plan being communicated to the *States* of the respective provinces, the members of those assemblies were variously affected. The cession of *Tournay*, after the Treasurer and Secretary in *England* had put *France* upon insisting to have it restored, was a great bait to the *Dutch*; and the threat, that they would lose it, with several other places, if the Queen signed her peace separately, changed the minds of many of them, and inclined them to give a favourable ear to the Lord *Strafford's* proposals. That Lord went incognito to *Amsterdam*, where he had several successful Conferences with the leading Magistrates. *Amsterdam* has always great influence on the *States* of *Holland*, as the *States* of *Holland* have on the *States-General*, and the disposition of that city is generally a rule for the cities and provinces in the affairs of war and peace. But the *States* of *Ulrecht* (where the Bishop of *Bristol* was not idle in the absence of Lord *Strafford*) were the first that consented to the new plan for the Peace and the Barrier; and nine days after the *States* of *Holland* did the same; by which time the other provinces had transmitted their several opinions to the *States-General* on that subject. All of them were unanimous

The *States* consent to it.

Dec. 29.
N. S.

lucky conjuncture, wherein affairs now stood, they might be obtained of *France*. That her Majesty had given him permission to declare further, that he well knew, her Majesty was determined to insist upon and even to procure from *France*, the cession of *Tournay*, to strengthen the Barrier of that State with a place of so great importance; but that he knew likewise, that her Majesty's conduct in this matter would wholly depend upon that of the *States*: And that, after the making so considerable a step in their favour, it was expected, that on their part, they should forthwith concur with her Majesty in concluding the peace, without starting new objections, and without making other demands. And that as soon as that State should declare themselves in an authentic manner, so that her Majesty could depend upon it; then her Majesty would cause a declaration to be made in full Congress, that the article of the cession of *Tournay* should be one of the conditions of peace *sine qua non*. That he was likewise to inform their High Mightinesses, That the King of *France* had made very strong Instances for his Ally, the Elector of *Bavaria*; and that the least, which his most Christian Majesty pretended to ask for him, was, that the said Elector should continue in the possession of *Lucemburg*, *Namur*, and *Charleroy*; subject however to the terms of the Barrier for the *States-General*, till the said Elector were restored to the Electorate of *Bavaria*, (exclusive of the *Upper Palatinate*) and placed in the rank and dignity of ninth Elector. That the King of *France* would also propose, that the Kingdom of *Sardinia* be given to that Elector, for effacing, by the title of King, the disgrace and mortification of being degraded from the rank of first Elector: And that her Majesty judged, that this point might be granted; that so the possession of *Tournay* may be secured to the *States*, and a peace made, which will be sure and lasting. That he was also to represent to their High Mightinesses, in her Majesty's name, that her Majesty was desirous both to re-establish and to maintain an intire union between Her and that State;

and hoped and assuredly believed that their High Mightinesses were of the same sentiments with her in this matter. That therefore, it was necessary, without any loss of time, to remove all, that that State might seem to have gained, either to the immediate prejudice, or to the future danger, of her Majesty's and her Kingdoms interest. That he had brought with him a plan of a new treaty of Succession and Barrier; and must insist, that it might be signed before the conclusion of the peace. That, upon a discussion of the now-existing Barrier-Treaty, he would make it appear to the Ministers of this State, that many things were therein inserted, which in *England* were looked upon as disadvantageous to her Majesty's subjects, and which certainly could not be reconciled either to the letter, or the design of the Grand Alliance; nor were conformable to any principles, upon which the present Confederacy was made, and the War begun. That he would further shew, that the alterations and additions now proposed, were only such, as were necessary to rectify the mistakes, and explain what was dubious, and to supply some omissions in that treaty, and to take away some obstructions thence arising to the commerce of *Great-Britain*. That, the particular guaranty of the Succession and Barrier being thus explained and rectified, it would not only be an additional security to both Nations, and be cordially executed, whenever the occasion should happen, but would unite the two Nations in stricter bonds of friendship and affection: Whereas, on the other hand, that State could not but expect a slow execution of that Treaty, which, by the *British* Nation, had been declared dishonourable and disadvantageous to it. And, in short, that to pretend to hold the said Nation under an engagement of such a nature as this, could have no other effect, than to foment jealousy, and misunderstandings, which, one time or other, might break out into an open rupture. That, among the terms of the new plan, the fourth article of the treaty of Barrier imported, that her Majesty consented to the *States* putting garrisons, providing, changing, augmenting,

1712. nimous in one point, to come into the Queen's measures, but every Province (except *Utrecht*) gave their consent with some restrictions. Upon this the *States* wrote a letter to the Queen, signifying their resolution to enter into her measures, and to conclude and sign a peace jointly with her, as also to take with her new engagements on the Protestant Succession and Barrier treaty. However they desired her to interpose for restoring *Strasbourg* to the Empire, for adding *Condé* to their Barrier, and for settling the commerce on the foot of the ancient Tariff*; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the Emperor: But things were so fixed between the Courts of *France* and *Great-Britain*, that there was no room for intercession. The demand of *Strasbourg* was rejected by the *French* with so positive an air, that the *British* Court did not move it any more; nor did it appear that we obtained any one condition of the *French*, but what was offered in their own project.

* Of 1664.
The Barrier Treaty signed.

In conclusion, the *States* were forced to yield in every particular; and then our Ministers, to give some seeming content to the Nation, and to bring the *States* into some confidence with them, ordered the new Barrier Treaty to be signed: And it was given out by their creatures, that the *French* were highly offended at their signing this; making it previous to a general peace, and a sort of guaranty for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first Barrier Treaty, the Ministers came into a new one, which, though not so secure as the former,

yet was liable to all the objections, which were made against that (1).

Soon after the signing of the Barrier Treaty, the *King* the *Prussian* Ministers at *Utrecht* received advice, that their *King*, who for some time had been indisposed, but afterwards was thought out of danger, had a relapse, and his distemper increased to such a degree, that on the 25th of February, about noon, he expired as he was speaking to the Prince his Son, and some of his Ministers; having preserved his senses to the very last. He was in the sixty-sixth year of his age, the twenty-fifth of his Government, as Elector of *Brandenburg*, and the thirteenth of his reign as King of *Prussia*. Four days before his death he gave a signal instance of his compassion for the persecuted Protestants of *France*, whom he recommended to the Queen of *Great-Britain*'s protection by a very moving and affectionate letter. He was a virtuous man, and full of zeal in the matters of religion. He raised above two hundred new churches in his dominions. He was weak, and much in the power of his Ministers and Flatterers; but was so apt to hearken to whippers, that he changed twice the whole set of his Ministry. His assuming the title of a King, and his affecting an extraordinary magnificence in his Court, brought a great charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe master to himself, and set him on many pretensions, chiefly those relating to the Prince of *Friesland*, which were not thought well grounded. He was succeeded

augmenting, or diminishing them, as they should think fit, in the following places; namely, *Furnes*, *Fort Knocque*, *Ypres*, *Menin*, the town and castle of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Charleroy*, the town and castle of *Namur*, the castle of *Ghent*, the forts *Pearl*, *Philip*, and *Damme*: That fort *St. Dhona* being joined to the fortifications of *Slois* shall be yielded in propriety to the *States*; and that the fort of *Rodenhuysen*, on this side of *Ghent*, shall be razed. That in the ninth article it is stipulated, that all the revenues of the places to be yielded up by *France*, which did not belong to the Crown of *Spain*, at the time of the death of King *Charles II.* shall be given to the *States*, towards maintaining the Barrier, except only so much as is necessary for the civil Government of the said towns, places, and castellanies; as also a million of guilders yearly out of the clearest revenues of the rest of the *Spanish Netherlands*. That what related to *Bon*, *Huy*, and *Liege*, should be settled with the Ministers of the Emperor and the Empire: But that her Majesty's opinion was, that the first of those places should be garrisoned by the Imperialists, and the other two by the *States*. That, in the last place, notwithstanding all the provocations, and all the delays on the part of that *State*, the Queen had hitherto keep the Negotiation open: That her Majesty thought she had retarded it long enough, and possibly too long in good policy. That therefore the offers, which her Majesty now made by him, were her ultimate resolutions: And that this was the last time she would address herself to their High Mightinesses, in case they should form new delays, and not answer her Majesty's good intentions for their own interests. That, in the mean while, her Majesty had judged herself obliged in consideration of the great services done by the Duke of *Savoy* for the common cause, and of the danger, to which he was exposed by his firm adherence thereunto, to take care, not only for his security, but likewise for his grandeur, by procuring for him *Sicily*, and the tracts of the country on this side the *Alps*; which were necessary to secure *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, and to cover *Piedmont*. That his Succession, after that of King *Philip*, was acknowledged by the renunciation

That her Majesty desired the concurrence of this *State* in all that had been promised to his Royal Highness; and that her Majesty desired likewise, that the *States* should join with her, to oblige the Emperor to a neutrality for *Italy*, and to withdraw his troops from *Catalonia*: And that her Majesty was resolved to make the neutrality a condition of transporting the said troops, which her Majesty would do at her own expence; for, without that neutrality, the Emperor might disturb all *Italy*, and particularly the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of his treaty in the year 1703; one of the Imperial Ministers having already threatened a Minister of the Duke of *Savoy*, therewith, which would certainly engage the Queen and the *States* in the troubles and wars in *Italy*. Then the Earl of *Stratford* communicated to the Deputies an answer, on the part of her Majesty, to the last memorial of the Emperor's Minister in *England*, by which her Majesty's sentiments in this matter were confirmed. His Lordship further represented, 'That her Majesty, being informed of the present disorders in the *Spanish Netherlands*, had sent over the Earl of *Orerry* to the *Hague*, to redress them, to concert thereupon with the Deputies of this *State*, and to resume the Administration in common with their High Mightinesses Deputies, and to keep the same, till the Emperor should accept the *Netherlands* on the conditions, which the Queen and their High Mightinesses should agree upon.' Adding, 'That the Earl of *Orerry* had orders not to do any thing in this affair, but according as he should find a disposition in their High Mightinesses to act in concert with the Queen.' *Annals of Queen Anne*.

(1) Those readers, that desire a larger account of what passed at *Utrecht*, may see it in the following particulars:

The Plenipotentiaries of the four associated Circles of *Germany* laid, the same day, a proposition before the *British* Ministers at *Utrecht*, wherein they represented, 'That they entered into the Grand Alliance, upon an invitation of King *William*, by a solemn treaty concluded at *Nordlingen*, and afterwards ratified by the present Queen of *Great-Britain*. That the Circles

had,

1712. in his dignities by his only Son, Father of the present King of Prussia.

The French try to elude their engagements to Great Britain. Rep. of the Com. of Secr.
 Though the treaty of peace was now almost concluded, yet the advantages, which *Great-Britain* was to expect from her endeavours to assist and support the cause of *France*, were in a great measure unsettled and undetermined. *France* began to cavil, and, as Lord *Bolingbroke* said, go back from what the King had promised the Queen; and his Lordship could not be persuaded, as he told Mr. *Prior*, 'That the *French* acted either fairly or wisely. They press us, says he, to conclude, that they may have others at their mercy; and at the same time they chicaned with us concerning the most essential article of all our treaty, and endeavour to elude an agreement made, repeated and confirmed.' The two great points of moment, in dispute, were concerning the fishery at *Newfoundland*, and in what manner the cession of *Cape-Breton* was to be made. The other was about the treaty of commerce. As to the first, it is to be observed, that, in the Queen's instructions to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, he is directed to propose, as the Queen's last resolution, that she will consent to give and yield up to his most Christian Majesty the intire possession and propriety of the Island of *Cape-Breton*; but, with this express condition, that his Majesty shall, on his part, in consideration of the same, relinquish all manner of right to fishing and drying fish on the Coast of *Newfoundland*, or any part, reserved to his subjects by the articles signed at *London* the 27th of September, and 8th of October, 1711.

Several representations were sent backward and forward, shewing the fatal consequences of what was demanded by *France*: And though Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter to Mr. *Prior* of the 19th of January, 1712-13, insisted, that the Queen had never yielded what *France* pretended to,

which then remained an unsurmountable difficulty; yet, in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* of the same date, he tells him, 'if the *French* close with the overture he then made them with regard to the disputes concerning commerce, the Queen is willing to accept the last expedient, proposed by Monsieur de *Torcy* for adjusting our differences about *North America*, and to consent, that the King, in the cession of *Newfoundland*, do reserve to his subjects a right of fishing and drying on the Coast of *Newfoundland* from *Port Riche*, North about, to *Cape Bonavista*.' And here no direction is given concerning *Cape-Breton*, of which the *French* got the intire cession and propriety, although, in the Duke of *Shrewsbury*'s instructions, it is declared, 'That the Queen looked upon *Cape-Breton* to belong to her; and reckoned that Island a part of the ancient territory of *Nova Scotia*, which is by this treaty restored to her. But, if the Duke could not prevail upon them to agree with him in the article of commerce, he was to declare, that neither would the Queen agree with them in their proposition concerning *Newfoundland*.' As to Commerce, the great dispute about it is thus represented in the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*: In *Torcy*'s answer to Lord *Bolingbroke*'s memorial of the 24th of May, 1712, it was, among other things agreed, that *Britain* and *France* should grant to the subjects of each reciprocally the same privileges and advantages, which they shall either of them grant to the subjects of any other Nation whatsoever. Upon this foundation was established the principle of treating and being treated, as *Gens amicitissima*; and, pursuant to this principle, the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to *Holland* (except the four species of merchandize) was likewise to be granted to *England*; and by the eighth and tenth articles of the project of the treaty

1712.

had on their part, punctually performed all the conditions of that treaty, and had borne all the calamities of so bloody and ruinous a war at their own expence, without troubling her Majesty for one penny subsidy, with an entire confidence, that, as she always declared her satisfaction with the firmness and conduct of the Circles, her Majesty would not fail remembering the good services they did the public; and that they should reap the fruits of their labours, sufferings, and expences: But that notwithstanding her Majesty's gracious assurances, they heard with grief, that she persisted in the opinion, that an universal peace might be made, without the Circles enjoying the least comfort or effect of their Alliance; no amends, no barrier, no security; which would bring the utmost desolation upon the Circles, and leave a fatal remembrance to posterity. Wherefore they made their addresses to the justice and goodness of her Majesty, to the wisdom and equity of her Ministers, and to the generosity and honour of the whole *English* Nation, not to abandon so good and faithful Allies, nor leave them in the miserable condition, in which they had been plunged by former treaties. To this representation the *British* Ministers returned the following answer, 'That, if the associated Circles did not obtain all they desired, and all her Majesty could wish them, the blame was by no means to be laid at her door: First, because, during the war, the Empire had very much neglected the prosecution of it on that side; and the Emperor and other Princes and States had been very deficient in furnishing their respective quotas of troops, and other necessities; which if they had done, the war had been long since at an end, and they in possession of that which was now im-

possible to obtain: But that they had let the whole burden of the war to fall upon her Majesty and the *States-General* in *Flanders*; the getting whose money, by exorbitant bargains for their troops they seemed to have more at heart, than the providing their contingents for their own army. That, besides their negligence and remissness in the prosecution of the war, the opposition, they had made to her Majesty's measures for peace, had put it out of her power to serve them. That, when a cessation of arms was found necessary, they were told from her Majesty, that, if they would enter into it, the Allies being united in their counsels, might have obtained from the enemy any thing they could reasonably have insisted upon; but that they rejected that proposal, and deserted her Majesty, to follow Prince *Eugene*'s chimerical projects, which had already been, and might prove more fatal to the common cause, if they did not prevent another campaign by reasonable proposals of peace. That her Majesty's case was therefore very hard, that, while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, some of the Allies acted with almost as much coldness and indifference, as if they had been in peace, or had no concern in the war; and, when she found a peace necessary, they should then only begin to think of war. And, after all, when by this unaccountable way of acting, they had brought themselves into inextricable difficulties, they should cry out, that they were deserted, and endeavour to throw the odium and blame of it upon her. But that, nevertheless, she would still do for the four Circles, as well as for the rest of her Allies, all that she was obliged to by treaty, and whatever more they had, by their conduct, left in her power.' Both from this answer,

answer,

1712.

Jan 19.
O. S.

treaty of commerce it was so settled. But *France*, pretending now, that this Tariff would be too beneficial to the *English*, refused to grant it, till another Tariff should be made in *Great-Britain*, exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby the *British* duties should be reduced as low as theirs were in *France* by that Tariff. 'This (Lord *Bolingbroke* in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury* says) is an open violation of faith; and by this (adds he) they are removing a corner-stone, which was laid early in the foundation of a building brought almost to perfection; the fall whereof must prove at last of as fatal consequence to them as to us.' He confesses, 'I was strangely surprized, when I saw the precedent of the *Ryswick* Treaty quoted, to persuade us to refer our commerce, as the *Dutch* then did theirs, to Commissioners, to be treated of after signing the peace. The behaviour of the *French* on that occasion has given us warning; and it is from thence we have learned, that whatever is referred, is given up; and they must have a mean opinion of those, whom they would persuade to pursue the same method to get the Tariff of 1664, by which the *Dutch* then lost it.' But it is very remarkable, that his Lordship on the 24th of May, had himself proposed, *That, several points relating to commerce, requiring a longer discussion than that crisis would admit, Commissioners should be appointed to settle and adjust the differences.* Indeed, in his letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, he offers an expedient, which was to solve all the difficulties; and tells his Grace, 'I am commanded to acquaint you, that, having fully opened to the *French* Ministers her Majesty's sense of the King's engagements to her upon this head, you are to propose to them, to strike out of the project of the treaty of commerce the ninth and tenth articles, and, instead thereof, insert one to the

effect of that, which I have drawn, and which comes here inclosed.' And, as the acceptance of this amendment was to put an end to all differences, and, at the same time, gave such ample advantages to *France*, the *French* readily agreed to it; and inserted this article *verbatim*, as it was sent, in the treaty of commerce, which makes the ninth article of the treaty, as it now stands, and is the same, which was afterwards rejected by the Parliament. And this article, which has since been so universally condemned, appears to be the work of the *English* Ministry, and the price, for which they sold to *France* the Fishery of *Newfoundland*.

This treatment of *France* could not but give the Ministry the greatest uneasiness, though their apprehensions, lest the circumstances they were in should be known, far exceeded their concern at the disappointment, which *Great-Britain* was like to meet with. They had signed a separate treaty with *France*, in September 1711, upon this single principle, that the interests of *Great-Britain* were in the first place to be adjusted; and, as long as they had this to say, they were unconcerned at all other events. They had gone on for fourteen months together, and acted in every thing as the instruments of *France*, and were at last in danger of being disavowed by *France* in the most essential part of all their treaty. One of the chief inducements and principal conditions, upon which the fatal cessation of arms was granted, was, that no privileges or advantages relating to commerce with *France* shall be yielded to any foreign Nation, which shall not at the same time, be granted to the subjects of her *Britannic* Majesty; but *France* had now reached the full benefit of the suspension, and were at liberty to dispute the principle of *Gens Amicissima*.

In

The cessation of arms prolonged.

Monteleone comes to London. Dec. 5.

The Queen tries to prevent the Prince of Saxony turning Papist.

answer, and the late steps of the *States*, it was generally believed, that the Negotiations at *Utrecht* would speedily be brought to a conclusion: But some unforeseen difficulties, started by the Court of *France*, made it necessary to renew the cessation of arms for four months longer; which was done by an agreement signed at *London* the 26th of November, and *Verfijlles* the 14th of December, N. S.

The Marquis de *Monteleone*, appointed by King *Philip* to be one of his Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, being about this time come to *London*, and the Queen returned from *Windsor* to St. James's, he had the next day a private audience, wherein he told her, 'That his Master had sent him to return her a thousand thanks for the great pains she had been pleased to take to procure peace to *Europe*. And that the whole *Spanish* Nation in particular, owed their lives to her Majesty: for, had the war continued, there was not one true *Spaniard*, who would not have spent the last drop of his blood in his Master's quarrel.' The Queen thanked her Brother, the King of *Spain*, for this compliment, and said, 'She thought herself very happy in being able to contribute to the safety of so brave a Nation, and so loyal a People.'

In the mean time, the Queen being informed, that the Electoral Prince of *Saxony* was expected at *Rome*, in order to make there public profession of the *Papish* Religion, she thought proper to renew her good offices with King *Augustus*, to persuade him to recall his Son out of *Italy*, and dismiss the *Papish* servants about him; and at the same time invited the King of *Prussia*, the Elector of *Hanover*, and the *States-General*, to join their efforts with her's to engage his *Polish* Majesty not to induce his son to change his religion. But all these

endeavours were rendered fruitless by the powerful allurements offered by the *Roman* Catholics to engage the young Prince, namely, the prospect of a marriage between him and one of the Archduchesses, which would open him the way to the Imperial Throne, in case the present Emperor should die without male issue.

The express, sent by Count *Zinzendorf* to *Vienna*, Negotiating with the Queen's last plan of peace, being returned to her at *Utrecht* on the 3d of January, N. S. the Emperor's *Utrecht* Annals.

Plenipotentiaries had, at their own desire a long Conference with those of *Great-Britain*, in which they declared, that their Master was very well disposed to promote a general peace; and the same day they acquainted also the Ministers of the *States* with the Emperor's intentions. The ratifications of a treaty for a suspension of arms between *France* and *Spain* on the one side, and *Portugal* on the other, were now exchanged, having been delivered into the hands of the *British* Plenipotentiaries, who long before this time had little else to do in the Congress, than to act as Mediators. In this capacity they had, on the 8th, a long Conference with the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, in which they delivered to them the draught of a project for bringing the Emperor's home from *Barcelona*, and withdrawing the Imperial troops out of *Catalonia*. On the 15th Count *Zinzendorf* had a long Conference with the *Portuguese* Ministers, about the terms of peace offered by *France* to that Crown, which the Emperor did not entirely approve. The Marthal de *Bieberstein* arriving at *Utrecht*, the 16th, from the Court of *Berlin*, had a long Conference with the Earl of *Strafford*, by particular orders from the King of *Prussia* his Master. The same day the Ministers of *France* were in Conference with those of *Great-Britain*; and the next day Monsieur *Boys*

W. 22

1712-13. In these circumstances were the *English* Ministry in *January* 1712-13; and, to extricate themselves, they gave up all points in dispute in *North America*, and the fishery of *Newfoundland*, upon the single consideration of the ninth article of the treaty of Commerce, which (as will be seen) the Parliament, with a just indignation, rejected. However, to bring *France* to a compliance, even upon these conditions, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, in the same letter, was instructed to prevail with *France* to come to this resolution, without the loss of one moment's time. The Parliament was suddenly to meet; and it would be necessary for the Queen to communicate to both Houses the present state of the Negotiation. The Duke is then to represent to *Torcy*, 'How smoothly every thing would glide along, if the Queen was able to speak of her own interests as absolutely determined with *France*; and, on the other hand, what travels we shall be exposed to, and what confusion may arise, if our Negotiation appears to be still open, and if the secret comes to be divulged, that *France* refuses to make good in the treaty the full effect of former promises to the Queen.' His Lordship having finished what he had to say concerning her Majesty's particular interests, he proceeds upon the general plan of peace, and instructs the Duke what he was to inform the *French* Ministers would be the measure of her Majesty's conduct, and what they might expect from her. 'That as the *French* Ministers desire, that the Queen would precipitate the conclusion of her peace, and leave all the Confederacy at their mercy; they must be told, that, when the mutual interests of *France* and *England* are settled, as they will be, if the propositions contained in the first part of this letter are accepted, the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* shall publicly declare in the Congress, that they are ready to sign with

those of *France*, and shall call upon the Allies to quicken the Negotiations, and conclude without loss of time. But, if they seek unnecessary delays, or make unreasonable demands, her Majesty, who had induced them to treat, will, by the same measures, engage them to conclude, or at least she will sign without them. And, the Queen having once declared her interests to be settled, and her treaty ready to be signed, the general peace becomes from that moment sure, and the remainder of the Negotiation easy. It is therefore wise for the *French* to comply with her Majesty.'

The great distraction, the Ministry was in, appears sufficiently from this long letter of Lord *Bolingbroke's* to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*; but still more, from two letters written by him about this time, and upon this subject, to Mr. *Prior*; one of *January* the 19th, the other of the 22d, O. S. The first was of the same date as his letter to the Duke, wherein he says to Mr. *Prior*, 'I have exhausted all my stock of arguments in the long letter, which, by the Queen's order, I write to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. To you I can only add, we stand upon the brink of a precipice, but the *French* stand there too. Pray tell Monsieur *de Torcy*, from me, that he may get *Robin* and *Harry* hanged; but affairs will soon run back into so much confusion, that he will wish us alive again: To speak seriously, unless the Queen can talk of her interests as determined with *France*; and unless your Court will keep our Allies in the wrong, as they are sufficiently at this time, I foresee inextricable difficulties. My scheme is this: Let *France* satisfy the Queen; and let the Queen immediately declare to her Parliament, and in the Congress, that she is ready to sign; and, at the same time, let the *French* Plenipotentiaries shew a disposition to conclude with all the Allies.'

And

was also with the *British* Ministers, by whose interposition the difference between Monsieur *Mynager* and Count *Rechieren* was brought into a fair way of being accommodated, in order to the resuming of the general Conference. There was also that day a consultation at the Bishop of *Bristol's* house, between the Protestant Ministers, about the abolition of the clause relating to Religion in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*, and the measures to be taken, that the Protestants in *Silesia* and *Hungary* might, for the future, enjoy entire liberty of conscience. The Ministers of *Great-Britain* pressed this affair more earnestly than all the rest, and exclaimed against the Imperial Court for persecuting the Protestants of the Empire and *Hungary*. But they spoke in a less vehement stile of the persecutions, which the Protestants had suffered in *France*. Soon after the *British* Plenipotentiaries conferred with the Imperial Ministers, who seemed at last inclined to come into the Queen's measures for procuring a general peace. To that end, Count *Zinzendorf* drew up some proposals for setting on foot a Negotiation between the Imperial and *French* Ministers, which were delivered to the latter by the Lord Privy-Seal, who the next day acquainted that Count and Baron *Kirchner*, how far they had proceeded in that affair. The Plenipotentiaries of *Prussia* had also a long Conference with the *British* Ministers, in which they expressed their Master's inclination to conclude a peace, whenever the Queen should think fit. On the other hand, the Ministers of *Saxony* returned thanks to the *British* Plenipotentiaries on the behalf of their Master, for the great care that had been taken of his interests; and gave assurances, that they were ready to concur in whatever

No. 72. Vol. IV.

steps the Queen of *Great-Britain* should judge proper for the bringing the peace to a happy conclusion.

All this while the Ministers of the Protestant Powers *Annals* continued their private consultations about the abolition of the clause relating to Religion, in the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*; and were very pressing with the Roman Catholic Ministers on that affair. But the Imperial and *French* Plenipotentiaries (agreed, perhaps, in this point only) found means to draw it out into length, referring it from the one to the other. The former pretended, it was the *French* inserted that clause into the treaty, and therefore ought to get it abolished: To which the *French* answered, 'That, it being an affair, which concerned the Empire, it was the business of the Imperialists to look after it.' The Roman Catholic Ministers of the Empire having demanded, that the Protestants should, by a deputation, communicate to them the resolution they had taken about that affair, the Counts *Wertheren* and *Metternich* were named to represent to them the justice of abolishing that clause, and put them in mind of the disputes, jealousies, and other ill consequences, with which it had been attended in the Empire. Count *Zinzendorf* signified, he was ready to return them an answer on the part of the Emperor; and a meeting being held for that purpose, he assured them, 'That his Master did not intend to oppose the abolition of the clause, but would acquiesce in the relief that should be given to the Protestants in a general treaty of peace.'

The same day the Queen of *Great-Britain's* answer to the letter of the *States-General* arrived at the *Hague*, but, being directed to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, it was not brought to the Assembly of the *States* till the

H h h h

next

1712-13. And then he enumerates the several offers, which he would have *France* to make to the several Allies; and, though these were very general and insufficient, he says, if such overtures as these (made to the Allies) were not instantly accepted, our separate peace would, the Parliament sitting, be addressed for, and approved; and the cause of *France*, for once, become popular in *Britain*. If they were accepted, let Monsieur de *Torcy* sit down, and consider, what a bargain would be made for *France*. Let him remember his journey to the *Hague*, and compare the plans of 1709 and 1712. Monsieur de *Torcy* has a confidence in you: Make use of it once for all upon this occasion, and convince him thoroughly, that we must give a different turn to our Parliament and our People, according to their resolution at this crisis. The next letter from Lord *Bolingbroke* to Mr. *Prior*, was upon the same subject, and of the same strain: 'We are now (*says he*) at the true crisis of our disease: We die at once, or recover at once. Let *France* depart from that shameful expedient by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages, which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well; otherwise, By God, both they and we are undone. The Queen can neither delay the meeting of the Parliament longer than the 3d, nor speak to the Houses till we hear from you. My compliments to Monsieur de *Torcy*. Let him know, that, if they do not agree with the Queen, I may, perhaps, be a *Refugee*. If I am I promise beforehand to behave myself better in *France*, than the *French Refugees* do here. Make the *French* ashamed of their sneaking chicanery. By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or, which is worse, like Attornies.'

As all these public transactions passed through the hands of Lord *Bolingbroke*, who, although he was Secretary of State, acted extra-provinci-

ally in all his correspondence with *France*; so it appears, at the same time that he was not the only person in the secret, but that a greater influence chiefly directed and governed all these Councils; and the Lord-Treasurer was in this transaction, as well as in the affair of *Tournay*, the chief Conductor; as may very reasonably be concluded from several letters, which Mr. *Prior* wrote about this time to his Lordship, though that Gentleman did not think fit to produce afterwards to the Committee of Secrecy, one letter from his Lordship to him. It is observed, that these letters to the Lord-Treasurer were chiefly wrote on the same days, that Mr. *Prior* sent dispatches to the Secretaries of State, giving an account of his proceedings, and desiring the Queen's directions upon them; but, it seems, he did not think that sufficient, without knowing his Lordship's particular pleasure upon them. Mr. *Prior*'s dispatch to the Secretary's Office, giving a full account of the present State of the treaty, together with several papers, memorials, and propositions relating to the points in dispute, and concerning Commerce and *North-America*, is dated December 28, 1712. The day after Mr. *Prior* wrote to the Lord-Treasurer, and told him, 'I have written a book instead of a letter to my Lord *Bolingbroke*, which I desire your Lordship would be pleased to run over, that, knowing what I have done, you may honour me with your commands as to what I am to do.' He hoped his proposal about *Newfoundland*, which he sends his Lordship inclosed, was such as may terminate that affair to our advantage; and, if his Lordship was of the same opinion, he should have intire satisfaction.

On the 8th of *January*, 1712-13, Mr. *Prior*, having sent another full account in form to the Secretary of State, wrote the same day to the Lord-Treasurer, that he had been in Conference with

next day, when it was read there, and also in the Assembly of the States of the Province of *Holland*, where-in were the following paragraphs:

'By the real and solid proofs we have given of our friendship for your State; by the continued efforts we have made to defeat the intrigues of those, who, either through private passion or interest, have endeavoured to divide you from us; and lastly, by the grief we have been afflicted with, when any attempt has been made to break the good intelligence, that was between us and your republic, it will be easy for you to judge of the satisfaction, which your letter of the 29th inst has given us.

Our conduct has ever run upon the constant principle of a sincere desire of preserving the balance of *Europe*, and to procure, not only the safety, but also the augmentation of your State.

Your resolution to enter with us into new engagements about the Succession and Barrier, to make a new treaty thereupon, and to conclude and sign it before the peace, cannot but be attended with the best consequences. And, when all occasions of dispute about the reciprocal interests of the two Nations shall be removed, we shall then be in a condition to concert with you the providing for those of our Allies, and to treat more effectually with the Potentates against whom we have made war.

The declaration you have lately made, that you are resolved to join with us, to enter into the measures we have taken for a peace, and to conclude and sign it jointly, and at the same time with us, will, in some measure, make amends for the misfortunes, that have

been occasioned by the disunion of the Allies, and prevent those, that were to be feared for the future.

We shall take your interests to heart equally with our own; and we shall be ready to do all that lies in our power to advance them, being sorry, that we are not in a condition to support both yours, and those of our common Allies, as effectually as we could have done the last spring. Done at our Court at *St. James's* the 7th of *January*, 1712-13.

ANNE REGINA.

This letter quickened the pace of the Negotiation; but, previous to the general Conferences, it was absolutely necessary, that the differences which had so long obstructed them, should be adjusted; which, by the mediation of the *British* Ministers, was at last brought to pass on the 29th of *January* in this manner: Three of the Plenipotentiaries of the States, viz. Monsieur *Vanderdussen*, the Baron de *Renfoude*, and Count de *Kniphuyzen*, went to the Marshal d'*Uxelles's* Houle; where, in the presence of the three Plenipotentiaries of *France*, they were to declare, that the dispute between Monsieur *Mefnager* and Count de *Rechteren* had happened without the knowledge or approbation of the States-General. But Monsieur *Vanderdussen*, who was the spokesman, had scarce with gravity pronounced these words, *Our Masters, the States-General*, when the Marshal d'*Uxelles* interrupted him, and told him, 'Sir, the King, my Master, is thoroughly persuaded, that Messieurs the States-General had no knowledge of Monsieur de *Rechteren's* behaviour; and that they have too much respect for his Majesty to approve it.' This difficulty

1712-13. with the *French* Ministers, to adjust the points undecided between her Majesty and the King of *France*; that he had sent Lord *Boltingbroke* the result of those Conferences, as well what was agreed to by the *French* Ministers, as his own remarks upon each particular head, and says, 'I hope your Lordship will find the whole adjusted so far to your satisfaction, as that our Plenipotentiaries may receive their final orders. I will not doubt but the whole affair of *Newfoundland* is adjusted to your desire. There were some points insisted upon by our Plenipotentiaries, which the Ministers here thought very unreasonable; and to say a truth to my Lord-Treasurer plainly, which I a little mitigate to my Lord *Boltingbroke*, I think not very reasonable.' He then gives an account that *Torcy* was surprized, that the *Dutch* had but in part complied with what the Earl of *Strafford* declared to them to be her Majesty's resolutions, to which he hopes the Queen will send such an answer, as may cut off all delays; and, upon this occasion, Mr. *Prior* says to the Lord-Treasurer, 'This I only write to your Lordship, it being a thing, that should not be called in Council; and I have promised that the King should have her Majesty's answer upon it, as he desires.' January 19, 1712-13, N. S. Mr. *Prior* writes again to the Lord-Treasurer, and acquaints him, 'That the Duke of *Shrewsbury* now sends to Lord *Boltingbroke* the substance of their last Conferences with Monsieur de *Torcy*, upon the subject of *Newfoundland*; to which I take leave to add, that your friend *Torcy* is in the last concern to find the Duke's instructions so strict in a

point, which cannot be given up by *France*, at 1712-13. at a time, when we well hoped that difference was adjusted. Pray, my Lord, let us have your distinct and positive orders hereupon by the first. I send your Lordship inclosed a copy of my letter to my Lord *Boltingbroke*; and the Duke of *Shrewsbury* desires, that he may have your orders to finish. I believe *Torcy* writes himself to you.' On the 23d of the same month, N. S. Mr. *Prior* writes once more to the Lord-Treasurer, and tells him, 'I have already wrote so amply to your Lordship on the two great points of *Newfoundland*, and the Tariff of 1664; and so expect daily your last orders upon these two points, that I will not trouble you at present further than to say, if these two are settled, the peace may be determined here to-morrow, and sent the next day to *Utrecht* to be signed.' And, on the 2d of *February*, Mr. *Prior* writes to his Lordship, 'If I desire you to write to me, it is, because I really think it for the Queen's service, that in this great post, where you have put me, I may be able to say, I have the immediate commands of my Lord-Treasurer; and, in regard to that friendship, with which you have so publicly honoured me, and which, by the bye, does all the business here.' And, on *February* the 4th, 'I shall direct myself as you shall be pleased to instruct me privately.'

If the Committee of Secreey had found among the papers delivered by Mr. *Prior*, the Lord-Treasurer's answers to these letters, it is highly probable, that it would have appeared from them, how far the giving up the fishery of *Newfoundland*, and the accepting of the ninth article

difficulty being removed, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries went to the Lord Bishop of *Bristol's* House, where they were in Conference with him and the Earl of *Strafford* from eleven at night till between four and five the next morning, when the new treaty of Barrier and Succession was signed by the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, and those of the *States-General*; and, about an hour after, Mr. *Harrison* was sent over to *England* with it, for her Majesty's ratification, and approbation of some explanations, that were inserted by the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries. The next day, *January* the 31st, the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries had for the first time a private Conference with those of *France* at the Bishop of *Bristol's* House, where an agreement was proposed concerning the transporting of the Emperess, the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and the amnesty for the *Catalans*: So that all things seemed now to tend to a general peace.

On the 4th of *February*, N. S. the Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Prussia* met, for the first time, at the Lord Privy-Seal's House, and the following days the Ministers of the Emperor and the Queen of *Great-Britain* had several Conferences together, in which Count *Zinzendorf* communicated a second plan, which was said to come very near the contents of the Queen's speech from the Throne. The 9th, the Plenipotentiaries of *France* were in Conference with those of *Portugal*, and afterwards with the Ministers of *Savoy*, at the House of the Lord Privy-Seal. But the Negotiations were for some days put to a stand by the sudden departure of the Abbot de *Polignac*, who the night between the 10th and 11th of *February* set out for the Court of *France*, on pretence of his being lately named Cardinal by the Pope, at the recommendation, as was said, of the Chevalier de *St. George*. Before his departure, he received from the *British* Plenipotentiaries, a proposal of the Emperor and Empire, importing, 'That *Catalonia* should be evacuated, upon condition, that the inhabitants had a full pardon, and a confirmation of all their privileges. That the Elector of *Bavaria* should have

the title of King, but not the Island of *Sardinia*; and that his Electorate (but not the *Upper Palatinate*) should be yielded to his Electoral Highness's Son; so that he himself should not set foot in the Empire. That the Electorate of *Bavaria* should be the last of the nine. That *Landau* should remain to the Empire: And, in the last place, that *France* should demolish *Saar Louis*, and several other places: Which Monsieur de *Polignac* promised to lay before the King his Master.

The Plenipotentiaries of *France* had almost from the beginning of the Negotiations demanded passports of the *Dutch* for the admission of the Duke of *Osuna*, the Marquis de *Montelone*, and the Count de *Bergheek*, to the Congress, as Plenipotentiaries of Philip V. King of *Spain*; which the *States-General* had still declined to grant, for fear of disobliging the Emperor, with whom it was their interest to keep firmly united. But the Imperial Ministers having by this time consented, in their Master's name, to the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and Neutrality in *Italy*, which was a kind of tacit acknowledgment of King *Philip's* title to the Crown of *Spain*, and the *West-Indies*; the *States-General*, by the mediation of the *British* Ministers, were at last prevailed with to grant the passports. The passports, which the *French* Plenipotentiaries demanded also for the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, were granted with less difficulty, and delivered to them about the middle of *March*.

The Courier, sent to the *French* Court, being come back to *Utrecht*, the Negotiation for evacuating *Catalonia*, and for a cessation of arms in *Italy*, was on the 19th of *February* set again on foot. On the 27th the Imperial and *French* Ministers were together in Conference, in the presence of the *British*, by whose mediation, they at last agreed upon the subject of evacuating *Catalonia*, and a Convention was ordered to be drawn up for that purpose. On the second of *March*, the Ministers of *France* and *Savoy* conferred about a Convention for the Neutrality in *Italy*. See *Annals of Queen Anne*.

1712-13. article of the treaty of Commerce, was owing to his immediate orders. It seems however to be a very extraordinary proceeding, that the Queen's Ministers in *France* acting by her authority, and under her instructions, should apply to the Lord-Treasurer for his distinct and positive orders to release them from the Queen's positive instructions, because they are thought by the *French* Ministers to be too strict. And if it be a doubt by whose order or advice it was procured, so much is certain, that these applications had their desired effect; and the *Newfoundland* fishery was given up; and the advantages, which *Great-Britain* was to receive from being treated upon the foot of *Gens Amicissima*, were all buried in the ninth article of the treaty of Commerce.

The difficulties relating to *North America* and Commerce being in this manner determined, *France* was wholly intent upon concluding and signing with *Great-Britain*, without taking in the rest of the Allies; and in this they had the good fortune to have the concurrence and assistance of the *British* Ministry. By good management the dispute raised at *Utrecht* had been so ordered, that the Ministers of the Allies could not obtain any Conference with those of *France*, till the points in difference were adjusted between *England* and *France*; by which means it was *February* 1712-13, before the *Dutch* and *French* were suffered to meet. And, it being now the business of *France* to conclude with *England* separately, the temper the *French* Plenipotentiaries appeared in, made all business so impracticable, that the *British* Plenipotentiaries were under a necessity of complaining of it to Lord *Bolingbroke*, and to acquaint him, *February* 3, 1712-13: 'The *French* appear so very uncomplying in every point debated, and so very froward and positive in their refusal of a great many things, which the *Dutch* took to be granted and settled, as well by her Majesty's speech, as the declarations lately made by Lord *Stratford*, that the disappointment they met with, put them into the greatest consternation. Reason was also given us to participate in these contents, and to regard several things, which appear contrary to what her Majesty has declared, as very unfair: Yet all that could be said, prevailed not.' But it is not surprizing, that the instances of the *British* Plenipotentiaries had so little effect with the *French*, who then expected, that orders should be sent to the *British* Ministers immediately to sign the peace, which, according to their expectation, were sent *February* 20, 1712-13, by *St. John*, Brother to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, to conclude and sign with *France* as soon as the Duke of *Shrewsbury* should send them advice, that the propositions he was to make at the *French* Court were accepted; and, on the 28th, Lord *Bolingbroke* with the utmost joy acquainted them, 'That he had received from the Duke of *Shrewsbury* the expected returns, and which he doubted not would have reached their Lordships. He had therefore, without staying to enter into any other detail, dispatched a Courier to them, to renew those instructions, which he hoped were clearly enough signified in those papers, which his brother carried. He acquaints them, that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* had declared, that their Lordships had orders, in case the *French* complied, as they now actually have done, to sign her Majesty's peace with *France* without farther delay; and that his Grace had

also declared, that in this case her Majesty would open the Parliament, by the telling them, she had made a peace with *France*. These two considerations, his Lordship says, were perhaps the most prevalent inducements to the *French* Court, to come roundly into her Majesty's propositions; and the Queen thinks herself, for this reason, still the more obliged punctually and religiously to fulfil these promises. The latter she will herself perform on *Tuesday*; and the former, it is her positive command, that your Lordships make good as fast as the necessary forms of preparing and executing the instruments will allow. And his Lordship looking upon it now, that the chief difficulties, relating to the treaty of peace, were removed; as likewise in the treaty of commerce, by the article drawn by himself, and proposed by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, he gives them positive orders, without any delay, to execute the treaties of peace and commerce between *Great-Britain* and *France*. On the 7th, and on the 20th of *March*, O. S. Lord *Bolingbroke* repeats these positive orders, and insists, that the peace should be concluded with that precipitation, which her Majesty would have used.

The Court of *France*, being acquainted with the Duke's these good dispositions of the *English* Ministry, of Berry and Orleans, and re-nounce the Crown of Spain, Annals. thought proper now to comply with the Duke of *Shrewsbury's* demand, that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* should make a solemn renunciation to the Crown of *Spain* in the Parliament of *Paris*, in like manner as King *Philip* had renounced the Crown of *France* in the Cortez of *Spain*. This was solemnly done on the 15th of *March*; and, at the same time, were erased out of the Registers of the Parliament the Letters Patents, by which the rights of the King of *Spain* to the Crown of *France* were preserved, when he set out for *Madrid*. It will be necessary now to turn a little to the affairs of the North.

The favourable turn, which towards the end of the year 1712, attended the *Swedish* affairs, of both in the North of *Germany* and in *Turkey*, as it prefigured new dangers to the Empire, and made the *States* and the Emperor uneasy, was, no doubt, a powerful motive to incline them to hearken to the instances of the *British* Ministers, to come into the Queen's measures. The *Muscovites*, *Danes*, and *Saxons*, who miscarried in their design to reduce *Pomerania* in the year 1711, seemed confident to have taken such measures in 1712, as to be able to drive the *Swedes* from their territories on this side the *Baltic*: But their not going into the field so soon as they intended, proved the cause of their disappointment. The *Muscovites* and *Saxons* had undertaken to conquer *Pomerania*; but through the misunderstanding of their Generals (some being for the siege of *Stralsund*, others of *Stetin*, and others again for the attack of the *Isle of Rugen*) the whole campaign was spent in fruitless debates, and all that the *Czar* and King *Augustus* could do at last, was, to quarter their troops in *Pomerania*, as they had done the year before, in order to keep the *Swedes* in awe.

The King of *Denmark* made a better use of his time, he besieged and took *Staden*, and reduced the Duchy of *Bremen*. After which, upon slight pretensions, he obliged the City of *Hamburg* to pay him three hundred thousand *N. S.* Crowns, which proved a seasonable supply to subsist his troops. The *Northern* Allies seem-

1712-13.

The Duke of Berry and Orleans re-nounce the Crown of Spain. Annals.

* See p. 295.

The affairs of the North. of the year 1712, attended the Swedish affairs, of both in the North of Germany and in Turkey, as it prefigured new dangers to the Empire, and made the States and the Emperor uneasy, was, no doubt, a powerful motive to incline them to hearken to the instances of the British Ministers, to come into the Queen's measures. The Muscovites, Danes, and Saxons, who miscarried in their design to reduce Pomerania in the year 1711, seemed confident to have taken such measures in 1712, as to be able to drive the Swedes from their territories on this side the Baltic: But their not going into the field so soon as they intended, proved the cause of their disappointment. The Muscovites and Saxons had undertaken to conquer Pomerania; but through the misunderstanding of their Generals (some being for the siege of Stralsund, others of Stetin, and others again for the attack of the Isle of Rugen) the whole campaign was spent in fruitless debates, and all that the Czar and King Augustus could do at last, was, to quarter their troops in Pomerania, as they had done the year before, in order to keep the Swedes in awe.

The King of Denmark made a better use of his time, he besieged and took Staden, and reduced the Duchy of Bremen. After which, upon slight pretensions, he obliged the City of Hamburg to pay him three hundred thousand N. S. Crowns, which proved a seasonable supply to subsist his troops. The Northern Allies seem-

1712-13. ing contented with these successes, had sent their troops into quarters, when an unexpected motion of the *Swedes* obliged them once more to take the field. Count *Steenbock*, who some time before was arrived in the Island of *Rügen*, being sensible of the impossibility of subsisting his forces in the narrow compass of land he was possessed of, resolved to look for quarters in the country of *Mecklenburgh*; and succeeded in his design without the loss of a man. The *Northern Confederates* resolved to draw their forces from their lines, in order to oblige the *Swedish* General to return into *Pomerania*, where they knew he could not maintain his army. But when it was generally expected, that both armies were ready to engage, a cessation of arms, for fifteen days, was on a sudden concluded between the *Polish* and *Swedish* Generals. This suspension expiring, the troops were all again in motion. The King of *Denmark*, who appeared against the truce, marched five days before from *Holstein* towards *Mecklenburgh*, in order to join his Allies, and endeavour to fight the *Swedes*. But Count *Steenbock*, with great foresight, resolved to prevent, and engage the *Danes*, before they were reinforced; which he did near *Gadebusz*, where the *Danish* troops and some *Saxon* cavalry suffered almost a total defeat. The *Swedish* General was not wanting to improve this success; and entering *Holstein*, not only raised great contributions, but, in a barbarous manner, and upon frivolous pretences, burnt the *Danish* open town of *Altena* near *Hamburg*. At the same time the *Swedes* were animated by reports from *Constantinople*, of the war being like to break out again between the *Turks* and the *Czar*, on pretence, that the *Czar* had not performed one of the most essential articles of the late peace, namely, the withdrawing of his forces from the territories of *Poland*. This new rupture was attended with the disgrace of the Grand Vizir, who was the third *Turkish* Minister of that rank, who fell a sacrifice to the intrigues of the King of *Sweden*, and of those, who supported his interest at the *Ottoman Porte*. The King of *Sweden* had all the assistance the *French* could give him in soliciting this war, which gave the Emperor great apprehensions. He was afraid disorders in *Hungary* might follow upon it, which would defeat the measures he had taken to settle matters in that Kingdom, so that, being safe on that side, he might turn his whole force against *France*, and, by that means, encourage the *States* to continue the war. Those in *Holland*, who pressed the accepting the offers that *France* made them, represented that as a thing not possible to be supported: The promises of the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire had so often failed them, that they said, they could not be relied on: And the distractions in the *North* made them apprehend, that those Princes might be obliged to recall their troops, which were in the service of the *States*.

The sudden and unexpected prosperity of the King of *Sweden* soon came to an end. Whilst he was using all possible means to engage the *Turk* into a new war with the *Czar*, the party at the *Porte*, that opposed it, studied to get rid of him and his importunities. By his intractable obstinacy he threw himself into great dangers. Orders were sent him to march back into his Kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a safe passage to it; but he treated the per-

son that was sent with this message, with great insolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the *Swedes* that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A force much superior to his, was brought against him; but he maintained himself so resolutely in his house, that some hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: The *Turks*, upon that, set fire to the house, whereupon he was forced to surrender, and was put under a guard; and most of his *Swedes* were sold for slaves; he was carried to a house near *Adrianople*, but not suffered to come to Court; only the *Sultan* disowned the violence used to his person. In the mean while, the *Czar* shipped an army from *Peterburgh*, that landed in *Finland*: The *Swedes* were not able to stand before him; every place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now Master of *Abo*, the Capital of *Finland*, and of that whole Province. *Steenbock*, with his army, maintained himself in *Tonningen*, as long as their provision lasted: But, all supplies, being carefully stopped, he was forced at last to deliver up himself, and his army prisoners of war; and these were the best troops the *Swedes* had, so that *Sweden* was struck with a general consternation.

Though the Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* had received such positive orders from Lord *Bolingbroke* to sign the peace, the behaviour of the *French* was so different from what had been promised, that they were mightily perplexed, and scrupled to sign a separate treaty. They wrote to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, 'That they could say a great deal to justify their cautious proceedings with the *French*; and were satisfied he would be of the same opinion if he were to see their way of negotiating with all the Allies; and how hard it was for the *British* Ministers to obtain, what to his Lordship seemed impossible the *French* should make any difficulty to grant.' What made them still more averse, was the great importunity, with which the *French* pressed them to conclude with them alone, of which they apprehended the consequences at home; and, to justify themselves, they had acquainted the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, in a letter of *March* 20, That, besides other considerations, their chief objection was, that though they had orders to sign a particular peace, yet their full powers under the Great Seal, only authorized them to negotiate, agree, and conclude the conditions of a good and general peace, agreeable to the interests of all and each of the Allies. The Lord *Bolingbroke* in his letter of the 20th of *March*, O. S. pretended, that he had not sagacity enough to find the objections the Plenipotentiaries had made to their first full powers. However, for their satisfaction he sent them a new Commission, and repeated to them positive orders to sign and conclude with *France*. By this new commission, he tells them they had a power, as before, to treat and conclude the conditions of a good and general peace, which, as his Lordship explained, was no more than to offer, jointly with the Ministers of *France*, the plan of a general peace to the Allies. But the difficulties of the Plenipotentiaries made the Lord Treasurer, who never failed to exert himself, when it was absolutely necessary, think it high time to interpose his authority; and accordingly, on the 31st of *March*, wrote to the Earl of *Strafford* in this manner: I must felicitate your excellency upon the success of all your zeal, and the true

1712-13. love you have shewn to your Queen, your Country, and the repose of all Europe. The remaining danger is, lest we should suffer shipwreck in the sight of Port. The Nation here are five hundred to one for peace. The warriors are driven from their out-works; the last retrenchment they have is delay; and I must say, this operates much here. The ferment begins to work; and it will be impossible to answer for the turn the House of Commons will take, if these delays provoke them farther. They all feel how many hundred thousand pounds this needless protraction costs them. We now maintain forty-nine thousand effective men by land, and thirty-thousand, within a trifle, by sea. In the mean time the merchants lie off, and will not come into Port. The amusement of stories invented by the faction, and the correspondence and encouragement that party gives to their friends to hold out, and to wait for some unhappy accident, that may unravel all which is done: Add to this, the ill-humour which will grow in members by being kept so long in town idle; and, in one word, all, that has been unsettled for many days, is not worth one day's charge England is at extraordinarily by this delay. I find this seems to be the prevailing universal opinion here; and that France has acquitted herself. The only stop is now at *Utrecht*. But this stop did not now remain long; and, as the Treasurer never yet appeared in vain, all further obstructions at *Utrecht* were after this soon removed (1). For on the 7th of April, N. S. the British Ministers declared to the Dutch and Imperial Plenipotentiaries, that they were ready, as well as the Plenipotentiaries of some other Princes, to sign their respective treaties on Tuesday the 11th of that month. The Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor immediately declared, that neither they, nor the Ministers of the Empire, were ready to sign the treaty; nor would they hearken to peace, without the restitution of *Straßburg*; adding, that they were ordered to make such a protestation against such a treaty of peace. The Ministers of the States deputed three members of their body, *Randwyck*, *Vanderdussen*, and *Renfwoude*, to go to the Hague, to receive new instructions on this important affair. They arrived there Sunday morning, and, after having conferred with the Pensionary, had a Conference with the Deputies of the States. The Pensionary communicated the same day to the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* what had been transacted at *Utrecht*; whereupon the States declared for peace. The Deputies of the States had a second Conference with their Plenipotentiaries, and the next morning their last orders were drawn up, and communicated to the States of *Holland*, who having approved the same, the Plenipotentiaries set out in the evening for *Utrecht*, with the character of Ambassadors, accompanied by Monsieur *Van Spanbroeck*, the new Plenipotentiary of the pro-

They fixed
a day for
signing the
peace.

vince of *Zealand*, in the room of Monsieur *Moer-* 1712-13.
mont. Count *Zinzendorf*, who came the 10th in the morning from *Utrecht* to the Hague, had immediately a Conference with the Pensionary, in which he used all imaginable endeavours to have the signing of the peace put off, at least till he had received new instructions from *Vienna*, and declared, that if the States signed before his Master, his Imperial Majesty would immediately withdraw his troops out of the *Netherlands*: But, finding his reasons and representations ineffectual, he protested against this peace, as he had done before at *Utrecht*, whither he returned that evening. The same day in the morning, upon the return of Messieurs *Randwyck*, *Vanderdussen*, and *Renfwoude*, the Dutch Ministers had a Conference with the British Plenipotentiaries; and then another with those of France, at the Lord Privy-Seal's house, from four in the afternoon till two in the night, wherein was settled whatever related to the treaty of peace and commerce with the States-General. The 11th in the morning the Ministers of the Protestant Allies had a Conference together in the Town-House, to which the Marquis *de Miremont*, appointed by the Queen of Great-Britain, to take care of the interests of the Protestants of France, was, for form sake, invited; but the result of this consultation was only, that a representation should be made in favour of those Sufferers to the Ministers of France, which was immediately laid before them by the British Plenipotentiaries. This done, they went to Count *Zinzendorf's*, and communicated to him the plan, which they had agreed on with the Ministers of France, for the Emperor and Empire; having stipulated, that his Imperial Majesty should have time to consider, whether he would accept of it, or no, till the first of June, N. S. during which interval, however, France would not grant a cessation of arms; and withal declared to him, that they were going to sign the Queen's peace. After this, the British Plenipotentiaries went to the other Ministers of the Allies, to whom they made the same declaration; and, being returned to the Lord Privy-Seal's house, the French Ambassadors repaired thither, and about two in the afternoon signed, with those of Great-Britain, the treaties of peace and commerce. One instrument of the treaty was drawn up in Latin by the British Ministers; and another, on the part of the French, in their own language; each party signing first, in their respective instruments: And it was agreed, that the ratifications should be exchanged at *Utrecht* within four weeks. The Ministers of Savoy, who soon after came to the Lord Privy-Seal's house, signed also with those of France their Master's treaty, which was drawn up in French, and by which it was particularly stipulated, 'That his Royal Highness should not take upon him the title of King of *Sicily*, till after the peace was concluded and signed with Spain.' This done, all

(1) It is observable, that among all the demands that were made, upon account of any Prince or State in the Grand Alliance, none, at this time, met with the least regard from the British Court; when, at the same time, the interest of the Prince of *Ursini*, who, at this juncture, had a prevailing influence at the Court of *Madrid*, was espoused in the strongest terms. For, in the same letter, where the Lord *Bolingbroke* says,

'That her Majesty did not much enter into the notion of the degradation of *Hanover*, as a matter of any importance,' his Lordship declares, 'That the Principality, in some part of the Spanish *Netherlands*, with a revenue of thirty thousand crowns, demanded for the Prince of *Ursini*, must be made to the Emperor, and all parties concerned, a condition, *sine qua non*, of the general peace.' Rep. of the Com. of Sec.

1712-13. all the Ambassadors, who had signed the peace, as well as those, who intended to sign it, namely, those of *Portugal, Prussia*, and the *States-General*, went and dined at the Earl of *Strafford's*. As soon as dinner was over, most of those Ministers retired to their houses, to collate their respective treaties; and, afterwards returning to the Earl of *Strafford's*, the *Portuguese* Ambassadors signed their treaty, drawn up in their own tongue, about eight o'clock in the evening, as the *Prussians* did theirs in *French* about eleven; the *French* having insisted, that they should sign before those of the *States*, because, in the treaty, their Master was styled King, and acknowledged as such by *France*. The Ambassadors of the *States* did not sign till near three hours after, having not only been taken up longer than the rest in collating their treaties of peace and commerce, but endeavoured to have some expressions altered, particularly as to the title of the Emperor, who, in the instruments drawn up in *French*, was not styled otherwise than head of the House of *Austria*; but they were obliged to recede from all their pretensions. This important Negotiation being thus brought to a conclusion, the *British* Ministers immediately dispatched an express to Mr. *St. John* Secretary to the *British* Embassy, who, the day before, set out for the *Brill*, in order to carry over to *Great-Britain* the treaties of peace and commerce, for the Queen's ratification. At the same time, the *French* Ministers dispatched a Courier to Monsieur de *Beringhen*, who set out the 10th for *Malines*, in order to wait there the news of the signing of the peace. The other Ministers dispatched also expresses to their respective Courts. The *States-General* sent copies of the treaties to the respective Provinces, as they did likewise, to the towns of the Province of *Holland* in particular. But when the terms of peace were divulged, the body of the people was highly dissatisfied to find, that woollen manufactures, sugars, and some other merchandizes were excepted from the Tariff of 1664, and continued charged with high duties; being apprehensive, that by these exceptions their trade with *Spain*, which sets all the other branches of their commerce in motion, would in a manner be ruined.

The Imperial Ministers dissatisfied at the offers of France. Annals. On the 13th of *April*, Count *Zinzendorf* having declared to the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, and of the *States-General*, that he was to set out two days after for *Germany*, the *British* Plenipotentiaries, on the 14th, delivered to him a writing, intitled, *Offers and demands of the French King, for making peace with the House of Austria and the Empire*. The Imperial and other German Ministers expressed the highest indignation at their being so meanly treated, as to have terms imposed upon them by *France*, in relation to the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*. They also resented the slight put upon the Emperor by the *French* and *Spaniards* refusing to give him that title; and they were particularly dissatisfied with the *Dutch* for signing, before the return of the express sent last to *Vienna*. But the *Dutch* excused themselves, alledging the common plea of the necessity of affairs. It was now given out, that the Emperor and Empire would carry on the war, and hazard their all, rather than submit to these conditions. And, as *France* might turn all her force against *Germany*, Count *Zinzendorf* intimated to the Ministers of

the Empire, that it would be necessary to cause, not only the Imperial troops to march from *Flanders* to the *Rhine*, but also those formerly in the pay of *Great-Britain*. To this purpose it may be observed, that the King of *Prussia* signed the peace only in that quality, and not as an Elector of the Empire, though it was said, he made a private agreement with *France*, to furnish no more troops than his quota, in case the Emperor and Empire should continue the war.

On the 3d of *April* being Good-Friday, Mr. *St. John* arrived at *Whitehall* with the treaties of peace and commerce, signed the Tuesday before between the *British* and *French* Plenipotentiaries, and the news, that the Ministers of *Portugal, Savoy, Prussia*, and the *States-General*, had likewise signed their respective treaties; which was immediately notified in the evening by popular rejoicings. Four days after, the Queen held a Council at *St. James's*, in which the Lord Keeper *Harcourt* was declared Lord-High-Chancellor of *Great-Britain*; and at the same time the Duke of *Atol* was sworn of the Privy-Council. This done, the Queen proposed to the Board the ratifying the treaties of peace and commerce: To which the Earl of *Cholmondeley* objected, saying, 'This matter being of the highest importance for her Majesty and her Kingdoms, as well as all *Europe*, it required the maturest consideration; and these treaties containing several terms of the Civil Law, in which the least equivocation might be of great consequence, and being, besides, couched in *Latin* and *French*, it seemed very necessary to have them translated into the vulgar tongue.' He was supported by another member, but, the time agreed on for the exchanging of the ratifications not admitting of delays, their opinion was over-ruled, and so the Queen ratified the treaties. The next day the *White-staff*, as Treasurer of the Household, was taken from the Earl of *Cholmondeley*, and Sir *Richard Temple* was removed from his command of the Regiment of Dragoons, formerly commanded by the Earl of *Essex*. The peace being thus signed and ratified, the Queen resolved not to defer any longer the meeting of the Parliament. Accordingly on the 9th of *April*, to which day it was last prorogued, she went to the House of Peers and made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Ended the last Session with my hearty thanks for the solemn assurances you had given me, by which I have been enabled to overcome the difficulties contrived to obstruct the general peace.
"I have deferred opening the Session until now, being very desirous to communicate to you, at your first meeting, the success of this important affair. It is therefore, with great pleasure, I tell you, the treaty is signed, and in a few days the ratifications will be exchanged.
"The Negotiation has been drawn into so great a length, that all our Allies have had sufficient opportunity to adjust their several interests. Though the public charge has been thereby much increased, yet I hope my people will be easy under it, since we have happily obtained the end we proposed.
"What I have done for securing the Protestant

1713.
The Parliament
met.
April 9.

The Queen's
speech on
the peace.

1713. "tant Succession, and the perfect friendship there is between Me and the House of Hanover, may convince such, who wish well to both, and desire the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts are to divide us; and those, who would make a merit by separating our interests, will never attain their ill ends.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"As great a progress has been made in reducing the public expence, as the circumstances of affairs would admit.

"What force may be necessary for securing our Commerce by sea, and for Guards and Garrisons, I leave intirely to my Parliament.

"Make yourselves safe, and I shall be satisfied.

"Next to the protection of the Divine Providence, I depend upon the loyalty and affection of my people.

"I want no other guaranty.

"I recommend to your care those brave men, who have served well, by sea or land, this war, and cannot be employed in time of peace.

"I desire you to provide the supplies you shall judge requisite; and to give such dispatch, as may be necessary for your own ease and the public service.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The many advantages, I have obtained for my own subjects, have occasioned much opposition and long delay to this peace.

"It affords me great satisfaction, that my people will have it in their power, by degrees, to repair what they have suffered during so long and burdensome a war.

"The easing of our foreign trade, as far as is consistent with national credit, will deserve your care.

"And to think of proper methods for improving and encouraging our home trade and manufactures, particularly the Fishery, which may be carried on, to employ all our spare hands, and be a mighty benefit, even to the remotest parts of this Kingdom.

"Several matters were laid before you last Session, which the weight and multiplicity of

"other business would not permit you to per-
fect. I hope, you will take a proper opportunity to give them a due consideration.

"I cannot, however, but expressly mention my displeasure at the unparalleled licentiousness in publishing seditious and scandalous libels.

"The impunity, such practices have met with, encourages the blaspheming every thing sacred, and the propagating opinions tending to the overthrow of all Religion and Government.

"Prosecutions have been ordered, but it will require some new law to put a stop to this growing evil, and your best endeavours in your respective stations, to discourage it.

"The impious practice of duelling requires some speedy and effectual remedy.

"Now we are entering upon peace abroad, let me conjure you all, to use your utmost endeavours for calming men's minds at home, that the arts of peace may be cultivated.

"Let not groundless jealousies, contrived by a faction, and fomented by a party-rage, effect that, which our foreign enemies could not.

"I pray God to direct all your consultations for his glory and the welfare of my people."

The Queen being retired, and the Commons *Debate* gone back to their House, the Duke of Beau-
about the
fort made a motion for an address of thanks, *address of*
which occasioned a debate, chiefly about the *thanks.*
expression of a general peace. Some Peers
Pr. H. L.

urged, that it could not be said to be general, since the Emperor, the Elector of Hanover, and other Princes and States of the Empire were not yet come into it. But they were answered, that it might justly be called general, since the major part of the Allies had signed it. After this another motion was made, that, in the address of thanks, a clause might be inserted, *That her Majesty would be pleased to lay before the House the treaties of peace and commerce:* But the question being put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of seventy-four against forty-three. The address of congratulation being agreed to, tho', without any approbation of the peace, it was presented to the Queen (1). The Commons observed the same caution in their address, and waved the motion for having the treaties laid before them (2).

Most

(1) In their address, 'They returned thanks for communicating to them, that a peace was concluded; by which they hoped, with the blessing of God, that the people would, in a few years, recover themselves after so long and expensive a war; and they congratulated her Majesty upon the success of her endeavours for a general peace. They declared, that they never had the least doubt, but that her Majesty, who was the great support and ornament of the Protestant Religion, would continue to take, as she had always done, the wisest measures for securing the Protestant Succession, towards which nothing could be more necessary than the perfect friendship there was between her Majesty and the House of Hanover. And they assured her Majesty, that, as she expressed her dependance, next under God, upon the duty and affection of her people, they thought themselves bound, by the strictest ties of Religion, Loyalty, and Gratitude, to make

all the dutiful returns, that could be paid by the most obedient Subjects to the most indulgent Sovereign.

(2) There was a small debate about the words, *to see accomplished*, which, by a great majority, were voted to stand. The address was as follows:

'We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave, with all humility, to approach your Royal person with our unanimous acknowledgments for all the benefits we enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious Reign.

The many and great successes, which have attended your Majesty's arms, had left nothing to be wished, but such a peace, as might be conducted by your Councils, which now we have the happiness to see accomplished. And as we are truly sensible of your Majesty's gracious and generous intentions, in undertaking that great work; so we have all possible reason to admire your

The Lords
address of
thanks.
April 11.

1713. Most of the Corporations and other bodies of men soon followed the example of both Houses of Parliament, in returning the Queen thanks for the peace, before they knew what that peace was. However, General Stanhope having renewed the motion for addressing the Queen, to communicate to the House the treaties of Peace and Commerce, it was carried in the affirmative, with the addition of the words, *in due time*, insisted on by the Court-party; and so the address met with a gracious reception, and the Queen was pleased to answer, that she intended to communicate to her Parliament the treaties this House desired, as soon as it was practicable.

After the addresses of thanks for the Peace, and a vote for a Supply, the Commons in compliance to the Court, proceeded to the stigmatizing of those that *delighted in war*. To this end Mr. Shippen made a report of mismanagements from the Committee, to examine the debts due to the army. They passed a slight censure on William Churchill, a Member of their House, for being, when a Commissioner for sick and wounded, a Partner in contracts relating to that office. They also made an attempt to fasten a misdemeanor on the Earl of Wharton, for taking 1000*l.* of one Hutchinjon for procuring him the office of Register of Seizures in the Customs, but it was dropped, because it was done before the last act of indemnity.

On the 28th of April the ratifications of the treaties of peace and commerce were exchanged at Utrecht between the Ministers of Great-Britain and France; and, being brought to London, by Mr. Ayscough, Chaplain and Secretary to the Earl of Strafford, the Queen on the 4th of May, the same day of the month on which the war had been proclaimed eleven years before, signed a Proclamation for publishing the peace; which was performed the next day with the usual ceremonies. The ratifications of the treaties between France and the States-General were also to have been exchanged on the 29th of April; but upon an unexpected difficulty about the Elector of Bavaria's renunciation of the Spanish Netherlands (yielded to him by King Philip) which the Dutch Ministers alledged not to be in due

form, that exchange was deferred till the 12th of May, N. S. About this time most of the Ministers at Utrecht received by the post under a cover, a printed Protestation of the Pretender to the Crown of Great-Britain, who styled himself James the Third, and addressed himself to all Kings, Princes, Republicks, &c. By the date April 12, 1712, it appeared to have been drawn up a year before, and imported, 'That, since after a war so long and so pernicious to all Christendom, all parties seemed ready to come to a peace, and were speedily about to sign it, he thought it fit and necessary by this solemn protestation, to assert his undoubted right against any thing, that might be done towards the diminution of it. That he would not enlarge upon what had been unjustly done against him, since nobody could doubt of the justice of his cause. Nor was he indeed only moved with the condition of his own affairs, but, being incapable to change his affection towards his subjects, he could not, without the most sensible grief, behold, that neither their blood, nor their wealth, had hitherto been spared, to support the great injustice, that had been done him; and that they were at last reduced so far, that if a peace were made exclusive of him, they must necessarily become a prey to Foreigners. That, since he understood, that the Confederate powers had no regard to his right, he thought himself most indispensably obliged to himself, to posterity, and to his subjects, not to seem, by his silence, to consent to what was transacting to the prejudice of him, and the lawful heirs of his Kingdoms. And therefore he solemnly protested against all that might be agreed or stipulated to his prejudice, as being void by all the laws in the world.' No manner of public notice was taken of this Protestation.

Baron de Kirchner, the only Imperial Minister now at Utrecht, having received repeated orders to leave that place, the British Plenipotentiaries made their last effort to remove the difficulties, that still obstructed the conclusion of a general peace. At their request, the Imperial Minister met those of France, at the Lord Privy-Seal's House, where the French made some new overtures

1713. The Pretender's Protestation.

The peace proclaimed. May 5.

your steadiness in carrying it on, and overcoming the many difficulties contrived to obstruct it: And it is with the highest satisfaction we congratulate your Majesty upon the happy conclusion of this treaty; for we are so much convinced of your Majesty's tender regard to the public welfare, and the many instances of your wisdom have taught us to have so perfect a reliance upon it, that we cannot doubt but your Majesty hath procured all reasonable satisfaction for your Allies, and established the interest of your own Kingdoms in such a manner, as to make us not only secure for the future, but a flourishing and a happy people.

Your Majesty can give no higher proof of the care you take of posterity, than by the concern you are pleased to express for the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, upon which the future happiness of this Kingdom so much depends. We hope, and trust, that nothing will ever be able to interrupt the friendship between your Majesty and that illustrious Family, since the wicked designs of those, who would endeavour to separate your interests, must be too plain ever to succeed.

Your faithful Commons can never enough express the grateful sense they have of the many gracious assurances

contained in your Majesty's speech; and after what your Majesty hath done to ease your subjects of the heavy burthen which before lay upon them, and after your unparalleled goodness in demanding nothing from them for the time to come, but what they themselves shall judge requisite for their own safety; the best return they can make, will be a ready and dutiful compliance with every thing you have been pleased to recommend; and they cannot fail most cheerfully to set about providing the supplies necessary for this year's service. Your Majesty's repeated Condescensions must in the strongest manner engage the hearts and affections of all your subjects to your Majesty; and we are satisfied we cannot more truly represent them, than by contributing our utmost endeavours to make your reign as prosperous, glorious, and easy to yourself, as it is beneficial and happy to your people.'

To which address the Queen returned this answer.

'That this address could not but be very agreeable to her, as it came from her loyal Commons, and as it was a continuation of those expressions of duty and affection, which they had shewn through this whole Parliament.'

K k k k

1713. tures relating to the Emperor and Empire: But, this Conference proved ineffectual, and *Kirchner's* orders for leaving the place of Congress being positive, he set out from *Utrecht*, on the 17th of May, N. S.

The treaties of peace and commerce laid before the Parliament.
By H. C. Burnet.

The Parliament had now sat a Month, when *Mr. Benson*, Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, delivered to the House of Commons a message from the Queen, importing, 'That as it is the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to make peace and war, she had ratified the treaties of peace and commerce with *France*, which had been signed by her order, and had concluded a treaty with *Spain*, which would be signed, as soon as the *Spanish* Ministers were arrived there. That she determined from the first, on this extraordinary occasion, to communicate these treaties to her Parliament, and had therefore, now ordered them to be laid before the House.' After this message he presented to the House the copies of the treaties of peace and commerce made at *Utrecht*, with translations of them.

Substance of the treaties.
Burnet.

By the treaty of peace, the *French* King was bound to give neither harbour nor assistance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Protestant Succession, as it was settled by several Acts of Parliament: *Dunkirk* was to be razed, in a time limited, within five months, after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, till an equivalent for it was put into the hands of *France*. *Newfoundland*, *Hudson's Bay*, and *St. Christopher's* were to be given to *England*; but *Cape Breton* was to be left to the *French*, with a liberty to dry their Fish on *Newfoundland*: This was the main substance of the articles of peace (1). The treaty of commerce settled a free trade, according to the Tariff in the year 1664, excepting some commodities, that were subjected to a new Tariff in the year 1699, which was so high, that it amounted to a prohibition: All the productions of *France* were to come into *England* under no other duties, but those that were laid on the same productions from other Countries; and, when this was settled, then Commissaries were to be sent to *London*, to agree and adjust all matters relating to trade: The treaty of commerce with *Spain* was not yet finished. As for the Allies, *Portugal* and *Savoy* were satisfied; the Emperor was to have the Duchy of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*: *Sicily* was to be given to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the title of King: And *Sardinia*, with the same title, was to be given to the Elector of *Bavaria*, in lieu of his losses: The States were to deliver up *Lisle*, and the little places about it: And, besides the places of which they were already possessed, they were to have *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Luxembourg*, *Ypres*, and *Newport*: The King of

Prussia was to have the *Upper Guelder*, in lieu of *Orange*, and the other *Eitates*, which the family had in *Franche Comé*. The Emperor was to have time to the first of June, to declare his accepting it.

The treaties being read, a day was appointed to consider of the treaty of commerce, particularly the eighth and ninth articles; by the eighth all the subjects of *Great Britain* and *France* were to enjoy, as to all duties and impositions whatever, the same privileges, which any other Nation, the most favoured, did then, or shall hereafter enjoy. By the other article, a law was to be made within two months in *Great Britain*, that no more customs be paid for goods brought from *France* than what are payable for the like goods imported from any other country in *Europe*. These were articles very disadvantageous to *England*. During King *Charles* the Second's reign, our trade with *France* was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the Nation; there was a commission appointed in the year 1674, to adjust the conditions of our commerce with that Nation; and then it appeared, in a scheme that was prepared by very able Merchants, that we lost every year a million of money by our trade thither. This was then so well received, that the scheme was entered into the journals of both Houses of Parliament, and into the books of the Custom-House: But the Court at that time favoured the interests of *France* so much, preferably to their own, that the trade went still on till the year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all *French* commodities, such a duty, as amounted to a prohibition, and was to last for three years, and to the end of the next Session of Parliament: At the end of the three years, King *Charles* called no more Parliaments; and that Act was repealed in King *James's* Parliament: But, during the whole last war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of *France*; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged, than the same productions from other countries. It was said that, if we had been as often beat by the *French*, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and, if the articles of our commerce had been settled, before the Duke of *Ormond* was ordered to separate his troops from the Confederates, the *French* could not have pretended to draw us into such terms, as they had insisted on since that time, because we put ourselves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with *Portugal*, that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the *French* wines; but, if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then, considering the difference of freight, which is more than double from *Portugal*, the *French* wines would be much cheaper; and, the Nation

1713.

Debate about the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce.

Objections to them.

(1) It was observed on these articles: As to *Newfoundland*, it was thought that the *French* settling at *Cape Breton*, instead of *Placentia*, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the Fishery, which is the only thing that makes Settlements in those parts of any value. The *English* have always pretended, that, the first discovery of *Newfoundland* being made in *Henry* the Seventh's Time, the right to it was in the Crown of *England*. The *French* had leave given them, in King *Charles* the First's time, to fish there,

paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that license: It is true, they carried this much further, during the Civil wars; and this grew to a much greater height in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second: But, in King *William's* time, an Act of Parliament passed, asserting the right of the Crown to *Newfoundland*, laying open the trade thither to all the subjects of *Great Britain*, with a positive and constant exclusion of all Aliens and Foreigners. Burnet, II. 619.

(1) The

1713. Nation generally liking them better, by this means we should not only break our treaties with *Portugal*, but if we did not take off their wines, we must lose their trade, which was at present the most advantageous that we drove any where: For, besides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, five and six hundred thousand pounds a year. We had brought the silk manufactures here to so great perfection, that about 300,000 People were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of silk from *Italy* and *Turky*, by which people in those countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: So that our demand for silk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which must fail, if our manufacture of silk at home should be lost: Which, if once we gave a free vent for silk (stuffs from *France* among us, must soon be the case; since the cheapness of provisions and of labour in *France*, would enable the *French* to underfell us, even at our own markets. Our linen and paper manufactures would likewise be ruined by a free importation of the same goods from *France*.

Notwithstanding all this, a motion was made on the day appointed, May 14, to bring in a bill to make good the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce with *France*. A debate arose, which lasted till ten in the evening, when it was resolved, by a great majority, that the bill should be brought in (1).

The peace had been proclaimed in *London*, and afterwards throughout *Great-Britain*, with the loudest acclamations of the people, who fondly expected great benefits from it; but it was not long before the eyes of the generality were opened. For, about the beginning of May, Signior *Bruciada*, the *Portuguese* Minister in *Lon-*

don, in a memorial represented to the Court, 'That, in case any breach was made in the treaty concluded in 1703, whereby the duties on *French* wines were stipulated to be, at least, one third higher than on those of *Portugal*, the King, his Master, would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures and products of *Great-Britain*?' Which alarmed not only the *Portugal* Merchants in *London*, but also all persons concerned in the woollen manufacture. On the other hand, the treaties of peace and commerce having been published in print, that of commerce raised such a general clamour, as awakened the whole Nation, which before seemed to have been sunk into a lethargy. Several Gentlemen, and particularly Mr. *Robert Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, Sir *Theodore Janssen*, &c. exerted themselves, and published several excellent pieces, which shewed the advantages of the trade with *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, to which Nations we constantly exported more than we imported from them, and brought the balance in money; whereas a trade with *France* would be destructive of our home-manufactures, and of our commerce with other nations. These things came to be so well understood, that, even while flattering addresses were coming to Court from all parts of *England*, petitions were sent up from the Towns and Counties concerned in trade, setting forth the prejudice which they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The treaty, however, was to be supported at any rate; the persons concerned in making it, either could not, or would not, see the mistakes in it; and the nation was to be convinced, that through their great skill in trade, they had made an excellent treaty of commerce. To these ends *Daniel de Foe* was employed; though, in a weekly paper published some years before, called the *Review*, he had very often condemned the

Great clamour against the treaty.

Burnet.

The King's Preface to the British Merchant.

French

(1) The substance of the debate on this occasion was as follows:

Mr. *Arthur Moore*, one of the Commissioners of trade, and whose skill and knowledge in commercial affairs, the *British* Ministry had chiefly relied on in drawing up the treaty in question, endeavoured to shew the great advantages, that would accrue to the Nation from a free trade with *France*; and Sir *James Bateman*, Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr. Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, Mr. *Ward*, Mr. *Shepherd*, and some others, spoke on the same side. Mr. *Nicholas Lechmere* endeavoured, on the contrary, to prove, that the trade with *France* would be very prejudicial to our woollen, silk, and paper manufactures, and to our commerce with *Portugal*; and he was supported, not only by General *Stanhope*, Mr. *John Smith*, Mr. *Nathaniel Gould* (an eminent Merchant, formerly Governor of the Bank of *England*) Sir *Peter King*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Mr. *Wortley Montague*, the Lord *Castlemajor*, and some others of the Whigs; but also by Sir *George Newland* and Mr. *Robert Heyham*, who had before gone with the Court. Mr. *Moore*, in order to make good his assertion, having enumerated the different sorts of commodities of the growth and manufacture of *Great-Britain*, which the *French* drew from hence before the two last wars, insinuating, that in all probability they would do the same again for the future, if a free trade with them were set upon an equal foot: Mr. *Gould* answered him, that he begged the very thing in question; and that, in his opinion, the opening a free trade with *France* would rather be highly detrimental to the Nation. To make this out, Mr. *Gould* urged, 'That, since the Revolution, the state of commerce was entirely changed; and as *France* had set

up, and very much encouraged woollen manufactures, and made shift without several goods, which they drew from hence; so *England* had learned to be without the product of *France*, by setting up silk manufactures and paper-mills; encouraging the making of all manner of toys, &c. which saved and gained vast sums of money to the Nation, and employed an infinite Number of artificers, who would be reduced to beggary, if the importation of *French* goods of the same kind were allowed; because the *French* had their work done for less money, and consequently could sell their commodities cheaper. He added, that the most valuable branch of our trade was that to *Portugal*; the increase of which, of late years, was mainly owing to the great quantities of wines, that were imported from thence, and consumed in *Great-Britain*, instead of *French* wines, by reason of the high duties laid on the latter. But, if these duties were, pursuant to the treaty of commerce in question, reduced and made equal with those on *Portugal* wines, the importation and consumption of the latter would infallibly decrease, and thereby our profitable commerce to *Portugal* be in danger of being lost.' On the other hand, Sir *William Wyndham* took this occasion to reflect on the late Ministry, 'who in his opinion, had let slip the opportunity of making a good peace, when they had it in their power: But that a time might come, and, he hoped was not far off, when the mismanagement of the enemies to their country should be animadverted upon. As to our *Portugal* trade, he said, that that Kingdom would ever have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of *England*, and consequently be obliged to take off great quantities from hence, as they did before the year 1703, even at a time, when the Court

of

1713.
The Mercator published.

French trade as detrimental to this Kingdom. He undertook, however, 'the cause now, and published a paper thrice a week, by the title of *Mercator, or Commerce retrieved; being considerations on the state of the British trade, particularly as it respects Holland, Hanover, and the Dutch Barrier; the trade to and from France; the trade to Portugal, Spain, and the West-Indies, and the fisheries of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia: With other matters and advantages accruing to Great-Britain by the treaties of peace and commerce lately concluded at Utrecht.* In this paper he undertook to prove, that the trade to France, though contrary to all experience, had always been beneficial to this Kingdom, and would be so again upon the foot of the treaty. And as he had the art of writing very plausibly, and those, who employed him, and furnished him with materials, had the command of all public papers in the Custom-House; he had it in his power to do a great deal of mischief, especially amongst such, as were unskilled in trade, and at the same time very fond of French wines, which it was then a crime to be against. Several ingenious Merchants, of long experience, and well skilled in trade, joined together to contradict the impositions of this Writer: They knew he had many heads besides the advantages of public papers to help him; and therefore thought the publication of a joint weekly paper the most feasible way to confute him, and set our trade in a clear light, because they were sensible that it was impossible for any one man to be master of so much experience, as was required to furnish materials from so many different branches of our trade, as would be touched upon in this debate. The paper they published was, in opposition to *Daniel de Foe's* title, called the *British Merchant, or Commerce preserved*, and was published twice a week (1). The person, to whom the public was chiefly obliged for this paper, and who had the greatest hand in it, was *Henry Martin*, who was afterwards made Inspector General of the Exports and Imports. He was assisted by *Sir Charles Cooke* Merchant, afterwards made Commissioner of trade; *Sir Theodore Janssen*, Bart. *James Milner*, *Nathaniel Torriano*, *Josua Gee*, *Christopher Haynes*, *David*

The British Merchant published.

Martin, Merchants; and *Charles King*, who afterwards collected and reprinted those papers. Lord *Hallifax* and General *Stanhope* had likewise a considerable share in the encouragement of this paper, which had so great an effect, that the thoughts of the Whigs about commerce, which, at first, were represented as the result of discontent and spirit of party, appeared to be the universal sense of all traders.

The House of Commons gave an aid of two shillings in the pound, though the Ministers hoped to have carried it higher; but the Members durst not venture on that, since a new election was soon to follow the conclusion of the Session. They proceeded next to renew the duty on malt for another year; and here a debate arose, that was kept up some days in both Houses of Parliament, whether it should be laid on the whole Island. It was carried in the affirmative; of which the *Scots* complained heavily, as a burden, that their Country could not bear: And whereas it was said, that these duties ought to be laid equally on all the subjects of the united Kingdom, the *Scots* insisted on an article of the Union, by which it was stipulated, that no duty should be laid on the malt in *Scotland* during the war, which ought to be observed religiously. They said, it was evident, the war with *Spain* was not yet ended: No peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor so much as signed: And though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be strictly understood; whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted: It was farther said on the *Scots* side, that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: So this act was, upon the matter, making *Scotland* pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of Union did, by express words, exempt them. A great number of the *English* were convinced of the equity of these grounds, which the *Scots* went upon, but the majority was on the other side. So, when the bill had passed through the House of Commons, all the *Scots* of both Houses met together, and agreed to move for an act, dissolving the

1713

of Portugal had laid high duties on *English* goods and merchandizes. General *Stanhope* made hereupon a long speech, wherein, among other things, he said, 'That the affair now in question was not a party business; neither did it concern the late or the present Ministry, but the whole *British* Nation, and therefore, for his own part, he would freely speak his thoughts about it with the utmost impartiality. That, the peace being made, it was now preposterous to say any thing for or against it. But, that as no treaty could bind the Commons of *Great-Britain* to make any act or deed against their own interest; the only point to be considered was, Whether a free trade with *France* would be advantageous or no? And that, in order to clear that important matter, it was necessary to consult the Merchants and Manufacturers who had presented several petitions and representations about it.' This was likewise urged by Mr. *John Smith*, who made a motion for adjourning the debate, and taking the papers before them into consideration. But the main question being put, was carried in the affirmative by a majority of two hundred and fifty-two voices against one hundred and thirty. Mr. Speaker having resumed the chair, Sir *Gilbert Dolben* made his report from the Committee, and, after further debate, the Whigs, finding themselves

over-powered by the Court-party, most of them went out of the House; and so it was resolved by above an hundred voices against twelve or thirteen, that a bill be brought in, to make effectual the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce and navigation between *Great-Britain* and *France*.

(1) The authors of this work, Vol. I. p. 180. 2d Edit. assert, 'that, if the 8th and 9th articles of the treaty of commerce between us and *France* had been rendered effectual by a law, this very thing had been more ruinous to the *British* Nation, than if the City of *London* were to be laid in ashes. This City has been once burnt to the ground; but the people were still in being. They were, notwithstanding this calamity, a constant mart for the product and manufactures of the country. But, if such a law, as that above-mentioned, had passed, *France* would have gone on from that moment to exhaust the treasures of the Kingdom. We should have presently lost our best markets both at home and abroad. Our Gentlemen must have felt a sudden and universal decay of their rents; and our common people must have either starved for want of work, come to the lands or the parish for subsistence, or have retired to foreign parts for bread.'

(1) This

1713. the Union; they went first to the Queen, and told her how grievous, and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their Country, so that they were under a necessity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen seemed uneasy at the motion; she studied to divert them from it, and assured them, that her officers should have orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the motion was made in the House of Lords, and most of the Lords of that Nation spoke to it: They set forth all the hardships that they lay under since the Union; they had no more a Council in Scotland; their Peers at present were the only persons in the whole Island, that were judged incapable of Peerage by descent; their laws were altered in matters of the highest importance, particularly in matters of treason; and now an imposition was to be laid on their malt, which must prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that Country, and force them to drink water. Upon all these reasons, they moved for liberty to bring

a bill to dissolve the Union, in which, they would give full security, for maintaining the Queen's Prerogative, and for securing the Protestant Succession. This was opposed with much zeal by the Ministers, but was supported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reasonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might see how far the Protestant Succession could be secured, in case it should be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion: When the malt-bill was brought up to the Lords, there was such an opposition made to it, that fifty-six voted against it, but sixty-four were for it, and so it passed (1).

The matter of the greatest consequence in this Session was, the bill for settling the commerce with France, according to the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty, which had been ordered by the Commons to be brought in. The Traders in the City of London, and those in all the other parts of England, were alarmed, with the great prejudice this would bring on the whole Nation. The Turkey Company, those that

A bill for rendering the treaty of commerce of Scotland actual & rejected. Burnet

(1) This affair more at large is thus related: During the adjournment of the Parliament for a week on account of the Whitsun-Holidays, there appeared an uneasiness in many of the Scots Members upon the disappointment of their endeavours to get their country eased of part of the Malt-Tax. Hereupon they conferred with several of the Scots Peers sitting in Parliament; and laying aside all party-distinctions, consulted together how to redress their grievances. They deputed the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburne, who by word of mouth represented to the Queen, 'That their countrymen bore, with great impatience, the violation of some articles of the Act of Union; and that laying such an insupportable burthen as the Malt-Tax upon them was like to raise their discontent to such an height, as to prompt them to declare the Union dissolved.' To this unexpected remonstrance, the Queen answered, *This was a precipitate resolution; and she wished they might not have reason to repent it: But, however, she would endeavour to make all things easy.* The Scots Members being met again the next day, and their Deputies having made their report of her Majesty's answer, it was unanimously agreed, that before they proceeded farther, they should lay their grievances before the House of Lords. Accordingly on Thursday the 28th of May, after the Lords had adjourned the debate about the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, the Earl of Findlater made a motion, that some day should be appointed to consider the State of the Nation: Whereupon the Lords appointed Monday the 1st of June, when all the Lords in town were summoned. The debate began between one and two, being opened by the Earl, who made the motion, and who represented the grievances of the Scots Nation, which he reduced to four heads: 'First, Their being deprived of a Privy-Council. Secondly, the laws of England in cases of treason extending to Scotland. Thirdly, The Scots Peers being incapable of being made Peers of Great-Britain, as it was adjudged and declared in the case of the late Duke of Hamilton. And, Fourthly, the Scots being subjected to the Malt-Tax, which would be the more insupportable to them now, in that they never were subjected to it, during the war, and had reason to expect to reap and enjoy the benefits of peace: Concluding, that, since the Union between the two Nations had not those good effects, as were expected from it, he therefore moved, That leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the said Union, and securing the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover, securing the Queen's prerogative in both Kingdoms, and preserving an entire amity, and good correspondence between the two Kingdoms.' This motion

was seconded by the Earl of Mar; but opposed by the Lord North and Grey, who, in a long speech, endeavoured to shew, that the complaints of the Scots were groundless, and the dissolving the Union impracticable; not without some reflections on the poverty of the Scots Nation. He was answered by the Lord Eglington, who allowed the Scots Nation to be poor, and therefore unable to pay the Malt-Tax. The Lord North and Grey replied, 'That it was nothing but what was agreed to by the treaty of Union; the fourteenth article of which imported, that Scotland should not be charged with any imposition on malt during the war only, which was now at an end.' The Earl of Hly confessed, that there was such a clause, but that the same article imported, 'That, seeing it could not be supposed, that the Parliament of Great-Britain would ever lay any sort of burdens upon the united Kingdom, but what they should find of necessity, at that time, for the preservation and good of the Whole, and with due regard to the circumstances and abilities of every part of the united Kingdom; therefore it was agreed, that there should be no farther exemption insisted on, for any part of the united Kingdom, but that the consideration of any exemption, beyond what was already agreed on in this treaty, should be left to the determination of the Parliament of Great-Britain.' He urged, 'That, when this treaty was made, the Scots concluded the Parliament of Great-Britain would never go about to lay any imposition, that they had reason to believe grievous; and having set forth the inability of the Scots to pay the Malt-tax, concluded for the Earl of Findlater's motion. Hereupon the Earl of Peterborough made a long speech, wherein he endeavoured to shew the impossibility of dissolving the Union, saying, among other things, 'That he had often heard the Union compared to a Marriage; and, according to that notion, since it was made, it could not be dissolved by any power upon earth. That, though England, who, in this national marriage, must be supposed to be the Husband, might in some instances have been unkind to the Lady, yet she ought not presently to sue for a divorce, the rather, because she had very much mended her fortune by this match: Adding, 'That the Union was a contract, than which nothing could be more binding.' To this the Earl of Hly answered, 'That, if the Union had the same sanction as Marriage, which was an ordinance of God, he should be for observing it as religiously as that; but that he thought there was a great difference.' To which the Earl of Peterborough replied, 'He could not tell how it could be more solemn than it was,

1713.

that traded to *Portugal* and *Italy*, and all who were concerned in the woollen and silk manufactures, appeared before both houses, and set forth the great mischief, that a commerce with *France*, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the Nation; while none appeared on the other side, to answer their arguments, or to set forth the advantage of such a commerce. It was manifest, that none of the trading bodies had been consulted in it; and the Commissioners for trade and plantations had made very material observations on the first project, which was sent to them for their opinion: And afterwards, when this present project was formed, it was also transmitted to that Board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: But *Arthur Moor*, who had risen up from being a Footman without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the person of that Board, in whom the Lord-Treasurer confided most,

moved, that they might first read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he desired to have the first perusal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who carried it to *Paris*, and there it was settled. The bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill till the last day; and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the Ministers seemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a feint, or whether the instances of the *French* Ambassador, and the engagements that our Ministers were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last step; and then a great many of those, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this matter, and beset themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last division, a hundred and eighty-five were for the

1713.

except they expected it should have come from Heaven like the *Ten Commandments*: Animadverting, in the conclusion, on the *Scots*, 'as a people, that would never be satisfied: That they would have all the advantages of being united to *England*, but would pay nothing by their good will: And that they had more money from *England*, than all their estates amounted to in their own Country.' To him the Duke of *Argyle* replied, in a very warm speech, wherein, among other things, he said, 'That he was by some reflected on, as if he was disgusted, and had changed sides; but that he despised their persons, as much as he undervalued their judgments. That it was true, he had a great hand in making the Union: That the chief reason which moved him to it, was the securing the *Protestant Succession*; but that he was satisfied, that might be done as well now, if the Union were dissolved: That he spoke as a Peer of *England* as well as of *Scotland*: That he believed in his conscience, it was as much for the interest of *England* as of *Scotland*, to have it dissolved; and, if it were not, he did not expect long to have either property left in *Scotland*, or liberty in *England*. He urged, that the tax upon malt in *Scotland* was no less unequal, than the taxing land by the acre throughout *England* would be; because land is worth five or six pounds an acre about *London*, and not so many shillings in remote parts of the Country. That this was the case between the *Scots* and *English* malt; the latter being worth three or four shillings the bushel, the other not above one; so that if this tax were collected in *Scotland*, it must be done by a regiment of dragoons.' Some other *Scots* Peers said, 'That the end of the Union was the cultivating amity and friendship between the two Nations; but it was so far from having that effect, that they were sure, the animosities between the two Nations were now much greater than before the Union; and therefore they were of opinion, that, if the Union were dissolved, the two Nations would be better friends.' The Lord Chief-Justice *Trevor* urged, on the other hand, the impossibility of such a dissolution; and he was supported by the Lord-Treasurer, who said, 'That the Earl of *Findlater's* motion was no less strange than unexpected: That, the Union being made by two distinct Parliaments of both Kingdoms, he did not see how it could be dissolved, now the two Nations were in different circumstances, because the power that made it, was no more in being; and nothing could make it void, but the power that created it: Concluding, that, if the *Scots* had any grievances to complain of, there might be some other method thought of to redress them, without proceeding to that extraordinary way of dissolving the Union, which had been made in so solemn a way, and brought about with so much difficulty.' This was answered by the Earl of *Nottingham*, who represented the advantages of the Union,

if the views, with which it was made, had been steadily pursued. He added, 'That, though the two Nations were now in other circumstances, than when the Union was made, yet the same power that was in the two Parliaments, when they were separated and distinct, was lodged in them now they were consolidated; and therefore, if they had power to make it, they certainly had it still to dissolve it: And that he knew not any thing, but what the Parliament could do, except destroying the present Constitution; which, he owned, they had not power to do. That the inconveniences which had attended the Union, could not be foreseen, till the trial was made: And, since the *Scots*, who were the best judges of the affairs of their Kingdom, found, that it did not answer the ends proposed, he was for dissolving it.' The Earl of *Sunderland* said, to the same purpose, 'That, tho' he had a hand in making the Union, yet if it had not that good effect which was expected from it, he was likewise for dissolving it.' The Lord Viscount *Townshend* said, 'That he was of the same opinion, provided that means could be found to secure the Protestant Succession; and therefore he desired to know, what security the *Scots* could give for that essential point, before they proceeded any further? To this some of the *Scots* Lords replied, 'That would appear when the bill was brought in: That then it was a proper time to shew what security they could give; and therefore moved, That the question might be put immediately, Whether a bill should be brought in, or not? The Earl of *Nottingham* desired, that another day might be appointed to consider further of a matter of such consequence, that the Lords might be better apprized of it. The Lord *Halifax* declared also for dissolving the Union, provided it could be made appear, that the Succession could be secured; but yet desired, that a further day might be appointed to consider of so important a matter. And the Earls of *Mar* and *Loudon*, who were before for putting the question immediately, declared themselves better satisfied with that Lord's reasons. There were several other speeches made both by the *English* and *Scots* Lords, particularly by the Earl *Paulet*, and the Earls of *Scarborough* and *Scarsdale*. And it is observable, that, when the danger *England* would be in from the Pretender, if the Union were dissolved, was urged, the Lord *Townshend* answered, 'That the Queen, Lords, and Commons of *England*, if joined in one interest, need fear no enemy in the world; and therefore ought to despise the Pretender and all his abettors.' The Duke of *Argyle*, having mentioned the Pretender, said, 'He knew not what appellation to give him, his name being now as uncertain as his parents.' But the Earl of *Scarsdale* called him the Prince, or, added he, the Pretender, which you will. Upon the whole matter, all the *English* Court Lords were against dissolving the Union; and, on the other hand, such Whig Peers, as appeared

to

1713. the bill, and a hundred and ninety-four were against it: By so small a majority, was a bill of such great importance lost (1).

Address of thanks for the treaties of peace and commerce. June 26.

The rejecting this bill being an express condemnation of the treaty of commerce, and laying the Managers of it open to future inquiries, the Ministry used their utmost efforts to procure a palliative address from the Commons; which the majority of that House were the more ready to come into, because the Whigs began to exult, as if they had already triumphed over their adversaries. Sir Thomas Hanmer, by whose influence chiefly the bill had been lost, was engaged to make a motion for an address, returning her Majesty the humble thanks of this House, for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her Kingdoms in the treaty of peace; and also, for what she had done in the treaty of commerce with France, by laying so good a foundation for the interests of her people in trade: And humbly to desire her Majesty, that she would be pleased to appoint Commissioners, to treat with Commissioners on the part of France, for adjusting such matters, as should be necessary to be settled in the treaty of commerce between her Majesty and France; that the treaty might be explained and perfected, for the good and welfare of her people.

Many of the Members, who voted against the bill, being absent, it was carried for the address by a majority of one hundred and fifty-six voices against seventy-two: Whereupon General Stanhope made a motion, 'to represent in the address the sense of the House, that her Majesty's Commissioners, who were to treat of the commerce between Great-Britain and France, should insist, that liberty be given to her Majesty's subjects to trade to all the ports in the French King's Dominions.' But this was rejected.

The address being presented to the Queen by the whole House, she 'thanked them most heartily for an address, which so fully expressed their approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce with France: Adding, that it was with no small difficulty, that so great advantages in trade were obtained for her subjects; and that she would readily comply with their desires, in continuing her utmost care to secure the benefits she had stipulated for her people.' This was very surprizing, since the House of Commons had sufficiently shewn, how little they were pleased with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill, which was offered to confirm it; and this was insinuated in their address itself. But it was pleasantly said, that the Queen answered them, according to what ought to have been

1713.

The Queen's answer. Burnet.

to be for it, had principally in view the fomenting the discontents of the Scots, in order to incline them to chuse, at the next election, such representatives as should oppose the present Ministry. The question being put upon the Earl of Findlater's motion, it was carried in the negative by four voices, there being fifty-four Lords present on each side; and seventeen proxies for the negative, and only thirteen for the affirmative. It is remarkable, that the Lord-Treasurer having, in the course of this debate, advanced, 'That, though the malt-tax were laid, it might be afterwards remitted by the Crown, and not levied,' the Earl of Sunderland said, 'He wondered such expressions, as tended to establish a despotic dispensing power, and arbitrary Government, should come from that noble Lord.' To this, the Lord-Treasurer said, 'That his family had never been for promoting and advising arbitrary measures, as others had done? Which the Earl of Sunderland taking to be a reflection upon his father, he not only vindicated him, but added, 'That the other Lord's family was hardly known in those days.' Pr. H. L.

(1) The proceedings at large were as follow: On the 9th of June, the Commons, in a Grand Committee, took that bill into consideration, Sir Robert Davaers being in the Chair; and heard Mr. Cooke, a Merchant, who, in behalf of the Levant Company, made a long speech; wherein, with great solidity of reason, he shewed, how detrimental the opening a trade with France would be to the British woollen and silk manufactures, and to all the branches of our trade. The Merchants being withdrawn, the Commons took their allegations into consideration; and, among the rest, General Stanhope, to corroborate what Mr. Cooke had alledged, quoted the preamble of an act of Parliament, made in the thirteenth year of King Charles the Second, which runs thus: 'Forasmuch as it has been by long experience found, that the importing French wines, brandy, linnen, silk, salt, and paper, and other commodities of the growth, product, or manufactures of the Territories and Dominions of the French King, has much exhausted the treasure of this Nation, lessened the value of the native commodities and manufactures thereof, and caused great detriment to this Kingdom in general: Be it therefore enacted, &c.' Hereupon the Speaker, supposing that Mr. Stanhope had made a mistake, said, *There was no such thing*

in that act. But Mr. Stanhope insisted, that the Clerk should read the said act; and, his quotation appearing to be right, he and other Members animadverted with some vehemence on the Speaker's blunder. At last, the debate cooled, and was put off till the next day; and it was resolved, that the Petitioners, who had not been yet, should then be heard.

On the 10th of June, the Queen came to the House of Peers, and, the Commons attending, her Majesty gave the Royal assent to the act for continuing the duties on malt, &c. the act to revive and continue the act for taking and stating the public accounts, &c. and to some other private and public bills. The Commons being returned to their House, and having resolved themselves into a Grand Committee upon the bill relating to the treaty of commerce, the Spanish, Italian, and Portugal Merchants, and the Weavers of London, were admitted to be heard upon their several petitions. Mr. Torriani, who spoke in behalf of the Spanish trade, having animadverted on the eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of commerce, and mentioned the tenth and eleventh as relating to the two former, some Court-Members were offended at it; and, after he had done speaking, moved the Committee, that a mark of their displeasure might be set upon him. But General Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, Sir Peter King, and Mr. John Smith said, 'That, unless they gave the Merchants full liberty of speech, the House would never be able to form a right judgment on that important affair; and they hoped, that no man should be reprimanded for standing up for the trade of Great-Britain.' This, with a noble spirit, which appeared in the House on behalf of the Merchants, by the great number of Members, both Tory and Whig, who, all at once, stood up to defend Mr. Torriani, made the Courtiers drop that matter; and then Mr. Wyatt spoke for the Italian Merchants, Mr. Milner for the Portugal trade, and Colonel Lekeux for the London Weavers. The Merchants being withdrawn, the Speaker resumed the Chair; and it was resolved, that the Grand Committee should, the next day, consider further of the bill, and that the other Petitioners be then heard. It was also ordered, that the Ministers of the Levant Company, and all memorials, petitions, representations, schemes of trade, and papers relating thereunto, that were either before the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, or before the Commissioners of the

1713. been in their address, and not according to what was in it. Besides, it was observable, that her promise, to maintain what was already stipulated, did not at all answer the prayer of their address. However, the Speaker having, early the next day, reported the Queen's answer to a very thin House, it was unanimously resolved to return her thanks for it.

Address
about the
equivalent
for Dun-
kirk.

June 3.

June 20.

As it did not appear in the treaty of peace, what equivalent the King of France was to have for Dunkirk, the Commons addressed the Queen, desiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks passed before they had an answer; but, at last, the Queen by a message said, that in pursuance to the treaties, as well between her and the French King, as between that King and the States, the equivalent to be given for the demolition of Dunkirk was already in the hands of his most Christian Majesty. This still left the matter in the dark, no further explanation being made of it; however, though many Members were dissatisfied with this dubious answer,

the majority acquiesced in it. At the same time the Queen being also addressed 'for an account of what she had stipulated for the sake of Great-Britain in Flanders, and how the same was secured, the report of the Commissioners of trade about this matter was laid before the Commons; which being read, an address was presented to her, 'That she would take care, the towns in Flanders in her possession be not evacuated, till those who were to have the Sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands agreed to such articles for regulating trade, as might put the subjects of Great-Britain upon an equal foot with those of any other Nation.' To this she returned a favourable answer.

This was all that passed in this Session of Parliament with relation to the peace. It was once apprehended, that the Ministers would have moved for an act, or at least for an address, approving the peace, but no such motion was made (1).

1.2

the Customs, relating to the trade between England and France, be laid before the House.

The next day, June 11, the Grand Committee heard several Petitioners, and read many petitions, and other papers; and, two days after, a clause was ordered to be inserted in the bill, declaring, 'That the privileges, liberties, and immunities, as to all duties, impositions, or customs relating to commerce, or to any other right whatsoever, that had been, or might be granted by France, with respect to the subjects, goods, or merchandizes, of any foreign Nation, should be understood to extend as well to the four species of goods, excepted in the ninth article from the Tariff of 1664, as to all other merchandizes whatsoever imported into France by the subjects of Great-Britain. Then the Commons, in a Grand Committee, made a further progress in the bill, and went through it on the 15th of June. Three days after, Sir Robert Davaers reported the amendments made to the bill; which, with some others, were agreed to by the House. Then a motion being made, that the bill be ingrossed, it occasioned a warm debate from three o'clock in the afternoon till near eleven at night. General Stanhope, Sir Peter King, Mr. Gould, Mr. Hampden, and some others, shewed the disadvantage of an open trade with France, upon the foot of the last treaty of commerce: And the Member, who spoke most in favour of the bill, was the same, who had been chiefly employed in that treaty, Mr. Arthur Moore; but, some of his arguments being strained and precarious, the majority even of his own party adhered to the opinion of Sir Thomas Hanmer, who made a long and elaborate speech, wherein, among other things, he said, 'That, before he had fully examined the affair in question, he had given his vote for bringing in the bill; but, that having afterwards maturely weighed and considered the allegations of the Traders and Manufacturers in their several petitions and representations, he was convinced, that the passing of it would be of great prejudice to the woollen and silk manufactures of this Kingdom; consequently increase the number of the poor, and, in the end, affect the land. That, while he had the honour to sit in that House, he would never be blindly led by any Ministry; neither, on the other hand, was he biased by what might weigh with some men, viz. the fear of losing their elections. But that the principles, upon which he acted, were the interest of his Country, and the conviction of his judgment; and, upon these two considerations alone, he was against the bill.' This speech made a great impression on many of the Members; and, Mr. Aylmer, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Mr. Francis Annesley, one of the Commissioners of the public accounts, having spoke also against the bill, the ques-

tion, Whether it should be ingrossed, was at last carried in the negative, by a majority of one hundred and ninety-four voices, against one hundred and eighty-five. It was observed, that, of the four Members for the City of London, one only, Sir William Withers, voted for the bill; and that Sir Richard Hoare, then Lord-Mayor, Sir George Newland, and Sir John Coss, voted against it; as did also the two Members for Westminster, Mr. Medlicot, and Mr. Thomas Croft. On the other hand, it was given out that the Lord-Treasurer, foreseeing the ill effects of passing such a bill at this juncture, wrote, the night before, a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, desiring him to use his interest, that it might drop; which step he might probably be induced to take from the opposition the bill was like to meet with in the House of Lords; where, that very afternoon, July 17, the Earls of Anglesey and Abington, and some other Peers, had declared against it. However, some suspected either the reality or true design of such a letter, because most of the Court and *Sets* Members voted for the bill. Pr. H. C.

(1) Bishop Burnet says, that, if such a motion had been made he would have spoken the following speech, being the only one he ever prepared beforehand, which he has inserted in his history, in order to deliver down to posterity his thoughts of this great transaction.

'My Lords, this matter now before you, as it is of the greatest importance, so it may be seen in very different lights; I will not meddle with the political view of it; I leave that to persons, who can judge and speak of it much better than I can: I will only offer to you what appears to me, when I consider it, with relation to the rules of morality and religion; in this I am sure I act within my proper sphere. Some things stick so with me, that I could have no quiet in my conscience, nor think I had answered the duty of my function, if I did not make use of the freedom of speech, that our constitution and the privileges of this House allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, because the bringing those of our order into public councils, in which we have now such a share, was originally intended for this very end, that we should offer such considerations, as arise from the rules of our holy religion, in all matters that may come before us. In the opening my sense of things, I may be forced to use some words, that may perhaps appear severe: I cannot help it, if the nature of these affairs is such, that I cannot speak plainly of them, in a softer strain: I intend not to reflect on any person: And I am sure I have such a profound respect for the Queen, that no part of what I may say, can be understood to reflect on her in any sort: Her intentions are, no doubt, as she declares

1713. *A demand of money for the civil list debts.*
 Burnett.
 Fr. H. C.

The House of Commons was, as to all other things, except the affair of commerce, so entirely in the hands of the Ministers, that they ventured on a new demand of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil list, which was estimated at 600,000 *l.* a year, and was given for the ordinary support of the Government, did far exceed it. And this was so evident, that, during the three first years of the Queen's Reign, 100,000 *l.* was every year applied to the war; 200,000 *l.* was laid out in building of *Blenheim-House*; and the entertaining the *Palatines* had cost the Queen 100,000 *l.* So there was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was necessary towards the support of the Government. Yet these extraordinary expences had put the ordinary payments into such an arrear, that, at *Midsummer*, 1710, the Queen owed 510,000 *l.* But, upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 *l.* less; and, at that time, there was an arrear of 190,000 *l.* due to the civil list: These two sums amounting to 270,000 *l.* the debt that remained, was but 240,000 *l.* Yet now, in the end of the session, when upon rejecting the bill of commerce, most of the Members were gone into the Country, so that there were not one hundred and eighty left, a message was sent, on the 25th of *June*, to the Commons, from the Queen, 'acquainting them with the difficulties, which, in a particular manner, she lay under, by the debts contracted in her civil Government, occasioned by several extraordinary expences formerly incurred; so that she thought herself obliged, in justice to many creditors, to order an estimate to be laid before them of what was owing on the civil list, in the year 1710. Adding, she had used unexampled parsimony, to remove, if possible, this burden from herself; but, that the granting away, and lessen-

ing some part of her revenue by Parliament, having made that impracticable, she therefore hoped, that they who on all occasions, had shewed themselves so well-affected to her, would not be unwilling to empower her to raise such a sum of money on the civil list funds, as might enable her to discharge the debts, and settle the expence to be regularly paid for the future. With this message was presented to the House an estimate of the debts owing to the several heads of expence about *Midsummer*, 1710; to which Mr. *John Smith*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, having raised some objections, saying, in vindication of the late Ministry, 'That to his certain knowledge, the debts of the civil list, in the month of *August*, 1710; did not amount to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; for the payment of part of which there were some monies standing out, besides great quantities of tin, whereas, by the estimate now laid before them, the debts to *Midsummer* 1710, that is, about two months before, were made to amount to four hundred thousand pounds.' A motion was then made to address the Queen for an account of the arrears of the civil list funds, standing out at *Midsummer* 1710: And also, for an account of the debts of the civil list, as they were at this time, and of the arrears of the civil list funds to pay the same: But this was rejected, to the great surprise of many. On the contrary, a bill for enabling the Queen to raise five hundred thousand pounds on the civil list revenues, to be applied towards payment of such debts and arrears owing to her servants, tradesmen and others, was read, *June* 30, a second time, and committed. After this, the motion made some days before, being again proposed with better success, it was resolved to address the Queen, first, for 'an account of the debts on the civil list to *Midsummer*

declares them to be, all for the good and happiness of her people; but it is not to be supposed, that she can read long treaties, or carry the articles of them in her memory: So, if things have been either concealed from her, or misrepresented to her, *She can do no Wrong*: And, if any such thing has been done, we know on whom our Constitution lays the blame.

The treaties that were made some years ago, with our Allies are in print; both the Grand Alliance, and some subsequent ones: We see many things in these, that are not provided for by this peace; it was in particular stipulated, that no peace should be treated, much less concluded, without the consent of the Allies. But, before I make any observations on this, I must desire you will consider how sacred a thing the public faith, that is engaged in Treaties and Alliances, should be esteemed.

I hope, I need not tell you, that even Heathen Nations valued themselves upon their fidelity, in a punctual observing of all their treaties, and with how much infamy they branded the violation of them: If we consider that which revealed religion teaches us to know, that man was made after the image of God, the God of all truth, as we know who is the father of lies; *God hates the deceitful man, in whose mouth there is no faithfulness*. In that less perfect religion of the *Jews*, when the *Gibeonites* had, by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn *Jeshua* and the *Israelites* into a league with them; it was sacredly observed; and the violation of it, some ages after, was severely punished. And, when the last of the Kings of *Judah* shook off the fidelity, to which he had bound himself to the King of *Babylon*, the Prophet thereupon said with indignation, *Shall he break the oath of God, and prosper? The swear-*

ing deceitfully is one of the worst characters; and *He who swears to his own hurt, and changes not, is among the best*. It is a maxim of the wisest of Kings, that *the throne is established in righteousness*. Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and, when an oath is asked to confirm a treaty, it is never denied. The best account that I can give of the disuse of adding that sacred seal to treaties, is this:

The Popes had for some ages possessed themselves of a power, to which they had often recourse, of dissolving the faith of treaties, and the obligation of oaths: The famous, but fatal story of *Ladislaus*, King of *Hungary*, breaking his faith to *Amurath* the *Turk*, by virtue of a papal dispensation, is well known. One of the last publick acts of this sort, was, when Pope *Clement* the Seventh absolved *Francis* the First, from the treaty made and sworn to at *Madrid*, while he was a prisoner there: The severe revenge that *Charles* the Fifth took of this, in the sack of *Rome*, and in keeping that Pope for some months a prisoner, has made Popes more cautious, since that time, than they were formerly: This also drew such heavy but just reproaches, on the Papacy, from the Reformers, that some stop seems now to be put to such a barefaced protection of perjury. But the late King told me, that he understood from the *German* Protestant Princes, that they believed the Confessors of Popish Princes had faculties from *Rome*, for doing this as effectually, though more secretly: He added, that they knew it went for a maxim among Popish Princes, that their word and faith bound them as they were men, and members of society; but that their oaths, being acts of religion, were subject to the direction of their Confessors; and that they, apprehending this, did, in all their treaties

M m m

with

1713. *mer 1710.* And, secondly, for 'a yearly account of the neat produce of the civil list funds, since her Accession to the Throne.' This last address was made upon a suggestion, that the civil list funds yielded now above eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds. But, whether this was so or not, it is certain, no answer was returned to the address.

Reasons against it. The bill for raising the 500,000 *l.* met with great opposition, as it appeared to be of bad consequence, since the granting of such demands to one Prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and as the account of the Queen's debts was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the funds, set off for the civil list, would increase considerably in times of peace. However, though there was a great superiority in point of argument against the bill, there was a considerable majority for it. And all people concluded, that the true end of getting so much money into the hands of the Court, was to furnish their creatures sufficiently for carrying their elections.

But it was granted.

The Lords were sensible, that the method of procuring this Supply was contrary to their privileges, since all publick Supplies were either asked from the Throne, or by a message sent to both Houses at the same time. This practice was inquired into by the Lords: No precedents came up to it; but some came up so near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the Ministers apprehending, that an opposition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it consolidated with another of 1,200,000 *l.* that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together made them both pass in the House of Lords, without opposition.

Address to get the Pretender removed. Pr. H. L.

While this was in agitation, the Earl of Wharton moved in the House of Peers, 'That

an address be presented to the Queen, that she would use her most pressing instances with the Duke of Lorraine, and with all the Princes and States in amity or correspondence with her, not to receive, or suffer to continue in their Dominions, the Pretender to the Imperial Crown of these Realms.' Several Members being surprized at this unexpected motion (which was designed to try the inclinations and affections of some persons) there was a pause for a long while. At last, the Lord Norb and Grey broke silence, and endeavoured to have that motion laid aside; representing, that such an address would shew a distrust either of the Queen, or of the Ministers: And that her Majesty would be puzzled what to do, in case the Princes and States in amity with her, should be unwilling to comply with her instances, since it would not be in her power to compel them: Concluding with this question, 'Where would they have the Pretender reside, since most, if not all the powers in Europe, were in amity with her Majesty?' To this the Earl of Peterborough answered, 'That, since he began his studies in Paris, the fittest place for him to improve himself was Rome.' After some warm expressions between the Earl of Wharton and the Lord-Treasurer, the motion made by the Earl was carried; and on the 2d of July, the House of Lords attended the Queen with their address. To which she answered, 'That she took extreme kindly their address; and the thanks they gave her for what she had done, for establishing the Protestant Succession. That she would repeat her instances to have that person removed, according to their desire: And that she promised herself, they would concur with her, that, if they could cure their animosities and divisions at home, it would be the most effectual method to secure the Protestant Succession.' This answer seemed to im-

port,

with the Princes of that religion, depend upon their honour, but never asked the confirmation of an oath, which had been the practice of former ages. The Protestants of France thought they had gained an additional security, for observing the edict of Nantes, when the swearing to observe it was made a part of the coronation oath: But it is probable, this very thing undermined and ruined it.

Grævius, Puffendorf, and others who have wrote of the law of Nations, lay this down for a rule, that the nature of a treaty, and the tie that arises out of it, is not altered by the having, or not having an oath; the oath serves only to heighten the obligation. They do also agree in this, that Confederacies do not bind States, to carry on a war to their utter ruin; but, that Princes and States are bound to use their utmost efforts in maintaining them: And it is agreed by all, who have treated of these matters, that the common enemy, by offering to any one Confederate all his pretensions, cannot justify his departing from the Confederacy; because it was entered into with that view, that all the pretensions, upon which the Confederacy was made, should be insisted on, or departed from, by common consent.

It is true, that in Confederacies, where Allies are bound to the performance of several articles, as to their quota's or shares, if any one fails in the part he was bound to, the other Confederates have a right to demand a reparation for his non-performance: But, even in that case, Allies are to act as friends, by making allowances for what could not be helped, and not as enemies by taking advantages, on design to disengage them from their Allies. It is certain, Allies for-

feit their right to the Alliance, if they do not perform their part: But the failure must be evident, and an expostulation must be first made: And, if upon satisfaction demanded, it is not given, then a Protestation should be made, of such non-performance; and the rest of the Confederates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his part: These are reckoned among the customs and laws of Nations: And, since nothing of this kind has been done, I cannot see how it can be made out, that the tie of the confederacy, and by consequence, that the public faith has not been first broken on our side.

My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a treaty with the French, without the knowledge and concurrence of the other Confederate States and Princes, and the concluding it without the Consent of the Emperor, the principal Confederate; not to mention the visible uncalinefs, that has appeared in the others, who seem to have been forced to consent, by declarations, if not by threatenings; from hence I say, I cannot reconcile this, with the articles of the Grand Alliance, and the other later treaties, that are in print: This seems to come within the charge of the Prophet against those who deal treacherously with those who had not dealt treacherously with them; upon which the threatening that follows may be justly apprehended: It will have a strange sound among all Christians, but more particularly among the Reformed, when it is reported, that the Plenipotentiary of the Head of the Reformed Princes said openly to the other Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herself free from all her Treaties and Alliances: If this be set for a precedent, here is a short way of dispensing with the public faith; and

if

1713. port, that the Queen had already pressed the Duke of *Lorrain* to remove the Pretender; though the Ministers in the House of Lords, and particularly the Duke of *Buckingham*, President of the Council, acknowledged, that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and therefore thought the words of the answer related only to the instances the Queen had used, to get the Pretender to be sent out of *France*. But the natural signification of the words seeming to relate to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Earl of *Sunderland* made a motion for a second address, which was supported by the Earl of *Nottingham*; and, after some opposition, it was ordered, 'That an address be presented to the Queen, to thank her for her answer to their address, and for the assurances she had given them, of repeating her instances for removing the Pretender; and to express their surprize, that such instances had not had their full effect, notwithstanding the *French* King, and the King of *Spain*, had shewn their compliance with her desires on that occasion: And to assure her, that this House would support her, in whatever she should judge proper for obtaining a demand, which was so warranted by the laws of Nations, and so necessary for the honour and safety of her Majesty, and for the present and future peace and quiet of the people.' All the answer brought to this address was, that her Majesty received it graciously. Though applications of this nature were known to be ungrateful both to the Queen and her Ministers, yet, on the 1st of *July*, General *Stanhope* made a motion in the House of Commons, to the same purpose with that of the Earl of *Wharton* in the House of Peers, and was seconded by Mr. *Lechmere*. The only objection, against it, was made by Sir *William Whitlocke*, who said, he remembered, 'That the like address was formerly made to the Protector, for having *Charles Stuart* removed out of *France*; notwithstanding which, that Prince was, some time after, restored to his Father's Throne.' But, the Members, who were suspected of favouring the Pretender, being unwilling to discover their inclination in so critical a juncture, when the Parliament was so near expiring, and a new election coming on, it was, according to Mr. *Stanhope's* motion, resolved unanimously,

'That an address be presented to her Majesty, acknowledging the great care she had always taken, particularly in the late treaties of peace and guaranty, to prevent the Pretender to her Throne being in a condition to disturb these Realms; and to beseech her, that she would use the most speedy and pressing instances with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and with all other Princes in amity with her, that they would not, under any pretext whatsoever, receive, or suffer to continue within their Dominions, the person, who, in defiance of her Majesty's most undoubted title to the Crown, and the settlement thereof in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, had assumed the title of King of these Realms; and, to assure her, that the Commons of *Great-Britain* would, on all occasions, support her in such steps, as should be necessary towards rendering those instances effectual.' The address, being prepared and approved, was, *July* 8, presented by the whole House to the Queen, who coldly told them, 'She thanked them for it, and would give directions according as they desired.' Which, however, was not complied with till two or three months after, at the solicitation of the Lord-Treasurer. It was generally believed, that the Duke of *Lorrain* did not consent to receive the Pretender, till he sent one over to know the Queen's pleasure upon it, of which he was very readily informed.

Those, who inquired into the reasons of these addresses against the Pretender, rightly ascribed them, not only to the good reception he met with in *Lorrain*, but also to the affection, which many shewed openly for him in *Great-Britain*. To this purpose it is remarkable, that two addresses were about this time presented to the Queen by Sir *Hugh Paterson*, introduced by the Earl of *Mar*, and afterwards inserted in the *London Gazette*. The first, of the Magistrates and Town-Council of the Burgh of *Inverness* in *North Britain*, contained the following paragraphs: 'We, without reserve, depend on your Majesty's wisdom in securing our Religion, and the Succession to the Hereditary Crown of *Great-Britain* in the family of your Royal Progenitors, the most ancient line of Succession in the world; being as much convinced, that our guaranty is intirely in your hands, as your serene Majesty does

1713.

Two remarkable addresses in favour of limited Succession.

if this was spoken by one of our Prelates, I am afraid it will leave a heavy reproach on our Church; and, to speak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much heavier curse after it. My Lords, there is a God in Heaven, who will judge all the world, without respect of persons: Nothing can prosper without his blessing: He can blast all the counsels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit, how cunningly soever they may be either contrived or disguised: And I must think that a peace made in opposition to the express words of so many treaties, will prove a curse instead of a blessing to us: God is provoked by such proceedings, to pour heavy judgments on us, for the violation of a faith so often given, which is so openly broken: By this our Nation is dishonoured, and our Church disgraced: And I dread to think, what the consequence of those things is like to prove. I would not have expressed myself in such a manner, if I had not thought, that I was bound to it by the duty that I owe to Almighty God, by my zeal for the Queen, and the Church, and by my love to my Country. Upon so great an occasion, I think my post in the Church and in this House lays me under the strictest obligations to discharge my conscience,

and to speak plainly without fear or flattery, let the effect of it, as to myself, be what it will: I shall have the more quiet in my own mind, both living and dying, for having done that, which seemed to me an indispensable duty.

I hope this House will not bring upon themselves, and the Nation, the blame and guilt of approving that, which seems to be much more justly censurable: The reproach that may belong to this treaty, and the judgments of God, that may follow on it, are now what a few only are concerned in. A national approbation is a thing of another nature; the publick breach of faith, in the attack that was made on the *Smyrna* fleet forty years ago, brought a great load of infamy on those, who advised and directed it; but they were more modest than to ask a publick approbation of so opprobrious a fact: It lay on a few; and the Nation was not drawn in to a share in the guilt of that, which was then universally detested, though it was passed over in silence: It seems enough, if not too much, to be silent on such an occasion. I can carry my compliances no further.' *Burnet*, Vol. II. 623.

1713. does place yours in your people.' The other address, from the Town-Council and Inhabitants of the Loyal Burgh of *Nairn*; had this passage in it: 'We know not with what modesty we can presume to address your Majesty in the matter of Succession, lest we should seem to call in question your Majesty's unquestionable prudence, or the faithfulness of your Majesty's Council: And therefore we sincerely declare, that our utmost wishes reach no further, than that our posterity may reap the effects of your Majesty's wise choice, while we think ourselves happy under your Majesty's Administration all our days.' But, on the other hand, an address from the City of *Glasgow*, in a quite different strain as to the Succession, was presented to the Queen by the Members for that City, introduced by the Duke of *Argyle*.

Thanksgiving for the peace.
July 7.

The Queen having appointed the 7th of July for a public thanksgiving, for the safe and honourable peace lately concluded, and invited her Parliament to attend her to *St. Paul's*, both Houses went with the usual State; but the Queen not having intirely recovered her strength since her last fit of the gout, she could not be present at that solemnity. The Whigs were absent for another cause. In the evening there were great bonfires and illuminations throughout the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and magnificent fireworks were played off on the *Thames* over-against *Whitehall*.

The Parliament is prorogued.
July 16.
Fr. H. C.

On the 16th of July, the Queen came to the House of Peers to pass the bills, and put an end to the Session, when she made the following speech to the Parliament:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Queen's speech to both Houses.

"I Come now to put an end to this Session with great satisfaction, and return you all my hearty thanks for the good service you have done to the public.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I must particularly thank you for the Supplies you have now given: I will take care to apply them, as far as they will reach, to satisfy the services you have voted.

"I hope, at the next meeting, the affair of commerce will be so well understood, that the advantageous conditions, I have obtained from *France*, will be made effectual for the benefit of our trade.

"I cannot part with so good and so loyal an House of Commons, without expressing how sensible I am of the affection, zeal, and duty, with which you have behaved yourselves; and I think myself therefore obliged to take notice of those remarkable services you have performed.

"At your first meeting you found a method, without farther charge to my people, to ease them of the heavy load of more than nine millions; and the way of doing it may bring great advantage to the Nation.

"In this Session you have enabled me to be just in paying the debts to my servants.

"And, as you furnished Supplies for carrying on the war, so you have strengthened my hands in obtaining a peace.

"Thus you have shewed yourselves the true representatives of my loyal Commons, by the

just regard you have paid to the good of your Country and my Honour. These proceedings will, I doubt not, preserve the memory of this Parliament to posterity.

1713.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"At my coming to the Crown, I found a war prepared for me. God has blessed my arms with many victories, and at last has enabled me to make them useful by a safe and honourable peace.

"I heartily thank you for the assistance you have given me therein, and I promise myself, that, with your concurrence, it will be lasting.

"To this end I recommend it to you all, to make my subjects truly sensible what they gain by the peace; and that you will endeavour to dissipate those groundless jealousies, which have been so industriously fomented amongst us, that our unhappy divisions may not weaken, and in some sort endanger, the advantages I have obtained for my Kingdoms.

"There are some (very few, I hope) who will never be satisfied with any Government: It is necessary therefore, that you shew your love to your Country, by exerting yourselves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded.

"Nothing can establish peace at home, nothing can recover the disorders, that have happened during so long a war, but a steady adhering to the Constitution in Church and State.

"Such, as are true to these principles, are only to be relied on; and, as they have the best title to my favour, so you may depend upon my having no interest nor aim, but your advantage, and the securing of our religion and liberty.

"I hope, for the quiet of these Nations, and the universal good, that I shall next winter meet my Parliament resolved to act upon the same principles, with the same prudence, and with such vigour, as may enable me to support the liberties of *Europe* abroad, and reduce the spirit of faction at home."

Few speeches from the Throne have been more severely reflected on than this was. It seemed strange, that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand matters of trade, should pass such a censure on both Houses, for their not understanding the affair of commerce; since at the bar of both Houses, and in the debates within them upon it, the interest of the Nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put upon them, to represent it as advantageous to *England*, and to rank all those, who opposed it, among the ill-minded, or at least among the deluded. Nor did it escape censure, that she should affirm, that the Nation was by the Parliament eased of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, since the Nation must bear the constant charge of interest at six per Cent. till the capital should be paid off.

The sharpness, with which she expressed her self, was singular, and not very well suited to her dignity or sex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her saying, that she found

Remarks.
Burnet.

1713. found a war prepared for her at her coming to the Crown; since she herself began it upon the addresses of both Houses. It was also observed, that there was not in all her speech one word of the Pretender, or of the Protestant Succession. But that, which made the greatest impression upon the whole Nation, was, that this speech discovered plainly, that the Court was resolved to have the bill of commerce pass in the next Session. All people concluded, that the Ministers were under engagements to the Court of France to get it settled; and this was taken to be the sense of the Queen's words concerning the making the peace lasting.

After this speech both Houses were prorogued to the 28th, but never to meet again, being dissolved before that day came. And thus ended the third and last Session of the third British Parliament, which some have distinguished by the epithet of *pacific*. It may however be observed, that how far soever the Commons carried their obsequiousness to the Ministers in the affair of peace; yet the majority could not be prevailed with to approve the treaty of commerce, so destructive to the trade of England, (1).

Rejoicings upon the expiration of Sacheverel's sentence.

The sentence of the House of Lords, by which Dr. Sacheverel was forbid to preach during the space of three years, expiring on the 23d of March, that day was celebrated in London, and in several parts of the Kingdom, with extraordinary rejoicings. The Sunday following in the afternoon the Doctor preached the first time at his Church of St. Saviour's, where a great multitude thronged to hear, or at least to see him, expressing their joy at his returning to the exercise of his function. His subject was the duty of praying for our enemies from St. Luke xxiii. 34. *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* In his sermon he made a tacit but obvious parallel between his sufferings and those of Jesus Christ. Not long after, the House of Commons, to shew their dislike of his former prosecution and censure, desired him to preach before them at St. Margaret's Westminster on the 29th of May, being the Restoration Day; which he did, and had the thanks of the House for his Sermon. Nor was the Court backward in rewarding his late service; for, the Rectorship of St. Andrew's Holborn, becoming vacant, he was promoted to that rich benefice.

He is made Rector of St. Andrew's.

Other promotions.

About this time also Dr. Jonathan Swift, who had served the present Managers by writing several libels against the Whigs and last Ministry, by whom he had been disappointed in his solicitations for preferment, was by the Duke of Ormond promoted to the Deanery of St. Patrick, Dublin.

In the end of May, died Sprat, Bishop of Rochester; his parts were very bright in his youth, and gave great hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him,

without considering the duties, or even the deficiencies of his profession: He was justly esteemed a great Master of our language, and one of our correctest writers. *Atterbury* succeeded him in that See, and in the Deanery of Westminster: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raised in our Church. Dr. *Smalridge*, a Divine of the same principles with *Atterbury*, and Dean of Carlisle, was made Dean of Christ-Church, Oxford. At the same time, care was taken to put the most important towns in the Kingdom in the hands of such persons, as were prepared blindly to follow the Queen's measures. With this view, the Earl of Dorset, being removed from being Governor of Dover, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond, whose son-in-law, the Lord *Asburnham*, was made Deputy-Governor and Deputy-Warden; and Sir *Henry Bellasis* was appointed Governor of the town of Berwick upon Tweed. Not long after a pension of five thousand pounds per annum was granted to the Duke of Ormond, for the term of fifteen years, out of the revenues of Ireland, in consideration of his eminent services; and the Lord *Asburnham* was appointed Colonel and Captain of the first troop of horse-guards in the room of the Earl of Portland, who was ordered to dispose of that post for the sum of ten thousand pounds. Sir *John Powel*, one of the Judges of the Queen's Bench, dying in June on his return from Bath, was succeeded by Sir *Thomas Powis*; and Sir *William Banister*, a Sergeant at law, was made one of the Barons of the Exchequer, in the room of Sir *Salathiel Lovel*, lately deceased. The Duke of Montague having obtained the Queen's leave to travel beyond sea, resolved to follow the fortune of the Duke of Marlborough, his father-in-law. The Duke of Montrose, who was well-affected to the Protestant Succession, being removed from the place of Lord Privy-Seal of Scotland, was succeeded in it by the Duke of Arbol; which change rather increased than abated the present ferment in that part of Great-Britain. For, on the one hand, the Presbyterian Ministers refused to observe the public thanksgiving day for the peace, appointed by the Queen; and, on the other hand, the friends of the Pretender, made great preparations to celebrate his birth-day.

The danger with which the Hanoverian Succession was threatened, appeared to be the more real and imminent, by reason of the great countenance, which the Roman Catholics and Jacobites received from the distinguishing marks of favour, which at this juncture, were shewn to the Duke d'Aumont, Ambassador Extraordinary from France, who came to London on the second of January, 1712-13, and was lodged at Powis House in Ormond-Street. He was at first attended in public with great acclamations by the populace, amongst whom he threw out from his coach handfuls of money; but, having soon

He is insulted by the mob.

(1) Burnet concludes his History with saying: I am now come to the end of the War, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst Parliament I ever saw, so no Assembly, but one composed as this was, could have fate quiet under such a Peace: But I am now arrived at my full period, and so shall close this work: I had a noble prospect before me,

in a course of many years, of bringing it to a glorious conclusion; now the scene is so fatally altered, that I can scarce refrain myself from giving vent to a just indignation in severe complaints: But an Historian must tell things truly as they are, and leave the decanting on them to others: So I here conclude this History of above three and fifty years. Burnet, Vol. II. 631.

1713. discontinued that custom, they changed their note, and insulted him with the cry of, *no Papist, no Pretender*; and great insolencies were offered before his House by some, who being opposed by others, it occasioned a scuffle between them; whereupon it was thought proper to order the Constables of the Parish to look to the security of his House. Nor was this precaution unnecessary; for by this time there was a general clamour among the people against him, on account of great quantities of wines, silks, and other goods, which his domestics were said to have imported custom-free, to the prejudice of the Tradesmen of London and Westminster. The fact was, some French Merchants took that opportunity to bring over a good deal of Burgundy and Champagne; which, before his arrival, were sold by retail at his house, and other places, at lower rates than at the Taverns; and at the same time, other Frenchmen who pretended to be of his retinue, brought also silks, buttons, perukes, toys, and other small wares, which they exposed to sale, unknown to the Ambassador. But though it was certain, that all the wines imported on this occasion (except two tuns allowed to an Ambassador Extraordinary) paid the full duties, which amounted to about 2500*l*. And though the Duke d'Aumont, upon his arrival at London, forbid the selling of wines or any other commodities in his house, yet the people put up the sign of a *Bunch of Grapes* before it in the night-time; and several ballads were writ both in French and English, one of them called, *The Merchant a-la-mode*, containing many severe reflections, not only against the Ambassador, but against the Queen's Ministers; strict search was made after the publishers of it, one of whom was committed to Newgate. Besides these public insults, several letters were sent to the Ambassador, to give him notice, that his house would be set on fire; which, whether by design or accident, happened on the 26th of January. That day the Duke d'Aumont entertained at dinner the Ambassador of Venice, the Envoys of Sweden and Florence, the Lord Waldegrave, and some other persons of distinction, whom, by way of jest, he acquainted with the threatening letters he had received. But the company were soon alarmed in good earnest by a cry of fire; which, having broke out about three in the afternoon in an upper room, spread itself with such violence, that, in less than two hours, the whole house was burnt to the ground; and all that the Ambassador's domestics could do, was to save his plate, and part of his richest furniture. The Duke of Ormond, having notice of this accident, caused detachments of the horse and foot-guards to march to Ormond-street, to secure the Ambassador's goods, and went himself to direct and encourage the Engineers and Firemen. The loss, the Ambassador and his Domestics sustained, was by some magnified to an immense degree, whilst others made it inconsiderable. How the fire began, was then, and still remains a more difficult question to be resolved. It was at first given out, that it happened by the carelessness of his Confectioner. Others said, the house was set on fire by an iron pot full of charcoal, that had been put in the middle of a room newly painted, in order to dry it. Others again reported, it was set on fire by two Bricklayers, who had been employed to mend the tiles of the house,

*His house
burnt.*

and who did it, at the instigation of the Whigs. 1713. Upon this suspicion, the two Bricklayers were taken into custody, and an advertisement was published in the *London Gazette*, 'That her Majesty thought fit to promise, that if any of the persons, who wrote the letters to the Duke d'Aumont, or any other person whatsoever, should discover the contrivers or actors of so scandalous and wicked a design, so that they, or any of them, might be brought to justice; such person, or persons, should receive the reward of five hundred pounds, and her Majesty's pardon for the offence.' The strictest inquiry, that could be made, not affording ground to fix this fire upon any particular person, the generality continued in their first opinion, that it happened through accident. But many, who considered, that, as soon as the Queen was informed of the misfortune, that had befallen the French Ambassador, she gave immediate orders, that the best apartment in *Sohamet-House* should be prepared for his accommodation, began to entertain a suspicion, that *Powis House* was designedly set on fire, for a pretence to remove the French Ambassador to a royal palace on the *Thames*, where any person might have private access to him. Others carried their surmises so far, as to imagine, that the Pretender himself was come over with the Ambassador, and had private interviews with the Queen and some of her Ministers. These jealousies were increased by the frequent entertainments and balls, which the Duke d'Aumont gave in his apartment; where a great concourse of persons resorting in masks, he had an opportunity to sound the sentiments of many about the Chevalier de St. George.

Mr. Prior, having, in the Queen's name solicited the release of the French Protestants, who were on board the galleys on account of their Religion; the Marquis de Torcy took that opportunity of complaining to him, that the French Refugees in England made it their business to inveigh against the King his Master; and naming, in particular, Mr. Dubourdieu, a French Minister of the Royal Chapel in the *Savoy* (who indeed had distinguished himself that way) desired, he might be punished, and made an example to the rest. At the same time, Torcy directed the Duke d'Aumont to demand the same at the Court of Great Britain; upon which he presented a memorial against Dubourdieu, to desire that exemplary punishment might be inflicted on him and all Ministers, who abused their pulpits by declamations against his Master.

Mr. Prior having beforehand acquainted the Lord Bolingbroke with the purport of this memorial, which clashed with the Constitution of our free Government, the Queen was prepared with an answer, 'That this was none of her business, but the Bishop of London's;' to whom the memorial was referred, with orders to examine Dubourdieu. He having appeared before the Bishop with four Elders of his Church, the Bishop communicated to them the French Ambassador's memorial; and asked the French Minister, What he had to say to it? Dubourdieu answered, 'The memorial containing only general complaints, he had nothing else to say, but that, during the war, he had, after the example of several Prelates, and other Clergymen of the Church of England, freely preached against the common enemy and persecutor of the Church; and

Feb. 1

The Pretender thought to be with d'Aumont.

Complaint against Mr. Dubourdieu.

May 19

1713. and that, the greatest part of his sermons being printed with his name affixed, he was far from disowning them; but that, since the proclamation of the peace, he had not said any thing that in the least concerned the person of the *French King*. The Bishop made him repeat the words, *Since the proclamation of the peace*; and asking of the Elders, *Whether this was true*? They answered, *That it was*. Upon which the Bishop said, he would make his report to the Queen: Which he did in such a manner, that the *French Ambassador* found no encouragement to insist on his demand.

On the 1st of July, the Duke d'Aumont made his public entry with great magnificence, attended by two Gentlemen of horse, twelve Pages, thirty footmen, and nine of his own coaches, five of which were drawn by eight horses, the other by six; his liveries being of scarlet-cloth, covered with a gold and green lace. Having, according to custom, been splendidly entertained for three days at the Queen's expence in *Somerſet-Houſe*, he was from thence conducted to his first audience of the Queen, to whom he addressed himself in a speech full of compliment and flattery.

About the middle of July, the *French Ministry* resolved to try the weight of their interest with the Court of *Great-Britain*. Monsieur Tugge, Deputy from the Magistrates of *Dunkirk*, presented to the Queen an address or petition, wherein he begged her Majesty's clemency for sparing the harbour and port of that town. But he was told by the Lord Bolingbroke, 'That the Queen beheld with sorrow the damages, which the inhabitants of that town would sustain by the demolition of its ramparts and harbour: But she did not think it convenient to make any alteration in an affair agreed on by a treaty.' Tugge, not discouraged by this repulse, presented a second address, wherein he suggested, 'That the preservation of the harbour of *Dunkirk*, without works and fortifications, might, in time, be equally useful, and become even absolutely necessary, both for her Majesty's political views, and the good of her subjects. This he endeavoured to evince, by a long deduction of several particulars, and then concluded with presuming to hope, 'That her Majesty would graciously be pleased to recall part of her sentence, by causing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, which might have incurred her displeasure, and by sparing only the mole and dykes, which, in their naked condition, could, for the future, be no more than an object of pity.' What answer was returned to this memorial, never came to public knowledge; but Tugge, whether of his own head, or by the encouragement of other persons, having caused it to be printed and dispersed in *English*, to try how it would be relished by the people, Mr. Richard Steele, who with Mr. Addison, and Mr. Arthur Maynwaring, exerted himself in defence of the liberties of *England*, and of the Whig cause, and who, at this very juncture, was writing a weekly paper, called the *Guardian*, answered Tugge's memorial with great spirit, and, in order to expose it to the resentment of all men, who valued their Country, or had any respect to the honour, safety, or glory of their Queen, suggested, in his paper of the 7th of August, 1713, 'That the *British Nation* expected the immediate demolition of *Dunkirk*.

1713. 'That the very common people knew, that within two months after the signing of the peace, the works towards the sea were to be demolished, and, within three months after it, the works towards the land.

'That the peace was signed the last of March, O. S.

'That the Parliament has been told from the Queen, that the equivalent for it is in the hands of the *French King*.

'That the *Sieur Tugge* has the impudence to ask the Queen, to remit the most material part of the articles of peace between her Majesty and his Master.

'That the *British Nation* received more damage in their trade from the port of *Dunkirk*, than from almost all the ports of *France*, either in the Ocean, or the *Mediterranean*.

'That fleets of above thirty sail have come together out of *Dunkirk*, during the late war, and taken ships of war, as well as merchantmen.

'That the Pretender sailed from thence to *Scotland*; and that it is the only port the *French* have, till you come to *Brest*, for the whole length of the Channel, where any considerable naval armament can be made.

'That destroying the fortifications of *Dunkirk* is an inconsiderable advantage to *England*, in comparison to the advantage of destroying the mole, dykes, and harbour, it being the naval force from thence, which only can hurt the *British Nation*.

'That the *Dutch*, who suffered equally with us from those of *Dunkirk*, were probably induced to sign the treaty with *France*, from this consideration, that the town and harbour of *Dunkirk* should be destroyed.

'That the situation of *Dunkirk* is such, as that it may always keep runners to observe all ships sailing on the *Thames* and *Medway*.

That all the suggestions, which the *Sieur Tugge* brought concerning the *Dutch*, were false and scandalous.

'That, whether it might be advantageous to the trade of *Holland* or not, that *Dunkirk* should be demolished, it was necessary, for the safety, honour, and liberty of *England*, that it should be so.

'That, when *Dunkirk* was demolished, the power of *France*, on that side, should it ever be turned against us, would be removed several hundred miles further off *Great-Britain* than it was at present.

'That after the demolition, there could be no considerable preparations made at sea by the *French* in all the Channel but at *Brest*; and that *Great-Britain* being an island, which cannot be attacked but by a naval power, we might esteem *France* effectually removed by the demolition from *Great-Britain*, as far as the distance from *Dunkirk* to *Brest*.

These reflections were not only a great mortification to Tugge and the other *French* agents, but also gave no small offence to some of the *British* Ministers, as appeared by the severe animadversions that were published by the authors of the *Examiner*. But, on the other hand, the necessity of the immediate demolition of *Dunkirk* was urged by several other writers, and particularly by Mr. Toland in a Pamphlet, intitled, *Dunkirk or Dover*.

1713.
Demolition
of the for-
tifications
of Dun-
kirk.

About the beginning of September, the Colonels *Armstrong* and *Clayton* were appointed Commissioners to see the fortifications of *Dunkirk* demolished; and at the same time two Captains of men of war were, by the Admiralty, named to see the harbour filled up. Accordingly, on the 7th of September, the two Colonels set out for *Dunkirk*, where three French Battalions, and as many Swiss being come, and incamping, the one without *Port-Neuport*, the other without *Port-Royal*, they began on the 26th the demolition, the French between these two gates, and the Swiss between the *Baſon* and the Citadel. The same day a dispute arose between Sir *James Abercromby*, the British Commandant, and Monsieur *le Blanc*, the French Intendant of the Province, about the manner of carrying it on. The French intended to have made a breach in the ramparts, or main fortifications of the town; but the two English Commissioners having made the Commandant sensible, that, if the same was permitted, the English garrison was not safe, and the French, might easily make themselves masters of the place; Sir *James* insisted, and it was at last agreed to by *le Blanc*, that all the outworks, both towards the sea and the land, should be first demolished; next the harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main fortifications of the place razed and destroyed; and last of all, the citadel. This point being cleared, the French and Swiss soldiers went to work again, and removed the great guns from *Fort Gallard*, *Fort de Revers*, the *Risbank*, and the two forts at the heads or entrance of the port; and the miners made preparations to blow up these forts, and the other outworks; which was done towards the end of November. But notwithstanding all this, the French found afterwards an expedient to evade the letter of this treaty, by making a new canal in *Maraye*, which had a communication from the sea to the *baſon* of *Dunkirk*.

The Duke d'*Aumont* having taken his audience of leave at *Windſor* about the end of August, he set out from *London* on his return to *Paris* the 7th of November.

7th Nov.
1713.

Before the Queen left *Kensington*, she resolved to bestow some marks of her favour on the Earl of *Peterborough*, who, though not in any great confidence with the prime Managers, had yet been instrumental in the change of the Ministry in 1710, and had supported their pacific measures. He was on the 3d of August elected Knight of the Garter, in the room of the late Duke of *Hamilton*; and the next day installed at *Windſor*, with the Dukes of *Beaufort* and *Kent*, Earl *Paulet*, the Earl of *Oxford* and *Mortimer*, and the Earl of *Strafford*; Sir *Jacob Banks* standing proxy for this last. About the same time the Bishop of *Bristol*, Lord Privy-Seal, was translated to the See of *London*, vacant by the death of Dr. *Henry Compton*, a generous and good-natured man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others. On the 8th of August, a proclamation was published for dissolving the Parliament, and another, on the 17th, for calling a new one.

Letters in
favour of
the Pre-
sents.

Some days before, several letters subscribed with an *H* (the initial letter of the Earl of *Oxford's* family-name) were sent by the post to the Mayors, and other Magistrates of divers Corporations, recommending to them to pro-

mote the interest of the Pretender in the next elections; which it was suggested, would be acceptable to the Queen and Ministry. Some of these letters having been transmitted to the Secretaries of State, an advertisement, signed by the Lord *Dartmouth*, was inserted in the *Gazette*, promising the Queen's pardon, and a reward of one hundred pounds, to any person, who should discover the Author of the letter. This occasioned various conjectures. Some ascribed the letters to the disaffected Whigs; others to the Pretender's friends, both of whom hated the Lord-Treasurer, the Whigs, for having done too much, and the others, for having done too little for the Pretender's interest. On this account he was in a very difficult situation, especially, as he had been for some time upon ill terms with the Lord *Bolingbroke*, as appears from his own letter to the Queen, of the 9th of June 1713. Before the last Session of Parliament, *Bolingbroke* had formed a scheme to put himself and Chancellor *Harcourt* at the head of the High-Church party, and had opposed the Duke of *Soreauſbury's* being sent over to France. However, with Lady *Masham's* assistance, the Lord-Treasurer brought his own scheme to bear, which was, 'That the Duke of *Ormond* should stay in England, to attend the army affairs, which was necessary at the time of disbanding: That the Duke of *Soreauſbury* should go to Ireland, as Lord-Lieutenant, upon his return from France: That the Earl of *Findlater* should be Chancellor of Scotland; the Earl of *Mar* third Secretary of State; the Lord *Dartmouth* Privy-Seal; Mr. Speaker *Bromley* Secretary of State; and Sir *William Wyndham* Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the room of *Robert Benson*, lately created Lord *Bingley*, and named Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *Madrid*. This new scheme perfectly defeated that of Lord *Bolingbroke* and his friends, which threw them into a great rage; and the Lord Chancellor declared the promotion of the Earl of *Findlater* to be against law, and would not treat that Earl with decency; and Lord *Mar* and Secretary *Bromley* received many instances of ill usage. Most of these changes were declared from the middle of August to the middle of September; and, about that time, *Thomas Foley* was appointed Auditor of the imprest accounts, in the room of Mr. *Maynwaring* deceased; the Lord *Lansdown*, Treasurer of the Household, in the room of the Earl of *Choldmondley*, formerly removed; Sir *John Stonehouse*, Comptroller of the Household, in the room of the Lord *Lansdown*; the Lord *de la War*, Treasurer of the Chamber, in the room of the Lord *Fitzbarding* deceased; *Francis Gwin*, Secretary of War, in the room of Sir *William Wyndham*; and *Thomas Moore*, brother to *Athur Moore*, Paymaster of the land-forces abroad, in the room of Mr. *Bridges*. About this time, likewise, the Duke of *Northumberland* and Sir *John Stonehouse* were sworn of the Privy-Council; and the Earl of *Denbigh* made one of the tellers of the Exchequer.

All this while the party writers and managers on both sides were extremely busy in preparing the minds of the people to favour their respective interests in the new elections for Parliament men. But notwithstanding the weight and influence of the Court, and the visible partiality

1713

Aug. 1.

Rep. of
the Com.
of Secr.New elec-
tions.

of

1713. of some returning officers, a far greater number of Whigs were chosen, than was by many expected.

A million raised in two or three days by the Treasurer.

There happened about this time an incident, which did not a little contribute to secure the Treasurer's interest at Court. An advertisement had been inserted in the *London Gazette*, whereby it was proposed to raise three hundred thousand pounds for paying off part of the debts of the Navy, by way of Loan, on the security of the *South-Sea Stock*, deposited, for that purpose, into the hands of the Chamberlain of London, and the Deputy-Tellers of the *Exchequer*. Whether monied men did not like the security, or the trustees; or whatever was the reason, not above seventy thousand pounds were subscribed into this Loan in six or seven weeks; which made many believe, it would never be filled up. But, upon an order of the 9th of September by the Lord-Treasurer, that whoever should subscribe one hundred pounds to the Loan, should be intitled to buy ten Tickets of ten pounds each in the Household Lottery of five hundred thousand pounds, there was the next day such a croud of Subscribers, both at the *Exchequer* and *Guild-Hall*, that more than the three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed. The Treasurer improving the opportunity, enlarged the Loan to five hundred thousand pounds, which in a few days was filled up, as was at the same time the Lottery of the like sum: So that, by this means, the Treasurer raised a million Sterling in two or three days, which greatly advanced his credit and reputation.

The Marquis de Miremont intercedes for the Protestants in the Gallies.

The Marquis de Miremont, whom the Queen had sent to *Ulrecht* with a commission to take care of the interest of the French Protestants, being come over, waited on the Queen, and returned her thanks for procuring the enlargement from the Gallies of France of one hundred and thirty-six Protestants. He desired her still to interpose her good offices for the deliverance of one hundred and eighty-five more of these sufferers, who were still detained in the Gallies on the same account. The Marquis de *Rochegude* spoke to her likewise in their behalf, and delivered to her letters from the *States* and the Princess *Sophia* to the same purpose. The Queen, who had been given to understand, that all the French Protestant sufferers had been enlarged, was surprized to find, there were so many still under affliction; and desired the Marquis de *Rochegude* to give her a list of them. The Archbishop of *York*, Lord Almoner, having likewise been informed about this matter, he seconded both the French Marquises solicitations with great Zeal; which had the desired effect. About this time *Charles Rois*, Colonel-General of the Dragoons, and Lieutenant-General, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to the King of France.

petition presented as in- through for solving Union.

Some days before a very remarkable thing happened in Scotland. *George Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, an avowed friend of the Pretender, having been unanimously chosen Member of Parliament for *Edinburgh*; a great number of the inhabitants signed a petition, to be presented to the House of Commons, for bringing in a bill to dissolve the Union. This done, the populace went to the Parliament Close in *Edinburgh*, and there, by the Statue of King *Charles II.* drank healths to the Queen, the dissolution of the Union, and all true *Scotch-*

men; and afterwards went to the Market-Cross; and did the like, with repeated acclamations. It was likewise reported, that some Scots Merchants caused a petition to be presented to the King of France by Mr. *Arbutnot*, their agent at *Roan*, representing their grievances in point of trade, and other matters, and desiring his protection for their redress, in consideration of the antient alliances between France and Scotland. But, this application bordering upon treason, no further steps were made in it.

About the latter end of the year 1713, the following incident happened: By the Regency-bill, which was to take place on the Queen's death, power was given to the person next in Succession, to nominate as many as he or she pleased, to act with the great Officers named in the bill. This was, properly speaking, the safeguard of the Protestant Succession. The act was very particular, in directing several things to be done in that affair, by the person next in Succession abroad, and by his Minister or Agent here. Mr. *William Benson*, apprehending some omissions in this respect, by which the nomination could not be of any use, applied to Baron *Botmar* for information, and found his fears were not groundless. The act directed, that the instruments of Nomination should be three in number, and transmitted hither to the Resident of the person next in Succession, whose Credentials were to be inrolled in Chancery; and, after such inrolment, the Resident was to deposit one part with the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, another with the Lord-Chancellor or Keeper, and the third was to remain with the Resident, and that the Seals of these three persons should be fixed to the covers in which the instruments were included. Now *Botmar*, in whose hands one of these instruments was left, had not the character of Resident; and Mr. *Kreinberg*, who was Resident, and whose Credentials were inrolled, was not concerned in the matter. Nor was *Botmar's*, nor *Kreinberg's*, nor the Chancellor's Seal affixed to the instruments, but the Seal of Baron *Schultz* and of the Lord *Cowper*, who was no longer Chancellor. If therefore the Queen had died, whilst the matter was in this situation, these instruments could not have been opened, because the act had not been complied with. In this light *Benson* represented the affair to *Botmar*, who desired that Chief Justice *Parker* might be acquainted with it. *Parker* appointed a meeting of the chief persons trusted by the House of *Hanover*, and *Botmar* was to bring his part of the deposited instruments with him. Accordingly, there was the next morning a meeting at the Duke of *Devonshire's*, and, upon examination, all were of opinion, the whole was wrong, and that it was of the utmost consequence it should be redressed as soon as possible. *Parker* undertook to direct the proper forms; and a Messenger was dispatched to *Hanover*, who returned with great expedition with instruments according to law; the first of which was to appoint *Kreinberg* Resident, and, after the inrolment of his Credentials, he had new instruments to be deposited by him, pursuant to the act. *Kreinberg* went immediately to Chancellor *Harcourt*, and, delivering his new Credentials, desired they might be inrolled, which the Chancellor said should be done in a few days. But, the thing being delayed, *Kreinberg* went to the Chancellor, and

1713.

A dangerous mistake discovered in regard to the Regency-act.

1713. and told him, if his credentials were not inrolled by the next post, he must acquaint the Princess Sophia with it. This was refused; but, however, he was bid to come again in a day or two, at which time the Chancellor delivered to Kreinberg, not his Credentials, but a copy only, or a common piece of paper.

When this paper was shewn to Chief Justice Parker, as delivered by the Chancellor to Kreinberg, for his credentials inrolled, he was greatly surpris'd and carried the paper with him to Westminster-Hall (where he was then going) to shew it to the Chancellor, and speak to him about it. Parker producing the paper to the Chancellor told him, it had been delivered to the Hanover Resident as his Credentials inrolled, without saying who had done it. The Chancellor, as if he knew nothing of the matter, said with great warmth, 'This is very wrong, but this is a young fellow just come into his office, his father being lately dead; but let me have the paper, and I will take care to set this matter to rights for Mr. Kreinberg, if he will come to me in a day or two.' Kreinberg did not fail going, and at last got his Credentials again properly inrolled about the 27th of March 1714. Shortly after the instrument appointing the persons to be added to the Lords Regents on the Queen's decease were deposited in proper form, which had not been done before in eight years, for so long the act had subsisted, being passed in 1706.

Affairs of
Ireland.

Ireland, since the Lord Wharton had resigned the Government of it, was become Jacobite almost without reserve, and the boldness of the Papists, countenanced by Chancellor Phipps, alarmed the Protestants and put them upon their guard against the attempts of their enemies, who, about this time, industriously fomented the disputes occasioned by the election of a Lord-Mayor for the City of Dublin. The Aldermen having chosen Mr. Pleasants, it was strenuously opposed by the then Lord-Mayor, and the decision of the affair being left to the Privy Council (where the Lords-Justices, of whom Sir Constantine Phipps was one, had the direction) they came on the 4th of September to these resolutions: '1. That the Lord-Mayor of the City of Dublin, for the time being, has the right of nominating three Aldermen to be put in election for Lord-Mayor of Dublin; and that the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen are obliged to elect one of the three to be succeeding Lord-Mayor, unless just objections be made against them. 2. That the proceeding of seventeen Aldermen in the election of Alderman Pleasants for Lord-Mayor, and James King for Sheriff, in the absence of Sir Samuel Cooke, Lord-Mayor, was a breach of the new rules; and that such elections were null and void.' Six days after the Lord-Mayor summoned the Aldermen to meet, and proceed to a new choice; and, in pursuance of the resolution of the Council, he named Sir William Fownes and Aldermen Constantine and Mason, the same who were in nomination before. But twenty Aldermen insisted on a previous question concerning the first in nomination, and offered some objections to him; upon which the Lord-Mayor having dissolved the court, nothing was determined.

In this ferment the Duke of Shrewsbury found the City of Dublin, when he arrived there on the

27th of October, to take upon him the government of Ireland; and perceiving the Pretender's friends had received no small encouragement from Chancellor Phipps, he took all proper occasions to make good the expectations of the well affected to the Revolution and the Protestant Succession; but more particularly on King William's Birth Day, when he declared, *He was still the same he was in the year 1688*, and publicly drank to the pious and glorious memory of King William.

A new Parliament being called, the struggle in Ireland between the two parties was as great as in England. The warmest contention was in the City of Dublin, where Sir William Fownes and Mr. Tucker were set up by the Tories, and Mr. Recorder Forster and Mr. Burton by the Whigs. The poll began on the 6th of November; and the Sheriffs, perceiving the Electors were going into a riot, sent for some of the guards to prevent it: Upon which a tumult arose, and the guards, being assaulted by the populace, fired some shot among them, killed one man, and wounded some others. Both parties immediately made their complaints to the Lord Lieutenant, who, the next day, appointed a committee to make a strict inquiry into the disorder, and directed the Sheriffs to take the poll at two different places, to prevent the meeting and clashing of the two contending parties; and upon information, that the Papists and Jacobites were the chief promoters of the riot, he caused several Popish Chapels in Dublin to be shut up; which was very grateful to all Protestants. On the 17th of November the Sheriffs closed the poll; and Forster and Burton were declared duly elected by a great majority.

The Parliament of Ireland being met on the 25th of November, the Lord-Lieutenant made a speech to both Houses, importing, 'That her Majesty, having procured a safe and honourable peace, had nothing now to wish, but that her subjects might enjoy the benefits and advantages of it. That her Majesty had nothing more at heart, than the preservation of the rights and liberties of her people, and the settling them upon a lasting foundation, by securing the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover.' He earnestly recommended to the Commons, 'That, as the Protestants in that Kingdom were united in one common interest, they might all agree in the same means of promoting it, by laying aside all warmth or resentment; which would appear by the unanimity of their proceedings.'

Notwithstanding this caution, there was the next day a great contest in the House of Commons about the choice of a Speaker; Sir Richard Levinz being put up by the Tory party, and Alan Broderick by the Whigs; but, upon a division, Broderick was chosen by a majority of four voices.

The addresses of compliment to the Queen and the Lord-Lieutenant having been presented, the Commons proceeded in providing, by good laws, for the security of the Protestant Religion, against the designs of the Papists. They ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the Pretender, and all persons that adhered to him, of high-treason, with the promise of a reward to any person that should take the Pretender alive or dead. They appointed a Committee to inquire into the proceedings against Edward Lloyd,

1713. *Lloyd*, for publishing a book called, *The Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George* (1), and against *Dudley Moore*, and others, relating to a pretended riot at the Play-House, occasioned by that Gentleman's speaking the Prologue to *Tamerlane*, in praise of *King William*. They confirmed the election of *Forster* and *Burton*, and unanimously resolved upon an address to the Queen, for the removal of *Sir Constantine Phipps* from the Chancellorship (2).

On the other hand, the Bishops of Ireland, resolving not to leave the Chancellor to the resentment of the Commons, used their utmost endeavours to get a contrary address voted in the House of Lords, where it was resolved; that Chancellor *Phipps* had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. And, a Committee being ordered to draw up the address, it was presented to the Lord-Lieutenant to be transmitted to *England* (3).

On the 21st of *December*, the Commons, taking into consideration the State of the Nation, came to several resolutions against the proceedings of those who had lately been the Managers of the affairs of that Kingdom (4).

Mr. Moleworth, (afterwards Viscount *Moleworth*) famous for his Preface to the State of *Denmark*, being a Privy-Counsellor in *Ireland* as well as Member of Parliament, was at the Castle of *Dublin*, with some other Members, on the day the Commons presented their address against the Chancellor: The two Houses of Convocation coming thither, to present a contrary address, *Mr. Moleworth* said in the hearing of some Gentlemen about him, *They, that have turned the World upside down, are come bither also?* Upon this the Lower House of

Convocation sent a complaint to the Upper, representing, 'That they looked upon the words uttered by *Mr. Moleworth* to be an intolerable profanation of the Holy Scriptures; and that his speaking to them at that time, and in that place, was with design to cast an odium and aspersion on their Graces and their Lordships, and the whole Clergy, and to represent them as a turbulent and seditious body. That they thought themselves in duty obliged to lay the matter before the Upper House; not only for the reasons above mentioned, but, because they conceived it to be a high affront to her Majesty, and great disrespect to her representative, the Lord-Lieutenant: And they humbly prayed their Lordships to vindicate the whole Clergy from this wicked calumny.' The Bishops immediately laid this complaint before the House of Lords; who desired a Conference with the Commons, and left with them a copy of the paper delivered by the Bishops. The Commons laid no great stress on that complaint; but, the matter having been represented in *England* in the most odious colours, *Mr. Moleworth* was removed from the Privy-Council.

It is observable that Chancellor *Phipps* had many Champions for him in *Great-Britain*; every Tory thinking himself obliged to vindicate him, upon the account of his zealous adhering to the Church's cause in *Dr. Sacheverell's* Tryal, and giving out, that the resolutions of the Commons against him were not of Irish growth, but the result of the joint counsels of the Whigs of both Kingdoms. On the other hand, the Whig party loudly justified the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons against that Minister,

(1) This book was written in defence of the legitimacy of the Pretender, and of his title to the Crown. *Lloyd* had published advertisements of his intentions to reprint that book, exhorting all good people to subscribe for it. For this he had been indicted, and the bill found in *Michaëlas-Term*, 1712. Notwithstanding which, he went about at large till July 1713; and Chancellor *Phipps* wrote a letter to the Duke of *Ormond* in favour of *Lloyd*, recommending him as an object of the Queen's mercy, and as a person who had no evil intention in printing and publishing that book; upon which *Lloyd* obtained a *noli prosequi*. See *Conduct of the Purse* in *Ireland*, p. 35.

(2) The Commons, *December* 18, unanimously resolved, 1. That the *Memoirs of the Chevalier de St. George* was a seditious and treasonable libel. 2. That the remiss prosecution of *Lloyd* was an encouragement to the Popish, and other friends of the Pretender. 3. That *Sir Constantine Phipps*, in representing *Lloyd* as an object of mercy, in order to obtain a *noli prosequi*, acted contrary to the Protestant interest. 4. That an address be presented to the Queen, to remove *Sir Constantine Phipps* from the place of Lord High-Chancellor, for the peace and safety of her Protestant subjects.

(3) At the same time, *Mr. Richard Nuttall*, a Lawyer, was censured by the Lords, for saying, 'The Lord Chancellor of *Ireland* is a Canary-bird and a Villain, and has set the Kingdom together by the ears, and ought to be hanged.'

(4) As these resolutions will explain the conduct of the Duke of *Ormond*, and those employed under him, and other Lord-Lieutenants and Justices, it may not be improper to infer them:

1. That for some years last past there had been a design formed and carried on, to subvert the Constitution, and alter the Government of the City of *Dublin*.

2. That, to carry on that design, a corrupt and illegal attempt was made in 1711, to corrupt Alderman *Ralph Gore*, then Lord-Mayor, by offering him a bribe of five hundred pounds, to name thirty-two persons, marked in a list then delivered to him by *Martin Tucker*, Esq; Sub-Collector of the port of *Dublin*, to be Common-Council-Men for the said City. 3. That it appears, on the examination of *Martin Tucker*, Esq; that he was sent to offer the said sum of five hundred pounds to Alderman *Ralph Gore*, while *Sir Constantine Phipps*, Knight, Lord High-Chancellor of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General *Ingoldsby*, were Lords-Justices. 4. That the City of *Dublin* had, of late, been, and still continued, in great disorder and confusion, by reason of the frequent disapprobations of persons elected Lord-Mayors and Sheriffs of the said City, all of them of known affection to her Majesty's Person and Government, and to the Constitution in Church and State. 5. That *Sir Constantine Phipps* had been the chief cause and promoter of such frequent disapprobations, and thereby the occasion of the said disorder and confusion. 6. That, since the making the new rules 1672, until *Sir Constantine Phipps* arrived in that Kingdom, no person elected Lord-Mayor of the City of *Dublin*, had been disapproved, except in the Government of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*. 7. That the Council-board had not at this time, nor had not since the time (given them by the act of explanation) expired, any power to make rules or orders for regulating the election of Magistrates in any Corporation in that Kingdom. 8. That the right of election of Lord-Mayor of *Dublin* is in the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the said City; and that the Aldermen are in no sort restrained, in the choice of the succeeding Lord-Mayor, to one of any three persons nominated or proposed, to be put in election by the Lord-Mayor.

(1) We

1713.

Minister, who, to say no worse, had been the occasion of unhappy distinctions among the Protestants of that Kingdom (1). These divisions gave to great encouragement to the Pretender's friends, that men were almost publicly enlisted into his service; of which the Commons took notice in their votes of the 22d of December. And the Grand Jury of the County of *Dublin* having made a presentment of that traitorous practice, and laid it before the Lord-Lieutenant, a Proclamation was issued out for apprehending Lieutenant *Butler* in Lord *Galway's* Regiment, who had enlisted *William* and *Michael Letry* to serve the Pretender, and told them, he had enlisted fourteen men more for the same purpose.

This Parliament not being relished by the Ministry in *England*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* received orders to prorogue them; but, before he did it, he sent for the Speaker of the House of Commons out of the country, and told him, the Queen was willing to give them an opportunity to do themselves justice; but, if they did not proceed with unanimity at their next meeting, he had orders to dissolve them. As the Parliament was by no means disposed to acquiesce in all the Ministers measures (which was the meaning of *proceeding with unanimity*) they sat no more in this reign. The Duke himself did not much like his situation, and, having constant intelligence of the ill state of the Queen's health from Dr. *Shadwell*, one of her

1713.

Physi-

(1) We have a large account of his behaviour there, in a pamphlet printed at *London* in 1714, in 8vo. intitled, *The Conduct of the Purse in Ireland: In a letter to a Member of the late Oxford Convocation, occasioned by their having conferred the degree of Doctor upon Sir Constantine Phipps*. The Author observes, p. 10, 'That he will not take upon him so far to judge Sir *Constantine*, as to say, he was an enemy to the Protestant Interest and Protestant Succession. I will, says he, suppose, that he might not have had any intention of prejudicing either the one or the other. But whether it hath happened through mistake, or through passion, and too warm a pursuit of his own particular quarrels and resentments, or of the resentments of others; whether he hath been misguided by the misrepresentations of men and things, or the true interest of the country, where he resided, or of the true temper and genius of that People; whatsoever his intentions really were, I think I may very confidently affirm this, that, had a professed enemy to the Protestant interest of that Kingdom been placed in that Government, when he was, such person could not with any discretion or safety have pursued measures more likely to divide, weaken, and subvert the Protestant interest of that Kingdom, than this Doctor hath pursued from the time of his landing there.' The Author remarks, p. 19, that before Sir *Constantine's* arrival in *Ireland*, the inhabitants knew little of the distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*, of *High-Church* and *Low-Church*: These divisions had not affected them in any great degree; the chief distinction amongst them was that of *Papist* and *Protestant*. But soon after his arrival the distinctions of *Whig* and *Tory* were propagated with great industry, and those, who were of the first class, fell under his displeasure, and were displaced from their employments, and, as far as was in the power of him, or his wife, or their dependents, by their solicitations or influence to effect, they were removed from, or cramped in all manner of business or trade, by which they got their livelihood: And he descended so low, when in the Government, as in person to solicit Gentlemen to change their Taylors, and their other Tradesmen, upon these accounts. Informers, or, as they call them, *Lions*, were encouraged to put themselves into the companies of Gentlemen, and to report to the Government what was said there. Several Gentlemen of *West-Meath*, for having only drank the health of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the late Lord *Gadolphin*, were accused by a Fryar, one of the new Converts, of having formed a plot against the Government, and thereupon were sent for in custody of Messengers. Other Gentlemen were informed against for words of little or no signification. In a word, an end was put to almost all conversation, and to the intercourse of all good offices, charity, and love amongst Protestants. And tho' the discoveries were of very little significance; yet the trouble given to Gentlemen by these informations was so considerable, that the whole seemed as it were designed to convince Protestant Gentlemen, that the Government had no mind to let them meet together

at all. The rooms of the Gentlemen displaced (excepting the place of Attorney and Solicitor-General) were filled up for the most part with persons of little or no fortunes, and such as were most remarkable for a temper violent against the Dissenters, and moderate towards the Papists. Such, and the new Converts, were chiefly the objects of his favour, and were brought into all Stations, Magistracies, and Employments. But the Corporations being in the hands of men, who were thankful for the Revolution, in order to reform them, the chief Governors and the Privy-Council, having an authority of approving or disapproving the elections of Magistrates of most Corporations in that Kingdom, (which authority was vested in them by Act of Parliament, only with intent to exclude Papists and persons Papishly inclined;) as it was not to be imagined, but in every Corporation the Doctor might find some one or two men willing to prostitute themselves to his will and pleasure; so, having found such, he prevailed with a majority of the Privy-Council to concur with him in disapproving the election of every other than such person; hereby straining the power of approbation into that of a nomination. By this means several Corporations conceiving they had a power of electing their own Magistrates, and not willing to put their privileges into the hands of such, as they thought they could not trust, who were generally such as your Doctor had a mind for, they were obliged to infinite elections, returns, and attendances upon the Privy-Council; and, all being disapproved, without any manner of reason given, some Corporations continued without Magistrates for several months; some for above a year; and, during such time, in the utmost confusion and disorder, especially in *Dublin*. There creditors had no way to recover their small debts: There were no Sheriffs to execute writs upon any account; no criminals could be tried or executed; no Mayor to correct the abuses of the bread, and other markets: No justice could be had; and when his agents had raised a tumult against the Aldermen and others (who conceived themselves bound by oath to maintain the privileges of that Corporation, one of which was the freedom of electing their own Magistrates) by representing them as factious persons, who flew in the face of the Government; in these disorders there was no Magistrate to keep the public peace; and when Protestants were knocking one another on the head, and the Papists were cheerfully yielding their hand to that work; a young Protestant Officer, who had charitably interposed with some soldiers to prevent bloodshed, was confined, and threatened to be cashiered for his pains, by a very good friend of your Doctor's, if not at his request. Thus hath the Doctor divided and set the Protestants of *Ireland* together by the ears; he hath heightened their animosities to a degree that hath never before been known in that Country; inasmuch that, had the least attempt been made upon that Kingdom, they must in all probability have fallen an easy prey to their mortal enemies the Papists.

(1) He

1713. Physicians (1), he thought it too dangerous for him to be absent from Court in so critical a juncture, as her decease was like to be. So he desired and obtained leave to return to *England*. Chancellor *Phipps* and Archbishop *Lindsey*, with the Archbishop of *Tuam*, were appointed Justices of *Ireland* (2).

Account of the book called, Hereditary Right.
In *England* all disguise was now thrown off by the Jacobites, and the Pretender's right to the Crown was publicly maintained in a large volume, called, *The HEREDITARY RIGHT of the Crown of England asserted: The History of the Succession since the Conquest cleared, and the true English Constitution vindicated from the misrepresentations of Dr. Higden's view and defence, &c.* The author, after having shewn in the introduction, that allegiance is not due to all powers in possession (3), endeavours to prove, 'That the people's submission to such Kings, as were not heirs to the Crown by immediate descent, is no argument, that possession gives right to allegiance.' And, to elude the force of Dr. Higden's arguments against *Hereditary Right*, grounded on the several deviations from the lineal descent in the Succession of the Crown since the Conquest, he maintains, that the Kings of *England* had antiently a power of disposing of the Crown by Testament: That the consent, resignation, and cession of the rightful heir were certainly

sufficient to make Kings *de facto* rightful: And that therefore submission might be paid them on one of these accounts.' This being a point very material to the Author's design, he endeavours to evince it by the example of *William the Conqueror*, whom he asserts to have been a lawful King in both these regards, and justifies *Edward the Confessor's* nomination of him for his Successor (4). Then he labours to prove, that *William Rufus* and *Henry the First* were also lawful Kings. This done, he comes to King *Stephen*, whom he calls the first Usurper, and pretends, that, in his Reign, the most turbulent of any, there were no footsteps of Dr. Higden's principle, of allegiance being due to Kings *de facto*. On this occasion the Author mentions particularly the Earl of *Gloucester*, who owned himself bound in conscience to the right of the Empress *Maud*; the King of *Scotland*, who suffered much in defence of her right; and the behaviour of the Clergy, who made a distinction between King *Stephen* and a King *de jure*; shews what influence the Pope's pretended power of setting up Kings had in those days; and asserts, That our Historians date *Stephen's* Reign from his agreement with *Henry*; which concurs with the Author's main design, which is to establish a *Testamentary* and *Cessionary* right, in order to account for the allegiance which, at divers

(1) He used to write to the Duke and Duchesse of *Shrewsbury* under the name of *J. Smith*.

(2) The Duke of *Shrewsbury* had reasons, both of private and public concern, to wish himself in *England*. He had not been long in *Dublin*, before he found, that he was little more than the pageant of the Government of *Ireland*, of which the main springs were, in the Lord-Chancellor's hands: For, upon the decease of Dr. *Narrifus Morley*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, the Duke declined to have advanced to that Primacy his Kinsman, Dr. *Talbot*, Bishop of *Oxford*: But, upon the recommendation of Sir *Constantine Phipps*, Dr. *Lindsey*, Bishop of *Raphoe*, was immediately preferred, as a person ready to go all lengths, to favour the scheme in hand. From this, and other instances, the Duke began to surmise, either that the Lord-Treasurer's professed friendship slackened, or that his interest was upon the decline.

(3) In the Introduction the Author pretends, 'That the first time, the duty of paying allegiance to powers in possession began to be taught in this Kingdom, was, during the usurpations, which succeeded the death of King *Charles the First*. That in all former Revolutions the Princes, who got possession of the Crown, claimed it by some right, and never insisted on possession as right. But, the Rump Parliament, and *Cromwell*, and the following Usurpers, having no tolerable pretence to any claim of right, their friends were reduced to a necessity of pleading possession, as a right to obedience; and several books were then published by Papists, Fanatics, and Deists, to enforce and prove it. But that this principle was then generally rejected by all the Members of the Church of *England*, and by many Presbyterians, who maintained, that allegiance was due to the rightful King, who was not in possession. That, after the Restoration, the acts and judicial proceedings of the Governments preceding were all null and void, except such as were authorized by a new law. And it was declared by an act of Parliament, that all the said powers before in possession were rebellious, wicked, traitorous, abominable usurpations, detested by this present Parliament.' That here the Constitution was again settled on its antient foundation, not in possession, which all the Usurpers had, but upon the undoubted right of the lawful Heir, who had been out

of possession, and of his Heirs and lawful Successors: And that, agreeably to this Constitution in that Reign, it was the constant doctrine of Lawyers and Divines, that allegiance was not due to all powers in possession. That the Revolution, which happened after, was begun, carried on, ended, and justified on these grounds, that allegiance was not due to all Kings in possession: That King *James* was lawfully deprived; and that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were lawfully put in possession. But these positions did not suit with the principles of many Lawyers and Divines, who had constantly maintained, that the deposition of a lawful King was absolutely unlawful, by the law of God, and the laws of this Kingdom. Therefore, to justify the transference of their allegiance, the former opinion, that seemed buried at the Restoration, was revived; viz. That allegiance was due to all powers in possession; and many eminent Members of the Church of *England* received it, as consistent with the doctrine of *Non-resistance*. That divers treatises were then published by Divines and Lawyers to defend it; particularly, the unreasonableness of a new separation and the case of allegiance due to sovereign power. That the instances of History and Parliament records, used in the first, were inquired into by an exact and faithful Historian, and unanswerably refuted: And the Arguments of the last, from Scripture and Reason, the doctrine of the Church, and the laws of the Kingdom, were refuted likewise by several Writers. That no reply of moment being made, that controversy seemed to be buried again, till Dr. *Higden* thought fit to examine the dispute again, and was convinced, that allegiance was due to Kings in fact, by laws divine and human. But that, as the Doctor's opinion makes the most unjust possession (as was *Oliver's*) rightful, and destroys the *Hereditary Right*, so long established by the Constitution, the Author has followed him through all his labyrinths, refuted his arguments, and rectified his errors.

(4) What the Author insinuates on this occasion deserves particular notice: 'If it be said that *Edward the Confessor* was an unjust Possessor, his Nephew, by his elder Brother, being then living, to whom he ought to have resigned the Crown: I answer, that, when Historians are silent, it does not become private men

1713.

vers times, the Clergy, Nobility, and People, have paid to unlawful Possessors of the Throne. In the same views he passes on to Henry the Second, whom he maintains to have been a rightful King, because it is most probable, that his Mother, the Empress *Maud*, had resigned her right to him. Here he answers Dr. *Higden's* argument from a passage in our *Homilies*; discovers a mistake committed by the Compilers of them; defends Bishop *Merks* against Dr. *Higden's* reflections upon his pretended submission to Henry IV; argues against the Doctor, who says, there were no Nonjurors under Kings *de facto*; and pretends, that ought to be presumed, till the contrary is proved; and produces instances of several, that ought to be reputed such. He also takes notice, that in those days the inferior Clergy were not obliged to take oaths of allegiance; and suggests, that, had the Clergy of England enjoyed this privilege, at the time of the late Revolution, near four hundred of them had quietly continued in possession of their Livings, of which they were for no other reason deprived, but because they were Nonjurors, &c. The Author asserts, that a King *de facto* is not legally qualified to give a Commission to Judges; nor are proceedings in his Courts of Judicature of any authority. He cannot create a Nobleman, or make a Bishop. All his presentations to Benefices are voidable. All lands bestowed upon him are refundable, at the pleasure of the rightful Successor.

This book was not only advertised in the *Octob. 17. London Gazette*, with particular allowance (as was then reported) of Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, but dispersed and recommended with great industry; and many copies of it were given gratis, by some men in power, to several Officers of the army. It was said likewise to have been presented to the Queen herself by Mr. *Robert Nelson*. As it was obvious to every reader, that the design of this performance was to prepare the way for the Restoration of the Pretender, the well-affected to the House of *Hanover* could not but be alarmed at it; especially, as the book came

abroad with marks of distinction and public countenance; not to mention the quotations in it, out of some manuscripts in the Library of the Lord-Treasurer. However, the Ministry thought it necessary to animadvert upon it; and Mr. *Richard Smith*, the Bookeller, having, by a warrant from the Lord *Bolingbroke*, been brought to his Office, and there examined, he declared, that Mr. *Hilliab Bedford*, a Nonjuror Clergyman, had delivered the copy to the Printer. This being owned by *Bedford*, they were both bound over to appear before the Court of *Queen's-Bench*. But, though a prosecution was afterwards, for form-sake, begun and carried on against *Bedford*, yet it was the general opinion, that he had but a small share in that performance, which was judged to be the result of the joint labours of several Nonjurors (1). This book was soon refuted in several answers, of which one was supposed to be written by Mr. *Willis*, then Fellow of *All-Souls College* in *Oxford*, and now Lord-Chief-Justice of the *Common-Pleas*, intitled, *The present Constitution and the Pretendant Succession vindicated*.

About this time it was publicly declared, that the Queen had granted a pardon under the Great-Seal to *Daniel de Foe*, against whom an information of high treason had been lodged, for writing three pamphlets, which seemed to favour the Pretender's interests (2).

By this time the elections for Parliament-men were over; and, in *North-Britain*, the Nobility had chosen such Representatives, as were most of them ready to concur in all the Queen's measures; namely, the Duke of *Atbol*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Eglinton*, *Kinnoul*, *Loudoun*, *Findlater* and *Seafield*, *Selkirk*, *Northesk*, *Dundonald*, *Broadalbin*, *Dunmore*, *Orkney*, *Roseberry*, *Portmore*, and *Killyb*, and the Lord *Balmerinach*: And, in order to attach yet more the Earl of *Dunmore* to the Court, he was, not long after, declared Colonel of the *Scots* regiment of foot-guards, in the room of the Marquis of *Lothian*. About the same time, the regiment of dragoons, lately commanded by Sir *Richard Temple*, was given to Major-

to be forward in passing judgments on the actions of Princes. The Authors, who have transmitted to us an account of *Edward's* reign, say nothing upon this subject; either that the Descendants of *Edward Ironside* laid claim to the Crown; or that King *Edward* discovered any inclination to do them justice, at least till the eleventh year of his reign: But it may, possibly, be unreasonable from hence to infer, that all that time he was a wrongful Possessor, because cases may be supposed of Princes, who, for want of power and opportunity of doing right to the lawful Heir, are forced to endure the burden of a Crown, which they would readily and gladly ease themselves of, upon a proper occasion: As when the rightful Heir is abroad, in a distant Kingdom, and perhaps at the disposal of a foreign Prince, on whose will and pleasure, his return to his Country chiefly depends. When the Possessor of a Throne has this to plead for himself (which may be true of King *Edward*, for any thing that can be alleged to the contrary) I may appeal to the severest interpreters of the actions of Princes, whether the exercise of royal power, in such circumstances, can be charged with Usurpation; or, as some chuse rather to express themselves, whether such a person is only a King *de facto*: For it is not the bare seizing, and sitting a Throne, but the will of the Possessor, that must denominate him an Usurper. He that invades another's right, with an intention to detain it from him,

and a resolution never to restore it to the true Proprietor, is certainly guilty of the highest injustice; but, if he accepts of a Crown, only that he may secure it to the right Owner, and the better disappoint the designs of his enemies, most certainly he obliges him by a very extraordinary act of friendship.

(1) In the Introduction to one of the answers, called *Treason Unmask'd*, the Author says, 'This book contains a great variety of historical facts, positions and arguments, couched in an elegant, flowing style; but then there are in it so many glaring contradictions and inconsistencies, that it is hardly credible, the whole piece should be the work of any one man. For here any tolerably attentive reader may find History clashing with History; Law destroying Law; and Divinity refuting Divinity, in cases exactly parallel: A fault I will not charge upon any single person, till I am convinced that a too favourable opinion of Gentlemen, and men of letters, led me into a mistake.' But it is now known that the real author of the book was one Mr. *Harbin* a Nonjuror Clergyman, who died the last year 1744.

(2) The first intitled, *Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover, with an inquiry, how far the abdication of King James, supposing it to be legal, ought to affect the person of the Pretender*: The second intitled, *And what if the Pretender should come? Or some considerations of the advantages and real consequences of the Pretender's*

Kennet's
twiſdom of
poſing
back-
wards,
p. 317.

1713.

Bedford
proſecuted
for the
book

De Foe
pardoned.

Sixteen
Scots
Peers
elected.
Oct. 8.

Promoti-
on.

1713. Major-General *Evans*; and the regiment of horie of the Marquis of *Harwich* (son of the Duke of *Schomberg*) lately deceased, to Major-General *Syburg*. Some time before, Mr. *Richard Steele*, being chosen for the Borough of *Stockbridge*, thought fit to resign his place of one of the Commissioners of the Stamp-Office. About the same time the Lord *Willoughby of Brooke* was made Dean of *St. George's* Chapel, in the Castle of *Windsor*, but Dr. *Smalridge*, being named to succeed the Lord *Privy-Seal*, as Bishop of *Bristol*, declined that offer.

The Parliament further prorogued.

Jari at Court. Annals.

On the 18th of *October*, the Parliament was, by proclamation, further prorogued, from the 12th of *November* to the 10th of *December*, which was occasioned by the Queen's illness, and the contests among the Ministers. It was then strongly reported, that the Lord *Bolingbroke*, Mr. Secretary *Bromley*, and Sir *William Wyndham* (who, on the 1st of *November*, was made a *Privy-Counsellor*) having gained the ascendant, the Lord-Treasurer entertained thoughts of retirement. And, indeed, the Author of the paper, called the *Examiner*, thought fit, about the middle of *November*, to prepare the minds of the people for an approaching change in the Ministry (1). But what appeared more surprizing, was the ludicrous stile in which the same Author, who was the mouth of those in power, spoke of the Queen's indisposition, and of the Succession in case of a demise (2).

The Crisis published by Mr. Steele.

Whilst things were in this dangerous situation,

Mr. *Steele* published his *Crisis, or a discourse representing, from the most authentic records, the just causes of the late happy Revolution, and the several Settlements of the Crowns of England and Scotland on her Majesty; and, on her demise without issue, upon the most illustrious Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-Dowager of Hannover, and the Heirs of her body being Protestants; by previous acts of both Parliaments of the late Kingdoms of England and Scotland; and confirmed by the Parliament of Great-Britain: With some remarks on the danger of a Popish Successor*. The design of this piece was first suggested to Mr. *Steele*, by Mr. *Moor* of the *Inner-Temple*; and the work itself passed through the hands of Mr. *Addison*, Mr. *Lechmere*, and Mr. *Hoadley*. And it was so well received by the public, that many were confirmed by it in their affection to the Protestant Succession.

Some time before, the Earl of *Peterborough* set out on his embassy to the King of *Sicily*; and, as he took *Paris* in his way, it was given out, that he was charged to intercede with the French King in favour of the *Catalans*, who, formerly, upon his promises of the Queen's firm protection, had declared for King *Charles the Third*; and who, though abandoned, seemed now resolved to defend their liberties to the last extremity.

All this while the Queen continued in a very dangerous state of health at *Windsor*; of which the Queen's illness.

truth

Pretender's possessing the Crown of Great-Britain. And the third called, *An answer to the question that no body thinks of, viz. What if the Queen should die?* The preamble to the patent of pardon set forth, that *Daniel de Foë* had by his humble petition represented to her Majesty, 'That he, with a sincere design to propagate the interest of the House of *Hanover*, and to animate the people against the designs of the Pretender, whom he always looked upon as an enemy to her Majesty's sacred Person and Government, did publish the said pamphlets; in all which books, although the titles seemed to look as if written in favour of the Pretender, and several expressions, as in all ironical writings it must be, might be wrested against the true design of the whole, and turned to a meaning quite different from the intention of the Author; yet he had humbly assured her Majesty in the solemnest manner, that his true and only design, in all the said books, was, by an ironical discourse of recommending the Pretender, in the strongest and most forcible manner to expose his designs, and the ruinous consequences of his succeeding therein; which will appear by the books themselves, where the following expressions are very plain, viz. that the Pretender is recommended as a person proper to amass the English Liberties into his own Sovereignty; supply them with the privileges of wearing Wooden Shoes; easing them of the trouble of chusing Parliaments, and the Nobility and Gentry of the hazard and expence of winter journeys, by governing them in that more righteous method of his absolute will, and enforcing the laws by a glorious Standing Army; paying all the Nation's debts at once by stopping the Funds, and shutting up the Exchequer; easing and quieting their differences in religion, by bringing them to the Union of Popery, or leaving them at liberty to have no religion at all.' *Daniel de Foë's Appeal to honour and justice*, p. 33.

(1) In the *Examiner* of *November* the 16th, the Author suggests, 'That in a Constitution, which hangs together by so many minute parts, and which depends upon such variety of wheels and motions, where power and freedom are in a perpetual flux and reflux, we must of necessity be liable to turns and contingencies.—That this uncertainty is redoubled,

wherever strife and contention are let loose in a Nation, where factions rage and worry one another; and even the Government itself is treated as a party—Thus, under these circumstances, a Ministry is obliged to act in another capacity than that which properly belongs to them. They must sometimes act like military as well as civil Officers; draw forth their forces, and appear at the head of squadrons and battalions, whenever faction takes the field, and declares open war against them. There wants but very little of bringing things, as they now stand, to this deplorable crisis.—That the possession of power under these difficulties, is almost as great an uncertainty, as the fortune of war, and stands exposed to as many turns and cross accidents.—And that these considerations amount to a full proof, that the best of Patriots are more exposed to mortality, as Ministers of State, than as men, &c.

(2) The *Examiner* of *January* the 8th, 1713-14, contains what follows:

'According to the best advices sent us by the Whigs, and their Oracles, the demise of the Crown happened upon *Thursday* the 24th of *December*, being *Christmas-Eve*, at four of the clock in the morning, in the year 1713. All ages, ranks, sexes, and orders of men, at first hearing of the ill news, were affected with the deepest sorrow; and a general panic ran through the whole Kingdom. For a long time, we were distracted and inconfolable; in the utmost horror and confusion, upon the loss of our most excellent Queen, who then became immortal: But these black clouds were soon dispersed, our fears and jealousies vanished, and we revived from a deplorable state of grief and misery, at the first joyful tidings of the happy accession of her most sacred Majesty Queen *Anne* the Second (whom God long preserve) to the Throne of her ancestors: The nature of our monarchy being such, that, immediately after the death of the person in possession, the Crown, by Right of Inheritance, descends to the next heir, without any previous formalities and conditions, or admitting so much as the least vacancy, or *Interregnum*, &c.

(1) The

1713. truth was thus, as represented by Dr. Shadwell, in his letters to the Duke and Dukes of *Sbrensbury*: * On Wednesday the 23d of December, her Majesty was very uneasy all night with the Gout in her foot. The next morning it went intirely off, and she said she was well. But, about one o'clock that day, she complained of a pain in her thigh, and was seized with a violent shivering, which lasted above two hours. Extreme heat followed, with intense thirst, great anxiety, restlessness, and inquietude. The pulse was full, hard, and quick; which Dr. Shadwell finding, the next day, he very much pressed bleeding, urging, it would probably carry off a good part of the Fever, and bring a fit of the Gout; but it was not agreed to; and these symptoms continued till Saturday Morning, when her Majesty fell asleep, waked refreshed, and on Sunday morning there was a perfect intermission of the symptoms; but the pulse, in Dr. Shadwell's opinion was not quiet. The next night about twelve, she was attacked with an exacerbation of the Fever, which lasted all the Monday till midnight. Most of the Queen's Physicians judging her distemper to be an Ague, proposed and pressed the giving her the Jesuits-Bark; but, though this was warmly opposed by Dr. Shadwell, yet the Physician, who watched that night, gave it, saying, he found the pulse calm. No exacerbation appeared after this: But nevertheless Dr. Shadwell still declared, he did not like the pulse: That there was no perfect intermission of the Fever; but that the pulse was at work, to separate the morbid matter into the Gout, or some worse shape. The pains of the thigh increasing, till three or four doses of the bark were given, Dr. Shadwell laid a stress upon having that part examined; but the other Physicians called it a fit of the Gout. Dr. Shadwell answered, it could not properly be called so in the muscles; and being of opinion, that this was an inflammatory Fever from the translation of the Gout, and not a common Ague, or intermitting Fever; and finding, that, after thirty-nine hours continuance, there was a perfect remission, but no intermission, he made a prognostic, that, unless the feverish matter were separated and thrown off into a smart fit of the Gout, a worse symptom might happen; as its falling into the thigh, and fixing into an erysipelous tumour. This opinion was justified by a severe fit of the Gout, that came upon her Majesty a few days after, and gave some hopes of her intire recovery.

While the Queen was in this uncertain state of health, the minds of the several parties were variously agitated. The friends of the Pretender believed, that all things were preparing for his Restoration; and, on the other hand, the alarm of the well-affected to the Hanover Succession was not a little increased upon the news, that a squadron of fourteen men of war was fitting out in the ports of France; and that they were to take on board twelve or fourteen thousand land-men. The public funds fell gradually from the beginning till the end of January; when such a panic seized on a sudden the minded men, that there was a great run upon the

Bank for some Days. The Directors lent four of their Members, to the Lord-Treasurer, to represent the dangers, which threatened the public credit, and to desire his advice and assistance. The Treasurer received this application very favourably; endeavoured to dispel their fears; and promised to use his utmost endeavours to support the Bank in this exigency. The doubts, which were still entertained about the Queen's health, being one of the chief occasions of the public alarm, she, by the advice of her Ministers, wrote the following letter to Sir Samuel Stanier, Lord-Mayor of London:

ANNE, R.

"Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Although an aguish indisposition succeeded by a fit of the Gout has detained us at this place, longer than we designed; yet since it has pleased Almighty God to restore us to such a degree of health, that we hope to be able soon to return to our usual residence, we continue determined to open our Parliament on Tuesday the 16th of this instant February, according to the notice given by Proclamation. Thus much we have judged proper to communicate to you, and by you to the Court of Aldermen, and to our loving Subjects of our good City of London, to the intent that you may all, in your several stations, contribute to discountenance and put a stop to those malicious rumours, spread by evil-minded persons, to the prejudice of credit, and to the eminent hazard of the public peace and tranquillity. And so we bid you farewell."

Given at our Castle at Windsor, the first day of February 1713, in the twelfth year of our reign.

By her Majesty's command,

BOLINGBROKE.

This letter, and the news, which, at the same time, came from Holland, That the troops, which had been reported to be assembled in the *Bolognese*, were mere chimeras, and that the Pretender continued in *Lorrain*, dispelled the fears of the generality, and soon put a stop to the run upon the Bank (1). While the Nation was in this ferment, and under various apprehensions, there was published a remarkable pamphlet, intitled, *The art of restoring; or the piety and probity of General Monk, in bringing about the last Restoration, evinced from his own authentic letters: With a just account of Sir Roger, who runs the parallel as far as he can: In a letter to a Minister of State at the Court of Vienna.* This piece was levelled against the Treasurer, and contributed the more to render him obnoxious to the friends of the Protestant Succession, when it was known to be the performance of Mr. Toland, a person formerly intrusted and employed by that Minister. To remove these suspicions, the Treasurer thought fit to have the reputed Author of the late treatise, asserting hereditary rights, brought to his trial; and Bedford being found

(1) The Directors, however, were obliged to call in, twice, twenty per cent. upon the subscription for circulating Exchequer bills.

1713. found guilty of publishing that book, he was sentenced, 'To pay a fine of a thousand marks; to be committed to the *Queen's-Bench* prison, till he paid the same; to remain in custody there for the term of three years; to find four sufficient sureties, who, with him, were to be bound in a recognizance of five thousand pounds for his good behaviour during life. He was also to be brought into all the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*, with a paper on his head denoting his offence. But, after sentence was passed, an order was produced from the Government, counter-signed by a Secretary of State, directing the Judges of the *Queen's-Bench* to supersede the ignominious part of the punishment, by reason of the sacred function of the criminal; which proceeding, as Mr. *Leechmere* observed in a speech, 'could bear no other construction, than as a license and protection to men in holy orders, to propagate that destructive position with impunity; and the character of the person, which ought in justice to have aggravated his guilt, and heightened his punishment, became his indemnity against the reproach of it, even by the authority of the Government itself, against which that treatise was levelled. This indulgence appeared the more glaring, considering what severities were, at the same time, exercised against those persons, who had courage enough to assert the interest of their Country, and of the Protestant Succession.'

During these transactions at home, the treaty of Peace between *Great-Britain* and *Spain* had been signed on the 13th of *July*, 1713, *N. S.* but the treaty of Commerce was not concluded till the 28th of *November*, *O. S.* In the mean time the Emperor chose rather to make a bold stand against the whole power of *France*, than to accept the conditions imposed upon him by that Crown. But the loss of *Landau* and *Friburg*, after two memorable sieges, inclined him to hearken to overtures of peace, made him on the part of *France*, by the Electors of *Cologne* and *Palatine*.

Conferences at Radstadt not communicated to the Queen's Ministers.

The conferences held at *Radstadt* towards a treaty between Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy* and the *Marshall de Villars* were managed with such secrecy, as gave no small uneasiness to the two maritime powers, and was generally looked upon as a slight upon *Great-Britain*. The Earl of *Strafford*, who still continued at the *Hague*, was ordered to confer upon it with the Deputies of the *States*, to whom he made a long harangue. The substance of what he said will be plainly seen, in the answer returned by the *States* a few days after to the Earl of *Strafford*: 'They thanked him for the assurances of friendship he gave them on the part of her Majesty of *Great-Britain*, and offered to concert with her the measures proper to be taken for the security of the Protestant Religion, especially in the Empire, and for procuring the abolition of the clause of the fourth article of the peace of *Ryswick*. As to the apprehension of a new war in *Italy*, the *States* hoped, that, by the peace of *Radstadt*, the Emperor and the King of *France* had provided for the tranquillity of that Country; and that they had likewise regulated the affairs relating to the Duke of *Savoy*, and to *Sicily*; for this reason, and because the conditions of that peace were not yet known to them, they could not, at present, enter into deliberation with the Earl of *Strafford* upon

those matters: That as to the treaty with *Spain*, the *States* had the regards they ought to her Majesty's recommendations, for the interests of the Princess *Ursini*; but that they had given such good reasons, why they could not agree in a guarantee, that the King of *France*, and even the King of *Spain*, had acquiesced in them. That, for this reason, the *States* promised themselves, from the Queen's goodness and equity, that she would not insist upon a thing, which even the King of *Spain* himself had let drop. That, as to the affairs of the *Spanish Netherlands*, the *States* would always be ready to confer with the Earl of *Strafford* on the points relating to the interests of those Countries. As to the town of *Offend* in particular, they declared, that they would withdraw their troops from thence, and deliver it into the hands of *Walloon* troops, as soon as *Dunkirk* should be demolished; provided, at the same time they were put into possession of the Castle of *Ghent*, as by the treaty of Barrier they ought: But that the *States* were absolutely of opinion, it would be proper to communicate these things to the Emperor, and to act in concert with him, it not being to be doubted, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were yielded to him by the peace of *Radstadt*. That they were extremely glad of the declarations her Majesty had caused to be made to them, of her willingness to withdraw her troops from the Castle of *Ghent*; as also from *Bruges* and *Newport*; and to assist the *States* in recovering from *Brabant* the million, which by the treaty of Barrier they ought to have from that province: But as to the conditions, which were added to that declaration, the *States* expected from her equity and affection, that it would not be her intention, that the effect of these things should be made dependent on some conditions, which were not expressed in the treaty of Barrier, and that, on the contrary, she would be pleased to look upon that treaty as a measure and a rule, as the *States* did on their part; and that they would not join the execution of it to conditions, which are new and foreign to that treaty. That they had a common interest with the Queen in securing the freedom of commerce in the *Baltick*: That they were not yet in a condition to take a positive resolution thereupon; but, when they were, they would confer about it with the Earl of *Strafford*.'

The Earl was very busy in negotiating with the Ministers of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, or Deputations from the Protestants, to assist at the Congress at *Baden* in *Switzerland*, for concluding a peace between the Emperor and *France*, pursuant to the resolution taken at *Radstadt*. But it was generally suspected, that this proceeding of the *English* Ministry was rather to perplex the Emperor, than to favour the Protestants; and therefore, when the Earl of *Strafford* declared to the Ministers of the Protestant Electors and Princes of the Empire, 'That the Queen, his Mistress, had received the letter, which the Protestant body had written to her from *Augsburg*, touching the clause of the fourth article of the treaty of *Ryswick*: That her Majesty would speedily return a favourable answer to it; and that she resolved to send a Minister to the Congress at *Baden*, whither she desired the *States-General* and the Protestant States of the Empire to send their's.' The *States* answered, 'That, the Empire having referred it to his im-

1713.

perial Majesty to conclude the peace, it was believed, the Electors and Princes would not send any Ministers thither; and, for that reason, they did not think it proper to send any on their part. It seems, the *States* had been given to understand, that the Emperor would not admit any Minister from the Queen of Great-Britain, (though she had appointed Mr. Charles Whitworth for that purpose) nor from them, that there might be no distinction.

On the other hand, the Emperor, to shew his resentment of the Negotiation at *Utrecht*, not only refused to conclude his treaty with France, without the intervention of the maritime powers; but, as a further mortification to Great-Britain, Baron Heems declared to the *States-Deputies*, 'That his Imperial Majesty was disposed to treat with the *States*, concerning a barrier in the *Netherlands*: That the treaty might be prepared and brought to some maturity at the *Hague*; but that the Emperor would be glad to have it concluded at *Vienna*, whither the *States* were desired to send a Minister: And that *Offend* might not be alienated from the *Netherlands*.' The *States-Deputies* having acquainted the Earl of *Strafford* with this declaration, he expressed his great surprize at it, and told them, 'He was obliged to inform them, that the *States* were guaranties of the Succession in the Protestant Line, as well as the Queen was guarantee of the Barrier in the *Spanish Netherlands*; and that the Protestant Succession should stand good, and have effect, as it should come in order; but that she would never suffer any laws to be prescribed or imposed upon her on that account: That the Queen, as well as the *States*, was interested in the affair of the barrier; and therefore no step ought to be taken in it, without acting in concert with her: That he had orders to declare, in the name of the Queen, that the treating and concluding on the barrier at *Vienna* seemed to be proposed, with intention only to exclude her from the Negotiations about it: That, in such a case, she would forthwith renounce all engagements with the Republic; for that she absolutely insisted upon sending a Minister likewise thither, for the reasons before-mentioned: That she had sent to the King of France for an explanation, touching the exchanging some places in the *Spanish Netherlands*, according to the treaty of *Rastadt*, and had received for answer, that the King of France would not concern himself therein: That, as to what Baron Heems had mentioned in relation to *Offend*, he (the Earl of *Strafford*) declared, he was content with it; but earnestly desired, that the *States* would not send to *Vienna*, nor do any thing in this Negotiation, but in concert with her Majesty: Adding, once more, that, pursuant to his orders, he must declare, that she would look upon such a proceeding as a formed design to dissolve all engagements now subsisting between Her and the *States*.' Had the *Dutch* been as warm as the *British* Ministers, and taken them at their word, the consequences must have been fatal to both: But the matter was accommodated afterwards. The Earl of *Strafford* endeavoured to draw to the *Hague* the Negotiation of peace in the North; and engaged the Court of France by Monsieur de *Chateaufort*, their Ambassador at the *Hague*, to offer their mediation for that purpose to the Northern Allies. But, the King of *Prussia* having caused the King of *Poland* to be founded,

whether he was inclined to enter into the engagement Baron *Sparre* and the Count de *Rottenburg* had proposed at the *Hague*, on the part of France, his *Polish* Majesty signified, that he could never have any such thoughts, for it could never be his interest to separate himself from his Allies.

By this time the Earl of *Strafford*, and indeed *Promis-* all the Ministers at the *Hague* were more attentive to the transactions in Great-Britain, than to any thing, that passed on the Continent. The Queen, upon her recovery, being informed of the death of Dr. *Sharp*, Archbishop of *Dorset*, named Sir *William Dawes* to that metropolitan See, which had been strongly solicited by Bishop *Atterbury*. At the same time, Dr. *Smalridge* was made Bishop of *Bristol*, and Lord *Almoner* to the Queen; and Dr. *Gastrell*, Preacher at *Lincoln's-Inn*, Bishop of *Chester*, in the room of Sir *William Dawes*. The second troop of horse grenadier guards, vacant by the death of the Earl of *Crawford*, was given to the young Earl *Marischal*, a Scots Peer of known zeal for the Jacobite cause.

On the 6th of February, being the anniversary of the Queen's Birth-day, it was celebrated with great solemnity; and the Whigs, particularly the *Hanover Club*, took this occasion to signalize their zeal and affection to the Protestant Succession, by causing the effigies of the Devil, the Pope, and the Pretender, to be carried in Procession from *Charing-Cross* to the *Royal Exchange*, and so back to *Charing-Cross*, where they were burnt. Three drummers of the foot-guards attending the procession, and having, contrary to the rights of the City, beat their drums there, were seized, and committed to *Newgate* by warrant of the Lord-Mayor. Some endeavoured to represent this procession as a formed plot against the Government; but, the Ministry not thinking proper to take notice of the affair, the drummers were discharged.

Whatever professions of affection to the Protestant Succession were made by some of the Ministers, it was obvious, that every step, others took in favour of France, was also in favour of the Pretender. The Treasurer, during the Queen's illness, endeavoured to persuade her to send the Duke of *Kent* to *Hanover*, with a public character. But the Duke declined the employment, unless he was empowered to offer more real securities than fair words and promises. However, Mr. *Harley*, Cousin to the Treasurer, went from the *Hague* to the Court of *Hanover*, about the middle of February, accompanied by Secretary *Bromley's* son, Mr. *Cresset*, and Mr. *Winnington*.

The Queen, on the 16th of February, removed from *Windſor* to *Hampton-Court*, and next day came to *St. James's*. The day before, the new Parliament met, and the Lord *Scudamore* proposed Sir *Thomas Hanmer* for Speaker, and was seconded by three or four other Members, particularly by Mr. *Steele*, who observed, 'That, at the close of the last Parliament, her Majesty was graciously pleased to declare from the Throne, that the late rejected bill of Commerce between Great-Britain and France should be offered to this House. That this declaration was certainly made, that every Gentleman, who should have the honour to be returned to Parliament, might make himself master of that important question. That it is a demonstration, that

1713.

Promis-

Mr. Har-
ley sent to
Hanover.1713-14.
The 4th
Parliament of
Great-Britain
met.
Feb. 16

^{1713-14.} that was a most pernicious bill; and therefore no man could have a greater merit to this House, than his by whose weight and authority that pernicious bill was thrown out. That he rose up to do Sir Thomas Hanmer honour, and distinguish himself by giving that Gentleman his vote for that his inestimable service to his Country. At Mr. Steele's mentioning the bill of Commerce, the clamour against him began; at calling it pernicious, it increased; and at the words, doing him honour, it grew insupportably loud: By which he saw the temper of the house with regard to himself. But Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen without any opposition, and the House adjourned to the 2d of March.

Pr. H. C.
Vol. V.

The Affiento Contract excepted a gainst.

During the adjournment, the South-Sea Company held a General Court, in which the Directors communicated to them several papers they had prepared in concert with the Lord-Treasurer, relating to the *Affiento Contract*. Several Members were extremely surprized at the proposals; for, whereas they expected that the Queen had procured the whole *Affiento Contract* for the Company, they now found, that one half of the clear profits were reserved for the Queen, and the King of Spain, besides seven and a half per cent. granted to an unknown person. Besides these exceptions, Mr. Milner, a Portugal Merchant, declared his opinion, 'That the Company might very well spare the trying the experiment of a trade, by which other Nations were known to have been losers; especially upon such terms, as were offered to the Company; the rather, because the trade would be precarious, and at the mercy of the late reconciled enemies.' He was supported by other merchants, so that Arthur Moore, who spoke in behalf of this trade, could not make many proselytes to his opinion. The result of this assembly was an order for the printing of the papers laid before them, in order to their being further considered in another general Court. This second meeting was very numerous; and after the reading of the papers, several speeches were made for and against the accepting the *Affiento Contract*, of which Mr. Moore and Mr. Ward endeavoured to shew the great advantages. But Mr. Craggs, Mr. Newman, Mr. Fisher, and some other Gentlemen of great skill and experience in commercial affairs, maintained the contrary opinion, with such force of argument, that it was thought, if the question had then been put for accepting, or not accepting, it would have been carried for the latter by a great majority. But it being moved and agreed, to decide the question by ballot, and the Members to have one vote for every five hundred pounds capital stock; what by the influence of the Directors, who were to be the managers of the trade, and who (as in all other societies of this nature) were almost sure to be gainers, whatever became of the rest; what by the contrivance of Stock-Jobbers, whose business was to keep the public funds in perpetual fluctuation, and, in order to that, to engage Companies in dubious adventures; what by the just apprehensions, the generality of the Members were under that the rejecting of this trade would be interpreted as an affront to the Lord-Treasurer, who might resent it to such a degree, as to grow less solicitous for the concerns of the Company, who wanted his protection for the annual provision of the interest of the capital stock, till the year 1716: Upon these, and some other considera-

tions it was carried by a great majority, 'That the General Court agreed with the resolution proposed by the Court of Directors, relating to the *Affiento Contract*.'

^{1713-14.} but agreed to at last.

About the same time, were brought over from Holland the ratifications exchanged of the treaty of Commerce between Great-Britain and Spain, and the Peace was proclaimed on the 1st of March. The chief articles were: France and Spain were never to be united: The Protestant Succession acknowledged, and never to be opposed on any pretence: Navigation and Commerce, as in the treaty of 1667: No license to be given to the French or other Nations to introduce Negroes, or any merchandises, into the Spanish Dominions in America, except what might be agreed by the treaty of Commerce, and the privileges granted in the *Affiento de Negros*; except also what should be granted by the Catholic King, after the *Affiento de Negros* should be determined: The American Dominions were not to be alienated from the Crown of Spain, to the French or other Nations: Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca were given up for ever to England: No Moors to come there, but on account of traffick: All the Spanish Inhabitants to enjoy their Estates and Religion; or to sell their estates and retire: The South-Sea Company to have the privileges, inclusive of others, to introduce Negroes into several parts of America for thirty years, beginning from 1713, in the same manner as enjoyed by the French: The Catalans to have a full pardon, with the possession of all their privileges, estates, and honours, and likewise the same privileges with the Inhabitants of both Castiles: Sicily was yielded to the Duke of Savoy, but to return to Spain, in case of no heirs. By two separate articles, the Queen promised to persist in the measures, by which she had taken care, that no other part of the Spanish Monarchy should be torn from it: And obliged herself to procure the Princess Ursini to be put into possession of Limburg, or some other country in the Netherlands, which should produce thirty thousand crowns a year, pursuant to a grant from King Philip, September 28, 1711.

The day after the publication of this peace, the Queen went in a chair to the House of Lords (the Parliament having been opened by Commission) and made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Have much satisfaction in being able, at the opening of this Parliament, to tell you, that the ratifications of the treaties of Peace and of Commerce with Spain are changed, by which my subjects will have greater opportunities than ever to improve and extend their trade. Many advantages, formerly enjoyed by connivance, and procured by such methods, as made a distinction between one British Merchant and another, are now settled by treaty, and an equal rule is established.

" It has pleased God to bless my endeavours to obtain an honourable and advantageous peace for my own people, and for the greatest part of my Allies. Nothing, which I can do, shall be wanting to render it universal; and I persuade myself, that, with your hearty concurrence, my interposition may at last prove

the Queen's speech to both Houses.
Pr. H. C.

1713-14. "prove effectual to compleat the Settlement of
"Europe.

"In the mean while, I congratulate with my
"own subjects, that they are delivered from a
"confuming land-war, and entered on a peace,
"the good effects whereof nothing but intestine
"divisions can obstruct.

"It was the glory of the wisest and greatest
"of my Predecessors to hold the balance of
"Europe, and to keep it equal, by casting in
"their weight as necessity required. By this
"conduct they enriched the Kingdom, and
"rendered themselves dreadful to their enemies,
"and useful to their friends. I have proceeded
"on the same principle, and I doubt not but
"my Successors will follow these examples.

"Our situation points out to us our true in-
"terest; for this Country can flourish only by
"trade, and will be most formidable by the
"right application of our naval force.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered such accounts to be prepared
"and laid before you, as will shew you, at the
"conclusion of the war, the true state of your
"condition, whereby you will be better able
"to judge what aids are necessary: And I only
"ask of you Supplies for the current service of
"the year, and for the discharge of such debts,
"as you shall find, on examination, to be just
"and reasonable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The joy, which has been generally expres-
"sed on my recovery from my late indisposi-
"tion, and on my coming to this City, I esteem
"as a return to that tender affection which I
"have always had for my people.

"I wish that effectual care had been taken,
"as I have often desired, to suppress those se-
"ditionary papers, and factious rumours, by which
"designing men have been able to sink credit,
"and the innocent have suffered.

"There are some, who are arrived to that
"height of malice, as to insinuate, that the
"Protestant Succession in the House of *Han-*
"over is in danger under my Government.

"Those, who go about thus to distract the
"minds of men with imaginary dangers, can
"only mean to disturb the present tranquillity,
"and bring real mischief upon us.

"After all I have done to secure our religion
"and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to
"posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings
"without some degree of warmth; and I must
"hope you will all agree with me, that at-
"tempts to weaken my authority, or to render
"the possession of the Crown uneasy to me, can
"never be proper means to strengthen the Pro-
"testant Succession.

"I have done, and shall continue to do my
"best for the good of all my subjects. Let it
"be your endeavour, as it shall be mine, to
"unite our differences, not by relaxing from the
"strictest adherence to our Constitution in
"Church and State, but by observing the laws
"yourself, and enforcing a due obedience to
"them in others.

"A long war has not only impoverished the
"public (however some particular men have

"been gainers by it) but has also greatly af- 1713-14.
"fected Government itself.

"Let it be your care so to improve the pre-
"sent opportunity, as to lay the foundation of
"recovering from those disorders.

"I had the concurrence of the last Parliament
"in making the peace. Let it be the honour
"of this to assist me in obtaining such fruits
"from it, as may not only derive blessings on
"the present age, but even down to the latest
"posterity."

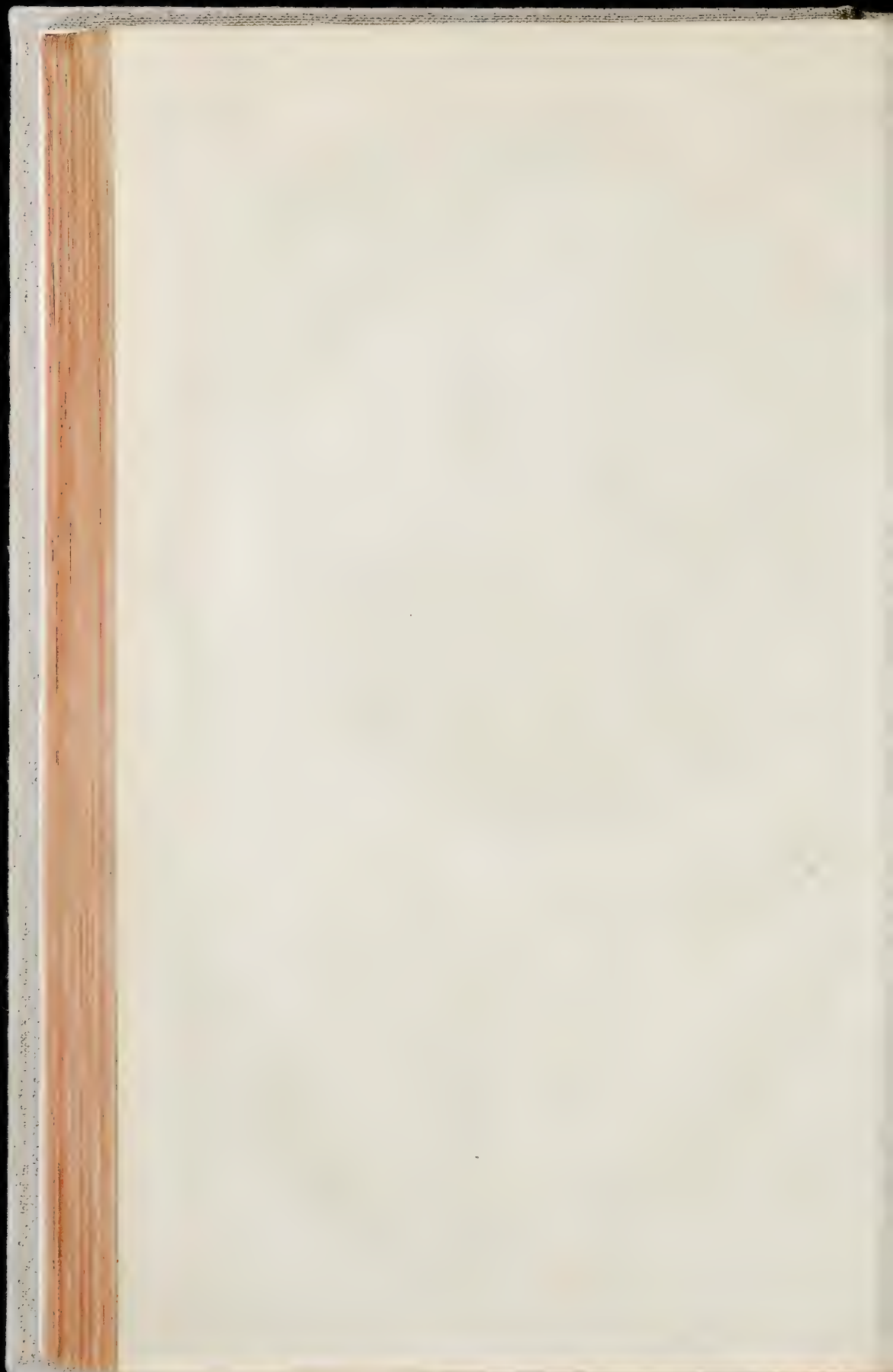
It is observable, though the Queen said in her
speech, that she was persuaded her interpositions
might at last prove effectual, and compleat the
Settlement of *Europe*, the Emperor, then in
treaty with *France*, would not let her know
any thing of what was transacted, or have the
least communication with her to the last hour of
her life. But, how dissonant soever the Queen's *The Lords*
speech was in several particulars, both Lords and *address*
Commoners fell in for the most part with it; *thanks*
and, after she had thanked the Lords for their *March 3.*
affectionate address, she added, 'That they, who
were nearest the Throne, would first of her
subjects feel the evil consequences of any dimi-
nution of the regal authority; that it was a
comfort to her she had the assurance of their
support; and they might depend upon it, she
would never give way to the least attempt on
the just authorities of the Crown, or any of
their rights and privileges.'

The Commons likewise resolved on an address *The Com-*
without opposition, only Sir *Peter King*, Re- *mons ad-*
corder of *London*, suggested, 'That they ought *dress*
not to act by a spirit of Divination, and return *March 5.*
thanks for the treaty of Commerce with *Spain*,

before they knew, whether the same was advan-
tageous, or not: Which occasioned some modi-
fications in the address with respect to that head.
The next day the Convocation (which had met
with the Parliament, and chosen Dr. *Stanhope*,
Prolocutor) complimented the Queen in a joint
address on her recovery, and happy return to her
royal City in health and safety: Concluding with
their wishes, 'That, after a long and happy
reign, she might be able to transmit the protec-
tion of this Church and State to a Protestant
Successor in the illustrious House of *Hanover*,
which her Majesty to the great satisfaction and
comfort of all her faithful and good subjects,
had so often declared to be at her Royal heart.'
Notwithstanding this, and the angry expressions
in the Queen's speech, the fears and jealousies
of the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succession
were rather increased than removed, who, from
the daily discouragements and even insults they
met with, could not but conclude that Succession
to be in danger.

The Earl of *Wharton* made a complaint in the *Complaint*
House of Lords against a libel, intitled, *The of a libel*
public spirit of the Whigs set forth in their gene-
in the
rous encouragement of the Author of the Crisis. *House of*
Lords.
This libel (which was fathered upon Dr. *Swift* Pr. H. L.
and Lord *Bolingbroke*) was written in the lu-
dicrous and sarcastic strains of *the Tale of a Tub*.
After some scurrilous reflections on Mr. *Steele*,
and occasionally on the Earl of *Nottingham*, with
some jests on the implicit munificence of the Sub-
scribers to the *Crisis*: The Author attacks the
Union, reflects on the whole *Scots* Nation, and,
without reserve, insults the Duke of *Argyle*,
who





1713-14. who of late had broken all measures with the Ministry (1). This piece was generally looked upon as very impolitic and ill-timed; since the sixteen *Scots* Peers, who sat in the House of Lords, and who (at least there) were the principal support of those at the Helm, were involved in the general reflections on the *Scots* Nation. The Earl of *Wharton's* complaint against this libel being warmly espoused by the majority of the Peers, the Lord-Treasurer protested he knew nothing of it; exclaimed against the malicious insinuations contained in it; and readily joined with the House, in an order for committing *John Morpew*, the Publisher, to the custody of the Black-Rod. *Morpew* upon his examination, having declared, that an unknown Porter had brought to his house the copies of the pamphlet in question, from the house of *John Barber*, Printer of the *Gazette*, and of the Votes of the House of Commons, *Barber* was also ordered into custody, and both he and *Morpew* were, severally, examined at the bar of the House of Lords. *Morpew* stood to his former declaration, and owned the publishing and selling of that libel; but *Barber* said, he knew nothing of it, and insisted not to answer any questions, the answer to which might tend to accuse himself, or to corroborate the accusation against him.* Being both withdrawn, the Earl of *Wharton* said, 'They had nothing to do either with the Publisher or Printer; but that it highly concerned the honour of that August Assembly, to find out the Villain, who was the Author of that false and scandalous libel, in order to do to the *Scots* Nation justice.' And moved, 'That, in order to that discovery, *Barber* might be again examined the next day, together with his Journeymen and Servants.' This was readily agreed to; but, the next day, the Earl of *Mar*, one of the Secretaries of State,

acquainted the House, that, pursuant to the Queen's commands, he had directed *John Barber* to be prosecuted. The Earl of *Wharton* desired to know, upon what evidence they designed to proceed against him? But the Earl of *Mar*, replied, That he wondered, such a question should be put to a Secretary of State, who was known to be under an oath of secrecy: And this put a stop to all further enquiries about *Barber's* affair, in a Parliamentary way. Three days after, *Barber* and *Morpew* were, upon their petition, enlarged from the custody of the Black-Rod. However, the Lords resolved upon an address, reciting the steps they had taken in this affair; notwithstanding which, 'they had not been able to discover the Author of the libel, which they conceived to be a false, malicious and factitious libel, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her Majesty's subjects of *Scotland*, tending to the destruction of the Constitution, and (by making false and unjust reflections upon the Union, and the steps and motives to it) most injurious to her Majesty, who had been pleased often to declare from the Throne, that the Union of the two Kingdoms was the peculiar happiness of her reign, in making a full provision for the peace and quiet of her people, and the security of their Religion, by so firm an establishment of the Protestant Succession throughout *Great-Britain*. That nothing therefore might be wanting on their parts towards the discovering and punishing so great a Criminal, they humbly besought her Majesty to issue her Royal proclamation, with a reward to any person, who should discover the Author.' Accordingly, the same day, a proclamation was published, with a reward of three hundred pounds. But, nevertheless, Dr. *Swift*, the reputed Author, remained undiscovered to the public, though, at the same time, notwithstanding the indecency of his character

1713-14.

Morpew and Barber taken into custody.

March 5.

(1) The passage that gave most offence to the Lords was as follows:

'This work (the Union of the two Kingdoms) was unsuccessfully attempted by several of her Majesty's Predecessors, though I do not remember it was ever thought on by any, except King *James* the First, and the late King *William*. I have read indeed, that some small overtures were made by the former of these Princes towards an union between the two Kingdoms, but rejected with indignation and contempt by the *English*. And the Historian tells, that, how degenerate and corrupt soever the Court and Parliament then were they would not give ear to so infamous a proposal. I do not find, that any of the succeeding Princes before the Revolution, ever resumed the design; because it was a project, for which there could not possibly be assigned the least reason or necessity. For I defy any mortal to name one single advantage, that *England* could ever expect from such an Union. But, towards the end of the late King's reign, upon an apprehension of the want of issue from him, or the Princess *Anne*, a proposition for uniting both Kingdoms was begun, because *Scotland* had not settled their Crown upon the House of *Hanover*, but left themselves at large, in hopes to make their advantage. And it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the island, inhabited by a poor, fierce Northern People, at liberty to put themselves under a different King. However, the opposition to this work was so great, that it could not be overcome, until some time after her present Majesty came to the Crown, when, by the weakness or corruption of a certain Minister since dead, an Act of Parliament was obtained for the *Scots*, which gave them leave

No. 76. VOL. IV.

to arm themselves; and so the Union became necessary, not for any actual good it could possibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and at the same time save an obnoxious Minister's head, who was so wife, as to take the first opportunity of procuring a general pardon by Act of Parliament, because he could not with so much decency or safety desire a particular one for himself. These facts are well enough known to the whole Kingdom. And I remember, discoursing above six years ago with the most considerable person * of the adverse party, and a great promoter of the Union, he frankly owned to me, that this necessity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of *Godolphin*, was the only cause of the Union.

Therefore I am ready to grant two points to the Author of the *Crisis*: First, that the Union became necessary, for the cause above related; because it prevented this Island from being governed by two Kings, which *England* would never have suffered; and it might probably have cost us a war of a year or two to reduce the *Scots*. Secondly, that it would be dangerous to break this Union, at least in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of such an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the spirit of faction last summer, amongst some People, who, having been the great promoters of the Union, and several of them the principal gainers by it, could yet proceed so far, as to propose in the House of Lords, that it should be dissolved; while at the same time those Peers, who had ever opposed it in the beginning, were then for preserving it upon the reason I have just assigned; and which the Author of the *Crisis* hath likewise taken notice of.

R r r

But

* Lord Sommers.

1713-14. character as well as of his writings, he was daily carefled by the Lord-Treafurer, as *Barber* the Printer was by the Lord *Bolingbroke* (1).

The Commons, having readily voted a Supply, proceeded on controverted elections, and coming to feveral refolutions about qualifying the Members to ferve in Parliament (2), they ordered a bill to be brought in, for *fecuring the freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the number of Officers in the Houfe of Commons*; which was perfected towards the end of *March*.

Notwithstanding all the care and induftry ufed by the Court-managers in the late elections, many professed enemies of the present Minifters were chofen. But, of thefe, none was fo obnoxious to the men in power, as *Mr. Steele*, who in feveral public writings had arraigned the late meafures with great boldnefs, as one, who was encouraged, and fure to be fupported, by the whole Whig party. It was therefore agreed by the Minifters (how much foever they differed in other matters) to exert their endeavours to remove him from his feat in Parliament. A petition, which was lodged againft his election, happening to be the feventeenth of that kind, and therefore not like to come on this Seffion, it was refolved to take a fhorter way, and attack him about fome of his late political writings. *Mr. Hungerford*, a noted Lawyer, who had been expelled the Houfe of Commons for bribery in the Reign of *King William*, moved, on the 11th of *March*, to take into confideration that part of the Queen's fpeech, which related to the fuppreffing feditious libels; and complained, in particular, of feveral fcandalous papers lately publifhed, under the name of *Richard Steele*, Efq;

a Member of that Houfe. He was feconded by *Mr. Auditor Foley*, a near relation to the Lord-Treafurer, who fuggeded, That unlefs means were found to reftrein the licentiousnefs of the prefs, and to fhelter thofe, who had the honour to be in the Adminiftration, from malicious and fcandalous libels; they, who by their abilities are beft qualified to ferve their Queen and Country, would decline public offices and employments. This was fupported by *Sir William Wyndham*, who added, 'That fome of *Mr. Steele's* writings contained infolent injurious reflections on the Queen herfelf, and were dictated by the fpirit of rebellion.' The next day, *Auditor Harley* (the Lord-Treafurer's brother) made a formal complaint to the Houfe againft certain paragraphs of the three printed pamphlets, which had given moft offence to the Court; *THE ENGLISHMAN, of January 19; THE CRISIS; and THE LAST ENGLISHMAN*, all faid to be written by *Richard Steele*, Efq; which pamphlets being brought up to the table, it was ordered, that *Mr. Steele* fhould attend in his place the next morning.

This brought a large concourfe of Members Mar. 13 and Spectators to the Houfe; and, *Mr. Steele* attending, feveral paragraphs, contained in the pamphlets complained of, were read: After which *Mr. Foley*, *Mr. Harley*, and fome other Members, feverely animadverted upon the rancour and feditious fpirit conspicuous in thofe writings. *Mr. James Craggs*, junr. ftanding up to fpeak in *Mr. Steele's* behalf, he was prevented by a confufed noife of feveral voices calling to order; intimating, that, according to the order of the day, *Mr. Steele* was to be heard himfelf in his place.

Complaint
againft
Mr. Steele.

But when he tells us, *The Englifhmen ought, in general, to be more particularly careful in preferving this Union*, he argues like himfelf. The late Kingdom of Scotland (faith he) had as numerous a nobility as England, &c. They had indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and neceffary evils of the Union, upon the foot it now ftands. Their Nobility is indeed fo numerous, that the whole Revenues of their Country could be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worfe, they are never likely to be extinct, until the laft period of all things, becaufe the greateft part of them defcend to their general. I imagine a perfon of quality, prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing fhe was as good as her husband, becaufe fhe brought him as numerous a family of relations and fervants, as fhe found in his houfe. Scotland in the taxes is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the representatives they fend to the Parliament are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots Peer hath all the privileges of an Englifh one, except that of fitting in Parliament; and even precedence before all of the fame title, that fhall be created for the time to come. The penfions and employments poffeffed by the natives of that Country now among us do amount to more than the whole body of their Nobility ever fpend at home; and all the money, they raife upon the public, is hardly fufficient to defray their civil and military lifts. I could point out fome with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for diffolving the Union, although their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welch *Jynce of the Peace*; and have fince gathered more money than ever any Scotsman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

This paffage, by reafon of the offence it might give to the Scots Peers, was, a few days after the publication

of the libel, cancelled, and the reft publifhed with a new title under the protence of a fecond edition. But it was reftored by *Dr. Swift*, in the late edition of his political tracts.

(1) *Dr. Swift*, in his advertisement prefixed to this Pamphlet among his Political Tracts, fays, 'The reafon of offering fo fmall a reward was, becaufe the Queen and Miniftry had no defire to have the Author taken into cuftody.'

(2) Thefe refolutions were:

I. That, notwithstanding the oath taken by any candidate, on or after any election, his qualification may be afterwards examined into.

II. That the perfon, whose qualification is exprefly objected to, in any petition relating to his election, fhall, within fifteen days after the petition read, give, to the Clerk of the Houfe of Commons, a paper figned by himfelf, containing a rental or particular of the lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification: Of which any perfon concerned may have a copy.

III. That, of fuch lands, tenements, or hereditaments, whereof the party hath been in poffeffion, for three years before the election, he fhall alfo infer in the fame paper, from what perfon, and by what conveyance, or act in law, he claims and derives the fame; and alfo the confideration, if any paid, and the names and places of abode of the witneffes to fuch conveyance and payment.

IV. That, if a fitting Member fhall think fit to queftion the qualification of a Petitioner, he fhall, within fifteen days after the petition read, leave notice thereof in writing with the Clerk of the Houfe of Commons; and the Petitioner fhall, in fuch cafe, within fifteen days after fuch notice, leave with the faid Clerk of the Houfe the like account in writing of his qualification, as is required from a fitting Member.

1713-14. place. Upon this Mr. Steele said, 'That, being attacked on several heads without any previous notice, he hoped the House would allow him, at least, a week's time to prepare for his defence.' Auditor Harley having excepted against so long a delay, and moved for adjourning this affair to the Monday following, Mr. Steele, to ridicule his two principal Prosecutors, *Foley* and *Harley*, who were known to be rigid Presbyterians, though they now sided with the High Church, assumed their sanctified countenance, and owned, 'in the meekness and contrition of his heart, that he was a very great sinner; and hoped, the Member, who spoke last, and who was so justly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be accessory to the accumulating the number of his transgressions, by obliging him to break the Sabbath of the Lord, by perusing such profane writings, as might serve for his justification.' This speech, spoken in a canting tone, having put the generality of the Assembly in good humour, Mr. Steele carried his point; and the further consideration of the charge against him was deferred for a week, by which time it was expected, that Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Lechmere, and some other leading Members of the Whig-party, who were absent, would be come to town. This success encouraged Mr. Steele, not only to stand upon the defensive, but even to attack his Accusers. As he believed a great part of the ill will, he had brought upon himself, was owing to what he writ about *Dunkirk*, he thought it would make for his defence, to have what passed, relating to the collusive demolition, appear to the House before his day came on. He therefore moved, on the very Monday proposed by Mr. Harley for his trial, 'That an address be presented to the Queen, to give directions, that the several representations of her Engineers and Officers, who had the care and inspection of the demolition of *Dunkirk*, and all orders and instructions given thereupon, be laid before the House.' But the motion was rejected by two hundred and fourteen voices, against one hundred and nine. But the Court-party did not think fit to oppose another motion, which, with the same intent, was then made by the Lord Lumley, eldest son to the Earl of Scarborough, who being seconded by the Earl of Hertford, it was unanimously resolved, 'That an address be presented to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to order an account to be laid before the House, what steps had been made for the removing the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of Lorraine, pursuant to the address of both Houses of the last Parliament; and what answers had been given by the Duke of Lorraine.'

On the 18th of March, the day appointed for Mr. Steele's trial, the Court-party thought proper to clear the House of all strangers; which being done, Auditor *Foley* moved, that, before they proceeded any farther, Mr. Steele should declare, whether he acknowledged the writings that bore his name? Upon which Mr. Steele owned all the papers laid to his charge to be parts of his writings: That he wrote them in behalf of the House of Hanover, and owned them with the same unreservedness, with which he had abjured the Pretender. Then, a debate arising upon the method of proceeding, Mr. *Foley* proposed, that Mr. Steele should with-

draw; but, after several speeches, it was carried, without dividing, that he should stay, in order to make his defence. Mr. Steele desired, he might be allowed to answer to what might be urged against him, paragraph by paragraph; but though he was powerfully supported by Mr. *Robert Walpole*, General *Stanhope*, the Lord *Finch*, eldest son to the Earl of *Nottingham*; and the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, son to the Earl of *Sandwich*; yet his accusers insisted, and it was carried, 'That he should proceed to make his defence generally, upon the charge given against him.' Mr. Steele proceeded accordingly, being assisted by Mr. *Addison*, who sat near him, to prompt him, upon occasion; and for near three hours spoke to the several heads, extracted out of the three pamphlets above mentioned (which had been given in print to all the Members) with such temper, eloquence, and unconcern, as gave entire satisfaction to all, who were not prepossessed against him.

Mr. Steele being withdrawn, most Members expected, that Mr. *Foley* would have summed up, and answered his defence; but he contented himself with saying, in general, 'That, without amusing the House with long speeches, it was plain that the writings, that had been complained of, were seditious and scandalous, injurious to her Majesty's Government, the Church and the Universities, and moved, that the question should be put.' This occasioned a very warm debate, which lasted till eleven at night. Mr. *Robert Walpole*, who spoke first in favour of Mr. Steele, made a long and elegant speech. He began with shewing, 'that this extraordinary and violent prosecution struck at the liberties of the subject in general, and of the Members of that House in particular. He then justified Mr. Steele on all the heads of the accusation raised against him; and said, he hoped the House would not sacrifice one of their Members to the resentment and rage of the Ministry, for no other crime, than his exposing their notorious mismanagements; and, like a good Patriot, warning his Countrymen against the imminent dangers, with which the Nation in general, and in particular her Majesty's sacred Person, were threatened, by the visible encouragement, that was given to the Pretender's friends. If a Papist (said Mr. Walpole) nay an Irish Papist, who for many years has been servant to the late King James, and the Pretender; one, who has borne arms against her Majesty in France and Spain; one, who is strongly suspected of having imbrued his hands in the blood of the late Duke of Medina-Celi, and Marquis of Leganez; if such a man be not only permitted to come into England, but to appear at Court, in the Presence-Chamber; if he be caressed by the Ministers; nay, I speak it with horror, if such a man be admitted to her Majesty's private audience in her closet, Will not every good subject think her Majesty's Person in danger? And is it then a crime in Mr. Steele to shew his just concern for so precious a life?'

As to that passage in Mr. Steele's *Crisis*, wherein he says, 'That a late treasonable book on the Succession of Hereditary Right has published the will of King Henry VIII, which seems to be intended as a pattern for the like occasion;' and a little lower, 'Let those, who act under the present settlement, and yet pretend to dispute for an absolute Hereditary Right, quiet themselves with

Steele's motion about Dunkirk is rejected. Mar. 15.

Steele's trial in the House of Commons.

* Sir Patrick Lawless.

1713-14. with the arguments they have borrowed from Popery; Mr. *Walpole* said, it could not be denied, 'That the Lord-Treasurer was the patron of learned men, for whose use and improvement he had set up a fine library; and that it appeared by the book called, *The Hereditary Rights of the Crown of England asserted*, &c. that the Author had free access to that library, and had drawn very material passages out of some manuscripts in it. But that the Lord-Treasurer's care to supply him with materials towards that work went yet further, since his Lordship had employed a man to look among old musty papers for the Will and Testament of King *Henry the Eighth*, which the Author had inserted at length in the appendix to his book. That he appealed to Mr. *Lowndes*, a Member of the House, and Secretary to the Treasury, whether he had not paid, by the Lord-Treasurer's orders, twelve or fourteen pounds to the person, that had made that great discovery; but, that in case he should deny it, he had evidence to prove it.' Mr. *Lowndes* seemed not to deny the fact; and only said, that Will was not so rare a piece, since it was to be seen in a place, which he named, in *Westminster-Abbey*. On this occasion Mr. *Walpole* mentioned three points, in which he endeavoured to prove, that the peace had already been broke: The first, he said, was the demolition of *Dunkirk*, which ought to have been finished five months after signing the treaty; but, instead of that, the *French* had yet only pulled down part of the outward fortifications, without touching the foundations, which, on the one hand, rendered the *English* garrison useless, and exposed to any insults; and, on the other hand, would afterwards make it easy for the *French* to restore and rebuild those fortifications: Which was the more probable to be in their thoughts, since, instead of ruining the harbour, they were actually repairing the sluices, and working on a new canal. The second point was, the Renunciations of the Princes of the House of *Bourbon*, which were laid down as the foundation and basis of the peace, and as a pretence, that thereby the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* would be more divided than ever: But that, supposing (what he could not by any means grant) that those renunciations were to be depended upon, they were yet conditional, and supposed the Emperor's renunciation of the Crown of *Spain*: And therefore, as no care had been taken to engage his Imperial Majesty to agree to that necessary condition, so the renunciations of the Princes of the House of *Bourbon* became not binding and void.' The third instance, which Mr. *Walpole* gave of the violation of the peace, was the *French* King's ordinance, dated September the 18th, 1713, N. S. forbidding the Children of French Refugees, though born out of his Dominions, to come into them, without his permission, upon pain of being sent to the Gallies. This ordinance was against Natural Right and the Law of Nations, and in particular derogatory to the Rights and Liberties of the *British* Nation, which the Children of the Refugees, born in *England*, were intitled to enjoy as well as the other Natives. That he would adventure to say in their behalf, that it were to be wished, that all, who have the happiness to be born in *England*, were as good *Englishmen* as the Sons of the Refugees; and that the *British* Nation was the more concerned in having that

ordinance repealed, in that the Refugees and their Children were the fittest to carry on a trade with *France*.'

Mr. *Horace Walpole* seconded his brother in favour of the *French* Refugees, 'and deplored the lamentable condition of their Ministers and the Poor amongst them, to whom the Lord-Treasurer had not paid one penny of the fifteen thousand pounds *per annum*, voted by Parliament, and allowed in the Civil List, towards their subsistence and relief, since he came into his office.' Adding, 'That some amongst the Refugees suffered now more in *England*, than they did during the persecution in *France*; since there were always some charitable people, who relieved them while they were in prisons and dungeons, whereas here they were left to starve.'

The Lord *Finch* supported, likewise, Mr. *Robert Walpole*, and justified Mr. *Steele* with relation to the tenderest part of the charge against him, his third Wish, in the close of his last *Englishman*: That his Electoral Highness of *Hanover* would be so grateful, as to signify to all the world the perfect good understanding he had with the Court of *England*, in as plain terms, as her Majesty was pleased to declare she had with that House on her part.' He said, 'That supposing there was in this wish some injurious insinuations, yet the same could not, without injustice, be applied to the Queen, but only to her Ministers: That no body doubted the good understanding between her Majesty and the House of *Hanover*; but that it was notorious, that the Ministers shewed no great regard to that illustrious House. Witnesses (to pass over other instances) the slight they put upon the Baron *Bolmar's* Memorial, which the Queen had perhaps never seen, had not the Dutches of *Somerset* shewed it her Majesty in print in the *Daily Courant*.' He likewise justified Mr. *Steele* in relation to his reflections on the Peace. We may, says he, give it all the fine epithets we please: But epithets do not change the nature of things. We may, if we please, call it here, honourable; but I am sure it is accounted scandalous in *Holland*, *Germany*, *Portugal*, and over all *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*. We may call it advantageous; but all the trading part of the Nation find it to be otherwise. If therefore it be really advantageous, it must be so to the Ministry, that made it.' Sir *William Wyndham* replying, 'That the Ministry would not say, the peace was advantageous to them; the Lord *Finch* answered, 'Then it was plain it was advantageous to no body but our late enemies.'

The Lords *Lumley* and *Hinchinbroke*, and some other Members, spoke also in favour of Mr. *Steele*, and against the conduct of the Ministry. But Mr. *Foley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, the Attorney-General, and some other Courtiers, being supported by a great majority, still insisted on the question, and it was carried at last by two hundred forty-five voices against one hundred fifty-two. First, 'That a printed pamphlet, intitled, *The Englishman, being the close of the paper* so called, and one other Pamphlet, intitled, *The Crisis*, written by *Richard Steele*, Esq; a Member of this House, are scandalous and seditious libels, containing many expressions highly reflecting upon her Majesty, and upon the Nobility, Clergy, Gentry, and Universities of this Kingdom, maliciously insinuating, that

1713-14. the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover is in danger under her Majesty's Administration, and tending to alienate the affections of her Majesty's good subjects, and to create jealousies and divisions among them. Secondly, That Richard Steele, Esq; for his offence in writing and publishing these scandalous and seditious libels, be expelled this House.

Mr Steele expelled the House.

It is observable, that only two Scots Members spoke in this long debate, Mr Baillie, and Sir James Stuart, Judge-Advocate in North-Britain. Baillie said, 'He was little acquainted with the affairs of England, but had made it his business to know those of his own country; and, by all the observations he could make for some years past, they, who appeared the most zealous for the Pretender's interest, were the most favoured and countenanced by those in power.' This was confirmed by Sir James Stuart, who added, 'That, to his certain knowledge, three or four thousand pounds had been yearly remitted to the High-Land Clans, whose Chiefs, and the men under their command, were known to be entirely devoted to the Chevalier.' Hence it appears, this affair gave the enemies of the Ministry an occasion to take notice of several things, which, but for this prosecution, had perhaps never been mentioned in the House of Commons; and which, being spoken in the hearing of several Lords, occasioned the like reflections and stricter enquiries in the House of Peers. A few days after, the Commons adjourned till after the Easter Holidays; and in the mean time Sir James Stuart was removed from his place for what he had said.

Debate on the State of the Nation. Pr. H. L.

On the 17th of March, the Lords taking into consideration the State of the Nation, the Earls of Wharton, Nottingham, and Sunderland, the Lords Couper, Hallifax, and some others, represented the danger that threatened the Protestant Succession, by reason of the Pretender's not being yet removed from Lorrain, and the ill condition the affairs of Europe were left in by the late treaties of peace, and moved, that addresses be presented to the Queen, 'First, for an account of what steps had been taken for removing the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of Lorrain, and what answers had been given by that Duke. Secondly, An account of the Negotiations of peace: What measures had been taken, to render the peace universal: And what obstructions her Majesty had met with. Thirdly, An account of what instances had been made for restoring to the Catalans their ancient privileges, and all letters relating thereto. Fourthly, An account of the monies granted by Parliament, since the year 1710, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal.' These addresses were ordered to be presented to the Queen without any opposition. But, in the mean time, to give the House some amusement, the Lord-Treasurer moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further security of the Protestant Succession, by making it high-treason to bring any foreign troops into the Kingdom: Which greatly surprized many Peers. Among the rest, the Earl of Nottingham, who immediately perceived the dangerous consequence of that motion, represented, 'That such a bill might be turned against the very Guarantees of the Protestant Succession, and so weaken that happy settlement, for the security of which the bill was pretended to be designed.' The Lord

No. 76. VOL. IV.

Bolingbroke replied, 'He doubted not, but the noble Peer, who made the motion, meant only such foreign troops, as might be brought into the Kingdom by the Pretender or his Adherents.' The Lord-Treasurer having declared this to be his meaning, it was answered, 'In that case, such a bill was altogether unnecessary, since such troops were either open enemies, if Foreigners, or traitors and rebels, if Natives.' The Earl of Anglesea put an end to the debate, with saying, 'That the Lord, who made the motion, was not acquainted with the methods of proceeding in that House; for every Peer has the Privilege of bringing in what bill he thinks fit: That the Lord-Treasurer's asking leave for it, was but a compliment to the House; and therefore, when he had brought in the bill, it would be then a proper time to consider of it.' So the motion was dropped. The same day, a noble Lord reflected on the Bishop of Sarum's Preface to his Pastoral Care; but, that Prelate offering to vindicate himself, no farther notice was taken of it.

Two days after, in a farther debate on the State of the Nation, several Lords spoke again in favour of the Catalans, and insisted, 'That the House ought strictly to examine how that poor people came to be abandoned, after they had been solicited and drawn in to declare for the Emperor.' The Earl of Anglesea, seeing the Ministry thus attacked, endeavoured to ward off the blow, by saying, 'That, for his own part, he was one of the first, that appeared against the late Ministers, because he was fully convinced of their male-administration, corruption, avarice, and unbounded ambition. That he would, in like manner, be one of the first that should attack the present Ministers, if he thought them guilty of the same faults. But, as he had observed, it was merely out of spleen and envy, that some persons were for inquiring into the conduct of Patriots, who had given signal proofs of their zeal for the public good, he was of opinion, that they ought to examine into the conduct both of the late and present Ministers, that so, by comparing one with the other, they might see, which had committed less errors.' However, the Whig Lords pursued their point, and in particular took notice of the danger, both the Queen's person and the Protestant Succession were in, from the great number of outlawed Jacobites, who were permitted to come over from beyond sea; and complained of the favour shewn to the pretender's friends, in granting *noli prosequi*'s to persons (meaning Daniel de Fox among others) who were under prosecution for writing against the Protestant Succession. They animadverted upon the debts of the Navy being much increased, though nothing had been done at sea for two or three years. The Court-party having nothing to say to these particulars, it was moved and resolved to address the Queen, that she would order the proper officers to lay before the House, 'First, An account of the debts and state of the Navy. Secondly, An account of *Noli prosequi*'s granted since her Accession to the Throne. And, Thirdly, A list of persons outlawed, attainted, or that had borne arms in the service of her Majesty's, or the late King's enemies, who had got licences to return into Great-Britain, or other her Majesty's Dominions, since the year 1688.' After this, upon a motion for adjourning, the Whig Lords proposed to adjourn only to the Monday following.

S f f f

1713-14. lowing. But, the Ministry being highly concerned to put a stop to such enquiries, the Lord-Treasurer, with a shew of devotion, represented, 'That the solemnity of the festival of *Easter* approaching, the next week ought, according to the Primitive institution, and the constant practice of the Church of *England*, to be set apart for works of piety;' and therefore, moved to adjourn to the 31st of *March*. The Treasurer being seconded by the Lord *Trevor*, the Earl of *Wharton* said, 'God forbid he should oppose that noble Lord, who had made so pious and religious a motion; but that he appealed to that venerable Bench (pointing to the Bishops) whether humanity and charity did not require it at their hands, not to lose one moment of time, in addressing her Majesty in behalf of the distressed *Catalans*, who were reduced to such an extremity that the least delay in procuring them relief, might prove their ruin for ever.' Then it was resolved, without opposition, to present the address; and the Earl of *Oxford's* motion for adjourning to the 31st of *March* was carried in the affirmative. It is observable, the Commons having, the day before, made an order for clearing their House of all strangers, not excepting the Peers, it was moved in the Lords House to make the like order, without excepting the Commons: But this was opposed by the Duke of *Argyle*, who said, 'It was for the honour of that August Assembly to shew, that they were better bred, and had more complaisance than the Commons.'

A remarkable declaration published by the Ministry.

At this time the Ministry, in order to allay the fears, which many entertained of a design between *Great-Britain* and *France*, to bring over the Pretender; caused a remarkable declaration, made some time before by the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, to be published in the *Post-Boy* of the 18th of *March*, which was to this effect: 'It is not only in *Holland*, that false reports are spread of the King my Master's equipping a fleet, with a design to support the interests of the Chevalier de *St George*; but these false reports have also reached *England*. As it is easy to imagine for what end they have been invented, I am ordered by his Majesty, to acquaint you with the malicious design of them: They will soon vanish, being without foundation, and even the least appearance of any. It is, however, necessary, that truth should be known.'

This declaration, however, with the least discerning passed only for a political amusement: And indeed it was but a fond imagination in the *British* Ministers, to believe, that any verbal assurances and protestations were able to dispel the jealousies and apprehensions, occasioned by the daily removal of the firmest friends to the Protestant Succession from public employments, and advancing, in their stead, those, whom they found inclined blindly to follow the Queen's measures; which was now become the watchword, and, as it were, the standard of civil and military merit. Upon this rule, at a Cabinet-Council, it was resolved to remove the Duke of

Removals and promotions.

Argyle from all his places; to order the Earl of *Stair* to dispose of his regiment of *Scots* Royal dragoons; and to turn out several other inferior Officers. Accordingly, a few days after, it was declared, that the command of the *Scots* troop of Life-guards, of which the Duke of *Argyle* was Colonel and Captain, was given to the young Earl of *Dundonald*, a *Scots* Peer (for which, however, the Queen was said to have paid the usual price of ten thousand pounds to the Duke) that the Earl of *Peterborough* was made Governor of the Island of *Minorca*, and the Earl of *Orkney*, Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, both in the room of the Duke of *Argyle*; that the Earl of *Portmore* had bought the Earl of *Stair's* regiment for six thousand pounds; that Major-General *Davenport* was ordered to sell his post of Lieutenant of the first troop of Life-guards to Brigadier *Panton*; that Major-General *Holmes*, Major of the *Cold-Stream* regiment of Foot-guards, had leave to dispose of his company to Lieutenant-Colonel *Gibbons*, late of Colonel *Kane's* regiment of foot; that Lieutenant-Colonel *Egerton*, Brother to the Earl of *Bridgewater*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Sidney*, Brother to the Earl of *Leicester*, were ordered to sell their Companies in the Foot-guards, for the sum of a thousand pounds each, to the Lieutenants-Colonels *Markham* and *Owen*; and that Lieutenant-Colonel *Oughlon* and Lieutenant-Colonel *Paget* were also ordered to dispose of their Companies. It was about the same time strongly reported, that several other Officers, who, being closeted, had demurred upon the question, that was put to them, *Whether they would serve the Queen, without asking questions?* Were likewise to be turned out of their posts; some of which were to be filled up by the creatures of the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the principal adviser and promoter of the new-modelling the army. One branch of this scheme was to break nine of the Battalions in *Ireland*; to lay aside seventy-two Officers, who were thought improper instruments for the designs in hand; and to raise fifteen other battalions, that should be sure to obey all commands; and one of which was said to be designed for the Lord *Poor*, an *Irish* Roman Catholic Peer, who had a long time served in *France*. It was also generally reported, that either the Earl of *Anglesea*, or Colonel *Owen*, who soon after went over to *Dublin*, carried these orders to Sir *Constance Phipps*. But whatever ground there was for such a report, that part of the model never took place.

The Lord *Bolingbroke* and his friends, who by this time had got the ascendancy over the Lord-Treasurer in the Cabinet-Council, were the more hasty in their measures, both because they began to despair of the Queen's surviving the next summer, and because they were not ignorant, that the Whigs, in concert with the Court of *Hanover*, took all imaginable precautions to secure the Protestant Succession. The Queen being taken ill (1), those who were most concerned in her life, pushed on their schemes, knowing how precarious

(1) Dr *Shadwell*, in a letter to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, gives the following account of her illness:

On the 11th of *March*, after the Queen had sunned herself awhile at the window, she was seized with a chillness, vomiting, a pain in the leg, the pulse very

disordered, and in every manner as two months before, except that the Queen did not shiver; but the cold and chillness continued twelve hours, and was then succeeded by very great heat, thirst, and all the symptoms of a high fever, which lasted till the next morning.



Original name

In the Collection of the Earl of Inchiquin

J. & R. Knapton London



1713-14. precarious that life was ; and, at the same time, the better to carry on their designs, gave out, that she was in no manner of danger, being only troubled with a small fit of the gout. But though, the better to conceal the true state of her health, only Dr *Arbutnot*, who was devoted to their party, was for a long time admitted to see her leg ; yet those, who watched for the security of the Protestant Succession, did not want intelligence of her dangerous condition, and took all possible measures to defeat any attempt, that should be made to bring in the Pretender, at or before her death. As that case never happened, those measures are for the most part a secret ; but it may be observed, that about this time the Pretender's friends were not a little alarmed at a secret treaty, which was said to be concluded between the Elector of *Brunswick* and the *States-General* ; whereby the *States*, in consideration of a certain sum, engaged to furnish the Elector with a certain number of ships and land-forces (besides their engagements as Guarantees of the Succession) to support his claim to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Be this as it will, certain it is, that the Court of *Hanover* did not rely on the fair promises, given them by the *British* Ministers, and which were manifestly contradicted by matters of fact. And as some of the *British* Ministers and Generals were, at this juncture, very intent upon new-modelling the army ; so on the other hand, the Duke of *Argyle*, the Generals *Stanhope* and *Cadogan*, and several other experienced Commanders, were no less active, though with more caution, in keeping steady and preparing against all events, such military men, as they knew to be well affected to the Protestant Succession. General *Stanhope*, in particular, had several private Conferences with the principal Officers among the *French* Refugees ; who being a considerable body, and all zealous for the cause, no small stress was laid on their assistance, as well as that of their Countrymen. So, if things had been brought to extremities, exclusive of the interposition of foreign forces, the well-affected to the House of *Hanover* would have been equal, if not superior to the Pretender's friends. This will appear more than probable, if we consider, that in either House of Parliament few were for altering the present settlement : That most of the Merchants and monied men in the City of *London* (which, in all Revolutions, has the greatest influence over the rest of the Kingdom) were entirely devoted to the Protestant Succession ; and it is now known, that some of the principal of them had agreed with the Generals *Cadogan* and *Stanhope* to exert their whole interest in the City, whenever any attempt should be made upon the Succession ; and that measures were early concerted by the *Kit-Cat-Club*, with a Major-General, who had a

Measures taken by the Whigs to secure the Protestant Succession.

considerable post in the Foot-guards, to seize 1713-14. the *Tower*, upon the first appearance of danger, and to secure in it such persons, as were justly suspected to favour the Pretender (1). And the late Lord *Onslow* used to say, that himself had been sent over with an Association signed by the most eminent of the Whigs to the Duke of *Marlborough*, who did not think proper to give it the sanction of his name ; which was a great surprize to his old friends.

The Parliament, according to their adjournment, met on the 31st of *March*. The chief debates were in the House of Lords, concerning the *Catalans*, the Protestant Succession, removal of the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, and the late Treaties. The papers, which had been addressed for, being laid before the House, those relating to the *Catalans* were read on the 2d of *April*. Then the Earls of *Wharton* and *Sunderland*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Cowper*, and others, represented, ' That, the Crown of *Great-Britain* having drawn in the *Catalans* to declare for the House of *Austria*, and engaged to support them, those engagements ought to have been made good.' To this the Lord *Bolingbroke* answered, ' That the Queen had used all her endeavours to procure to the *Catalans* the enjoyment of their ancient liberties and privileges ; but that, after all, the engagements she was entered into, subsisted no longer than while King *Charles* was in *Spain* ; but that Prince being advanced to the Imperial dignity, and having himself abandoned the *Catalans*, she could do no more than interpose her good offices in their behalf, which she had not been wanting to do.' To this it was replied, ' That God Almighty had put more effectual means into her Majesty's hands.' After some other speeches, the Lord *Cowper* moved for an address to the Queen, importing, ' That, her endeavours for preserving to the *Catalans* the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties, having proved ineffectual, their Lordships made it their humble request, that she would continue her interposition in the most pressing manner in their behalf.' None of the Peers opposed this motion ; only the Lord-Chancellor, in order to justify all that had been done by the Ministry, said, ' This address would be more grateful to her Majesty, if the word *ineffectual* was left out ; and if they should only thankfully acknowledge her Majesty's endeavours in favour of the *Catalans*,' which was agreed to. But, notwithstanding this compliment, the address being the next day presented to the Queen, she thanked, indeed, the Lords, for the satisfaction they expressed in the endeavours she had used for securing to the *Catalans* their just liberties ; but then she added, that, at the time she concluded her peace with *Spain*, she resolved to continue her interposition upon every proper occasion for obtaining those liberties, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes, to which that people

Debates about the Catalans. Pr. H. L.

morning. Some of her Physicians were for administering the snake root ; but Dr *Shadwell* opposed it, by reason of the inflammatory fever, and *Erysipelas* ; preferred for temperate cordial medicines, to discharge the blood ; and cupping, as well as other evacuations, to prevent too great a load of humours falling upon the leg. This he insisted on the next day, though the fever was off ; apprehending the consequence of that limb being too much loaded. And though, on Sunday the 14th, the Queen eat a chicken with very good ap-

petite ; though all the other Physicians thought matters so well, as not to need any prescription ; yet that very good appearance did not ease Dr *Shadwell* of his fears, for what might happen to the leg, if the *Erysipelas* should turn to an imposthume : Which it did, according to his prognostic, not long after ; and proved at last the immediate cause of the Queen's death.

(1) This *Boyer*, the Historian, had from the Major-General's own mouth, whose name he had not liberty to reveal.

(1) Some

1714. people were exposed by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them. This answer occasioned some reflections: And indeed, it quickly appeared, that Sir James Wylhart, who, about this time, was sent with a strong Squadron of men of war, was rather instructed to assist King Philip in the reduction of Barcelona, than in relieving the distressed Catalans.

Debate on
the State
of the
Nation.
Pr. H. L.

On April the 5th, the Lords taking into consideration the State of the Nation, several speeches were made in relation to the dangers to which all Europe in general was left exposed by the late treaties of peace, and which, in particular, threatened the Protestant Succession. To this purpose the Whig Lords mentioned the countenance and favour which were publicly shewn by those in power to the friends of the Pretender; and his continuing in Lorrain (1). The Earl of Sunderland added, 'That, notwithstanding the earnest application made last Session by both Houses to her Majesty, to use her utmost endeavours to get him removed from thence, yet he was assured by Baron Fostner, the Duke of Lorrain's Minister, some weeks before his departure, that, to his certain knowledge, no instances had yet been made to his Master for that purpose.'

The Lord Bolingbroke said, 'He wondered Baron Fostner should make such a declaration, since he himself had made those instances to the Baron in the Queen's name.' But the Lord Halifax confirmed what the Earl of Sunderland had advanced, saying, 'Baron Fostner had told him as much but four days before; so that the Lord Bolingbroke must be mistaken, at least, in point of chronology.' The Earl of Wharton having urged the dangers, which threatened the Nation, and the Protestant Succession from the male-administration of affairs, a question was proposed, 'Whether the Protestant Succession was in danger under the present Administration?' The Court Lords, who had a mind to screen the Ministry under the Queen's name, insisted, that the last words of the question should be, *under her Majesty's Administration?* The Whig Lords alleged, 'That the Queen ought not to be mentioned in a ques-

sion, that did not at all concern her Majesty: 1714. For, by our Constitution, the Sovereign can do no wrong; and, if any thing be done amiss, the Ministers alone are accountable for it.' But it was urged, 'That the Queen having, in her speech from the throne, taken notice of the insinuations, that the Protestant Succession was in danger under her Government; the question ought to be taken in her Majesty's expressions about the same subject.' This being agreed to, the question was warmly debated from two in the afternoon, till nine o'clock in the evening, when the Protestant Succession was voted out of danger by a majority of twelve voices only, seventy-six against sixty-four. The most remarkable circumstance of this debate was, that the Archbishop of York and the Earl of Anglesea spoke and voted with the Whig Lords, which added great strength to that side; the Archbishop drawing after him the whole Bench of Bishops, three Courtiers only excepted; and the other being followed by the Earls of Abingdon and Jersey, the Lords Ashburnham and Carteret, and some other temporal Peers, who, like the Lord Anglesea, had, upon most occasions, voted with the Court Lords; so that the victory, now gained, was owing either to the Scots Peers, or to the late Creation. And it was the general opinion, that this seeming advantage was in reality a kind of defeat. The Earl of Anglesea's speech upon this occasion was much taken notice of: He said, among other things, 'That, when he came into the House, he thought indeed the Protestant Succession to be still in danger on the part of France, whose interest it was to restore the Pretender: But that, after he had heard what so many noble Members of that August Assembly, persons of undoubted honour and probity, had alleged against the Ministers, and no answer offered to confute it, either by the Ministers themselves, or their friends, he could not but believe the Succession to be in danger under such an Administration.' He afterwards endeavoured to clear himself, as to the share he had in some late transactions: 'I own (said he) I gave my assent

(1) Some time before the Parliament met, the following letter, said to be written by the Duke of Lorrain, was handed about first in manuscript and afterwards in print:—

Madam,

'We could not be more surprized at the addresses of the British Parliament last summer, than with the late remonstrances of your Majesty's Minister at Utrecht, in relation to the removal of the Chevalier de St George from the Dominions of Lorrain. Before we would absolutely comply with the request of the most Christian King in that affair, the profound respect we have for your quiet, made us apprehensive of giving the least uneasiness to your Majesty. But when we were assured, on the contrary, that this expedient would be highly agreeable to all sides, as the only means to remove one of the chief obstacles to the general peace of Europe, so much wanted and desired: Proud of so great an honour, we could no longer refrain from opening our arms, to receive a Prince, the most accomplished, the most virtuous, and most amiable of human race, who only wants to be seen to be admired, and known to be almost adored: Whose magnanimity, in his sufferings, renders him worthy his high birth; besides his other great and commend-

able qualities, which confess the royal blood that flows in his veins.

We therefore hope your Majesty, and the British Nation, will not take in ill part, that we cannot comply with a demand so inconsistent with our own Honour, and the laws of Hospitality; that, after our protection once given, we should voluntarily abandon, to the rage of his enemies, an innocent, distressed Prince, who knows no crime, but being born the last heir male to that illustrious family, which, for several ages, has given so many great Monarchs to the world (amongst the rest, your Majesty) of whose heroic virtues he is a happy imitator; and whose conspicuous and great actions have reflected as much lustre, as you have received from your noble and truly royal progenitors. That God Almighty would take your Majesty into his holy protection, is the ardent wish of,

M A D A M,

Your Majesty's, &c.

This letter, though, with different views, was perfected with equal industry by both parties, and, with other concurring circumstances, greatly increased the fears and jealousies of the well-affected to the Protestant Succession.

714. sent to the cessation of arms, for which I take shame to myself, and ask God, my Country, and my Conscience pardon. But, however, this fault I did not commit, till that noble Lord (turning towards the Lord-Treasurer) had assured the Council, *that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her Majesty and her Allies.* Adding, that, as the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of his Country, were the rule of his actions, so he had no respect of persons; and if he found himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil Minister, from the Queen's Closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the Scaffold. The Lord-Treasurer, against whom this was levelled, said, 'That the peace was as glorious and advantageous, as could be expected, considering the necessity of affairs, and the contradiction the Queen's Ministers had met with, both at home and abroad.' Several Lords replied, That no Ministers ever had it in their power to make so honourable and advantageous a peace, as the Queen's Ministers had: And the Duke of Argyle in particular added, 'That he had lately crossed the Kingdom of France, both in going to, and returning from Minorca. That it was indeed one of the finest Countries in the Universe, but that there were marks of a general desolation in all the places, through which he passed. That he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms: That the rest of the people were in the utmost misery and want; and therefore he did not apprehend what necessity there was to conclude a peace so precipitately with a Prince, whose Dominions were so exhausted of men, money, and provisions. As to the question now under debate, he said, he firmly believed the Succession in the Electoral House of Hanover to be in danger from the present Ministers, whom he durst charge with Male-Administration, both within those walls, and without: That he knew, and offered to prove, that the Lord-Treasurer had yearly remitted four-thousand pounds to the High-land Clans of Scotland, who were known to be entirely devoted to the Pretender, in order to keep them under discipline, and ready for any attempt: That, on the other hand, the new-modelling of the army, by disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and by removing from their employments a vast number of Officers, merely upon account of their known affection to the House of Hanover, were clear indications of the designs in hand: That it was a disgrace to the Nation, to see men, who had never looked an enemy in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave Officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their Country, were now starving in prison for debt, for want of their pay.' The Lord-Treasurer, laying his hand upon his breast, said, 'He had, on so many occasions, given such signal proofs of his affection to the Protestant Succession, that he was sure no Member of that August Assembly did call it in question. That he owned, he had remitted, for two or three years past, three thousand eight hundred pounds to the High-land Clans; but that he hoped the House would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct as to that point. And, as for the reformed Officers, he had given orders, they should forthwith be paid.' The Lord Alburnham, who had lately been advanced to the command of a troop of Life-guards, thinking him-

self reflected on by some expressions, which had dropped from the Duke of Argyle, took that occasion to say, 'That the Queen had no better, nor a more loyal subject than himself; but that, at the same time, he was ready to spill every drop of his blood, and spend all his fortune, for the security of the Protestant Succession.'

Though, after some other speeches, the Protestant Succession was voted out of danger, as the Court-party desired, yet the Lord Halifax, in order to put their professions of affection to the Protestant Successor to the test, moved, *about the removal of the Pretender out of Lorrain.* 'That an address be presented to the Queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the Pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with the States-General, enter into the Guaranty of the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover; and also with such other Princes, as she should think proper.' He was seconded by the Earl of Wharton, who moved likewise, that, in the address, 'Her Majesty might be desired to issue out a Proclamation, promising a reward to any person, who should apprehend the Pretender, dead or alive.' This motion was supported by the Duke of Bolton, who also moved, 'That the reward might be suitable to the importance of that service.' Nothing was said in opposition to these motions; but, it being late, some Members cried, *Adjourn, adjourn.* But, the other side calling for the question, it was unanimously resolved, that the address should be presented. Before this debate came on, the Lord Norib and Grey moved, that all the strangers, who were in the House, should withdraw; upon which the Earl of Wharton desired, that they might be permitted to stay; and he was seconded by the Duke of Argyle. But, the Lord, who made the motion, insisting upon it, all strangers were obliged to withdraw, except Baron Schultz, Envoy from Hanover, whose standing behind the Throne among the Peers Sons was connived at. It is very probable, he did not fail giving a full account of this day's transactions to his Court; and that the Earl of Anglesea was noted down in the list of the persons, whom by the act of settlement, the Protestant Successor was empowered to appoint to have a share in the Regency, in case of a demise. But it was observed, that the same evening the Earl supped with the Lord Bolingbroke, and, two days after, appeared at the Treasurer's Levee; from whence it was conjectured, they had found means to regain him by the promise of the Government of Ireland.

When the address against the Pretender was reported by the Committee appointed to draw it, the Lord Norib and Grey made a long speech, 'wherein he endeavoured to shew the barbarity of setting a reward upon any body's head; which, he said, was an encouraging of murder and assassination; and how repugnant such a practice was to Christianity, the law of Nature, and the laws of all civilized Nations.' To which purpose he quoted some passages out of *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, and other Civilians. He represented in particular, 'how inconsistent such a proceeding was with the honour and dignity of so August an Assembly in a Nation and Government, famed for lenity and clemency;' and in conclusion said, 'No man either had more respect and affection for the illustrious House of Hanover, or would do more to serve them, than himself.'

T t t

himself:

1714. himself: But that they must excuse him, if he would not venture damnation for them.' He was supported by the Lord *Trevor*, who said, 'What that noble Peer had spoke, was sufficient to shew how inconsistent such a proceeding was with Christianity, and the civil law; and therefore he would confine himself to our own laws; and, if he knew or understood any thing of these, he was confident, they were no less opposite to such proceedings than the civil law. He knew, he did not speak there as a Lawyer or Judge, but as a Peer. But he was so fully satisfied of our law discountenancing all such proceedings, that, if ever any such case should come before him as a Judge, he would think himself bound in justice, honour, and conscience to condemn such an action as murder; and therefore he hoped, the supreme Court of Judicature in *England*, and the most august Tribunal in the Universe, would not make a precedent for encouraging assassination.' Concluding, that it was sufficient, and therefore he moved, 'First, that the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the Pretender to justice, in case he should land, or attempt to land, either in *Great-Britain* or *Ireland*. Secondly, That her Majesty issue her Royal proclamation, whenever, in her great wisdom, she should judge it necessary.' The Lords *Cowper* and *Hallifax* said, 'that such a proceeding, as repugnant as it might be to the precepts of Christianity, was yet warranted by the practice of the old *Romans*, of the most civilized Nations in *Europe*, and of our Nation. For, without recurring to remoter instances, we had the example of King *James* the Second, who set a price on the head of his own Nephew, the Duke of *Monmouth*.' But these two Lords were but weakly supported by their own party; and, the Earl of *Anglesea*, and Lords *Ashburnham*, *Carteret*, and *Orrery*, who three days before, had left the Court-party, having approved the Lord *Trevor*'s motion, and most of the Bishops, who were against such an address, being absent from the House, these mitigations were, upon a division, carried by a majority of ten voices.

Votes against persons outlawed, Popish, and others.

The same day, upon a motion made by the Lord *Hallifax*, the Lords resolved to present another address to the Queen, 'That she would issue out a proclamation against all Jesuits, Popish Priests, and Bishops; as also against all such, as bore arms against the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, or her present Majesty.' Upon this occasion, some severe reflections were made against those persons, who, being outlawed for adhering to the late King *James* and the Pretender, had the assurance, and were encouraged, not only to come over, but even to appear here with a public character. The Earl of *Anglesea* said, on this occasion, 'That, for his own part, he was against widening our domestic divisions, by keeping up odious distinctions; and therefore, if they, who were born her Majesty's subjects, and had been in arms against their

Country, were sensible of their fault, and inclined to return to their bounden allegiance, they ought, in his opinion, to open the door for them to come in.' But the House had other thoughts of the matter, and the next day resolved, '1. That no person, not included in the articles of *Limerick*, and who had borne arms in *France* or *Spain*, should be capable of any employment civil or military. 2. That no person, who is a natural born subject of her Majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of public Minister from any foreign Potentate.' These resolutions were made with a view to Sir *Patrick Lawless*, who, having been the Pretender's Envoy at the Court of *Madrid*, had come over with a credential letter from King *Philip*. But, upon the noise, which his being here made in both Houses of Parliament, he thought fit to go to *Holland*.

As a reflection had been made against the Treasurer, for remitting yearly about four thousand pounds to the Clans of *Scotland*, as if that sum were designed to keep in heart and discipline the Pretender's friends, the Lord *Townshend* moved for taking that affair into consideration. The Duke of *Argyle* represented, 'That, the *Scots Highlanders* being, for the most part, either rank Papists, or declared Jacobites, the giving them pensions was, in effect, keeping up, Popish Seminaries, and fomenting Rebellion.' In answer to this, the Treasurer alleged, 'That in this particular he had but followed the example of the late King *William*, who, after he had reduced the *Highlanders*, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of the Clans, in order to keep them quiet; and, if the present Ministry could be charged with any mismanagement on that article, it was only for retrenching part of that *Highland money*.' Nothing being alleged against this apology, the Lord *North* and *Grey* made a motion for returning the Treasurer the thanks of the House for his good services. But the Lord *Bolingbroke*, to put it off, said, 'He was persuaded the Treasurer was contented with the testimony of his own conscience, and desired no farther satisfaction, than to have his conduct approved by that August Assembly.' Which was accordingly done. Upon this unsuccessful attempt upon the Treasurer, the Lord *North* and *Grey* said, with an air of triumph, 'That, having, by this time, removed all fears and jealousies about Popery and the Pretender, he hoped the enemies of the Ministry would now speedily produce all the objections they had against their conduct.' And moved, that a day might be appointed for taking into consideration the State of the Nation, with regard to the treaties of Peace and Commerce. He was seconded by the Earl of *Clarendon*; and then the House adjourned to the 13th of *April*; but, the day before, the Lord Chancellor attended only by the Whig Lords, presented to the Queen their address against the Pretender (1), to which she returned the following answer:

My

(1) The address was as follows:

'We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, having a just and tender concern for your Majesty, and our Country, and being encouraged by that zeal your Majesty has so often expressed from the Throne, for the Protestant Succession in the illustrious

House of *Hanover*, do now presume to renew our most humble application to your Majesty, upon a subject so agreeable to you, as this which is nearest your own Royal heart; and do humbly beseech your Majesty, that, whenever your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall judge it necessary, you will be graciously pleased to issue your Royal proclamation, promising a reward

to

1714.

My Lords,

The Queen's answer to the address against the Pretender.

'It would be a real strengthening to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, as well as a support to my Government, that an end were put to those groundless fears and jealousies, which have been so industriously promoted.

'I do not, at this time, see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it to be necessary, I shall give my orders for having one issued.

'As to the other particulars of this address, I will give proper directions therein.'

Demand of King James's Queen delivered in Chancery.

This answer revived the hopes of the Pretender's friends, who, before the warm speeches against him in both Houses, were so elated and secure of protection, that, towards the end of

March, an agent of King *James's* Queen offered to file a bill in Chancery, wherein he demanded, in her name, the sum of six-hundred fifty-thousand pounds, due to her by the Crown of *England*, for the dowry of fifty-thousand pounds per annum since the death of King *James* the Second. But, the agent having in the bill given her the title of *Queen-mother*, the Officer refused to file it; upon which the agent changed the title, and presented it in the name of *the most illustrious Princess Maria, Relict of James the Second, King of England*. Though no notice was taken of this formal demand, yet, pursuant to a private agreement made in *France* by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, about fifty-thousand pounds were remitted thither for her use.

Consultation of the Whig Lords.

The very day, the address against the Pretender was presented, an incident happened, which, as soon as known, threw the Ministers into the utmost confusion. On the 10th of *April*, most of the Whig Lords held a consultation at the Lord *Hallifax's*, to which Baron *Schutz*, Envoy from the Elector of *Hanover*, was admitted.

A writ demanded for the Duke of Cambridge.

It was resolved, pursuant either to the orders, *Schutz* had received from his Court, or to the discretionary power, which was lodged with some of these Lords, that the Envoy should take the first opportunity to demand a writ for the Electoral Prince to sit in the House of Peers, as Duke of *Cambridge*. Accordingly, on the 12th of *April*, Baron *Schutz* made a visit to the Lord Chancellor, and, among other civilities, acknowledged the affection, he had shewn, on several occasions, to the most serene Electoral House of *Hanover*. The Lord-Chancellor told him, he was extremely sensible of the honour he did him by his visit and compliment; and desired him to assure the Elector, of his entire devotion to his service; hoping his Electoral Highness gave no credit to the false reports, that were industriously spread abroad, in order to give him jealousies of her Majesty's Ministers.'

The Baron answered, he would not fail discharging so agreeable a commission; but he had a favour to ask of him, in the name of the Electoral Prince, that his Lordship would be pleased to make out a writ for his sitting in the House of Peers, as Duke of *Cambridge*. The Lord-Chancellor, surprized at this unexpected demand, told the Baron, 'It was not usual to make out writs for Peers, who were out of the Kingdom. However, he would forthwith apply to her Majesty for directions in this case.' The Baron answered, 'He did not doubt, his Lordship knew, and would perform the duty of his office. But, as to the objection of the Duke of *Cambridge's* being out of the Kingdom, he would assure him, his Electoral Highness had resolved to come over very speedily, and perhaps might be landed before the writ was made out.' Upon this, the Baron taking his leave, the Chancellor desired him to remember, 'He did not refuse his demand, but only thought it proper to acquaint the Queen with it, which he would do immediately.' To this the Baron said, 'He likewise desired his Lordship to remember, that he applied himself to him for the Duke of *Cambridge's* writ.' The Chancellor having the same evening acquainted the Queen, and her chief Masters, with these passages, a Council was immediately called; and, having sat from nine o'clock till after eleven, it was resolved, That the Lord Chancellor should make out a writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*. This transaction, which, the next morning, was first whispered about in the Court of Requests, cast a sudden damp on the spirits of the open and secret friends of the Pretender. It was then a question, whether Baron *Schutz* had made that demand by express directions from his Master, or only by the advice of some Whig Lords. But it is certain, the Queen took so ill the Baron's applying himself to the Chancellor, before he acquainted her with his orders, that she sent the Master of the Ceremonies to forbid him the Court. Two days after, a messenger was dispatched to Mr *Thomas Harley*, at the Court of *Hanover*, with instructions relating to the new scene opened by Baron *Schutz*; who, about a week after, thought fit to return to *Hanover*, having left with Resident *Kreyenberg* a letter to Mr *Bromley*, telling him, 'That, having had the misfortune to incur her Majesty's displeasure, and being thereby rendered incapable of serving his Master any longer in this Court, he thought it his duty to return home.' *Kreyenberg* delivered this letter to Mr Secretary *Bromley*, who told him, 'That either he, or any other Minister, whom the Elector of *Hanover* would please to send over, would be well received by her Majesty.' This affair occasioned various conjectures: And, as *Schutz's* declaration of the Duke of *Cambridge's* intention suddenly to come over alarmed the Pretender's adherents, so it raised the spirits of the well-

1714.

to any person, who shall apprehend and bring the Pretender to justice, in case he shall land, or attempt to land, either in *Great-Britain*, or *Ireland*, suitable to the importance of that service, for the safety of your Majesty's person, and the security of the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*.

We also desire leave to express our very great concern, That your Majesty's instances, for removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*, have not yet had their effect;

and do humbly intreat your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to insist upon, and renew your instances for the speedy removing the Pretender out of *Lorrain*; and likewise, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased, in conjunction with the *States-General*, to desire the Emperor to enter into the guaranty of the Protestant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and also all such other Princes, as your Majesty shall think proper.

1714. well-affected to the House of *Hanover*. What was the sense of the Courtiers about the Duke of *Cambridge's* coming over, and the present juncture of affairs, may be gathered from some remarkable passages in a pamphlet published about this time with the title of *Hannibal not at our gates; or an inquiry into the grounds of our present fears of Popery and the Pretender*; of which one of the principal Writers of the *Examiner* was suspected to be the Author. In this pamphlet, it was, among other things, ironically insinuated, *That a certain Gentleman was gone to Hanover to bamboozel*. And indeed it was the general opinion that Mr *Harley*, who arrived at *Hanover* on the very day Baron *Schultz* demanded the writ, was sent only to amuse that Court with professions of the Treasurer's and all his friends devotion to the Electoral family; and (it is said) as a proof of that devotion, with the very original of a letter, the Queen had writ with her own hand to the Pretender. But, as the subject of Mr *Harley's* last Embassy is still a secret, no stress can be laid on the various conjectures, it occasioned. It may only be observed, he met with a cold reception at *Hanover*, and, making no long stay there, came back to *London* on the 25th of *May*. It may likewise be remarked, that, upon the first surprize of Baron *Schultz* demanding the writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Paget*, who was named Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of *Hanover*, he declined that employment in so critical a juncture; and the Earl of *Clarendon* was afterwards appointed.

Resolution
for a se-
cond ad-
dress about
the Pre-
tender.
Pr. H. L.

The Lord Chancellor having, on the 13th of *April*, reported to the House of Peers the Queen's answer to the address against the Pretender, some expressions in it did not please the Whig Lords, who moved for another address to return her Majesty thanks for her answer; and containing the grounds and reasons of their former address. The Court-Lords, foreseeing that, if such an address was carried, the prevailing party might advance to more vigorous resolutions, strenuously insisted not to enter into ungrateful particulars, but to confine themselves to expressions in the Queen's answer. An order for such an address being offered, the Duke of *Leeds* moved, that at the close of it, where mention was made of the *fears and jealousies universally spread*, the words *[and industriously]* might be added: Which, after a debate of four hours, wherein the Bishop of *Salisbury* made a long speech, was carried only by the majority of two proxies, the votes in the House being equal, sixty-one on each side. This victory of the Courtiers was by their antagonists treated as little better than a defeat. And it is certain, that the Whig Lords had that day carried their point, had it not been for the accidental loss of four votes: The Duke of *Rutland*, being then at *Newmarket* with a proxy in his pocket; the Duke of *Grafton*, being sent for home to his Duchess then in labour with her first child; and the Earl of *Gainsborough*, being taken so ill that very morning, that he could not sign his proxy. It was also remarkable, that, of sixteen Bishops then in the House, two only, *Rochester* and *Durham*, voted with the Court: That the new Bishops of *London* and *Bristol*, who were thought blindly devoted to the Ministry, joined with the Whigs; as did also the Earl of *Argyll*; which was undoubtedly owing to Baron

Schultz's demanding a writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*, which visibly gave life and weight to the Whig-party. However, the resolution being laid before the Queen, she only answered, 'She thanked them for their address; and that she took very kindly the assurances they gave.'

On the 14th of *April*, a motion was made for taking into consideration the treaties of Peace and Commerce; and some speeches were made on both sides, after which the debate was adjourned to the 16th. That day the Whig Lords being apprehensive, that, if any debate arose about the *Spanish* treaty, the other party would propose an address to the Queen, approving of that treaty, which they thought absurd, they therefore agreed to say nothing against the treaty, that might draw them into a debate. The Lord *North* and *Grey* stood up first, and said, If any Lord had any objections against the *Spanish* treaty, he was ready to answer them; and so, in a challenging manner, went on for some time. After he had done, there was silence for a quarter of an hour; and then the Earl of *Clarendon* said, 'My Lords, since no objection can be raised against the *Spanish* treaty, we should address her Majesty to return her our most humble thanks, for having, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with *Spain*, delivered these Nations from a long, consuming land war; and to desire her, notwithstanding any obstructions, that may be thrown in her way, to proceed to the Settlement of *Europe*, according to the principles laid down in her most gracious speech.' To this the Lord *Cowper* answered, 'My Lords, this is the most barefaced attempt, that ever was made by this or any other Ministry, to secure themselves, by endeavouring to get the sanction of this House for themselves. My Lords, I have no objections against these treaties. Are the Ministers themselves jealous, that their actions stand in need of the sanction of this House? Else why this endeavour at an address, to make their act the act of the House? The Lord, that spoke first, acting like a soldier, would, by skirmishing, have drawn on a general engagement; but the troops are too well disciplined to fall into an ambush of his laying. But I cannot remove my finger from the original of our misfortunes, the cessation of arms. We were then told, that, if a blow had been struck, it would have ruined the peace. Would to God it had ruined this peace.' To support this, the Lord *Hallifax* said, 'What was last mentioned, my Lords, makes me rise into the highest resentment of the vile usage given my Lord Duke of *Ormond*; a Lord, for whom I have the most profound respect. My Lord *Ormond* went over into *Flanders* with a true *English* heart, which, my Lords, is the best in the world, with a desire to do his Country all the service his great ability capacitated him to do. Therefore, it must be inconceivable, the horrible anguish it must give his noble and generous heart to receive such shocking orders, restraining the noble ardour of the soldiers, flushed with formed victories, and hopes of still greater.' The Earl of *Nottingham* said, 'My Lords, I never knew the like address to this ever offered at but once, in the case of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who, in *Henry* the Seventh's days, had made a treaty, for which he thought it convenient to get the sanction of this House by an address, and got seven Lords made at one time

1714.

Debate
about the
treaties of
Peace and
Commerce.
April 14.
Pr. H. L.

to

1714. to carry the vote. Yet he was called to an account afterwards for the treaty, notwithstanding the address. I say no more of the man, because he came to an untimely end.* The Bishop of Salisbury likewise said, 'My Lords, I do not understand what law or reason can be given, to empower one Ally to disengage himself from his other Allies, unless in a proper manner and time he acquaints them, he has done his *ultimus conatus*†; and that to proceed further would be a *certa perniciēs*‡. That we had not come to our *ultimus conatus* is plain, since in the year of the cessation of arms, and the year following, wherein nothing was done, we made as great efforts as the former, when we did so many glorious things; and to proceed further, in all human probability, it would have been *certa perniciēs* to our then enemy the French.' The Bishop of London, who had been one of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, answered, 'My Lords, at the cessation of arms, our case was the very safe in point, which the Bishop of Sarum puts, for we had then come to our *ultimus conatus*, and, for aught we know, to proceed further would have been *certa perniciēs*.' The Earl of Wharton replied, 'I did design to have said a great deal to-day, but I find it anticipated by the Lords, who have spoken before me. Only I must say what I learn by sitting here, that the carrying this vote is the *ultimus conatus* of the Ministry; and, if they do not carry it, it will be to them *certa perniciēs*. Good, my Lords, gratify my curiosity, to let me see what *certa perniciēs* will be.' Some other Whig Lords maintained, that there was no absolute necessity of making a peace, the Nation having given almost as much money for these three years past, as during any three years of the war; and, as for the pretended advantages, gained by the treaty with Spain, it was plain they were no more than what had been stipulated before by the treaty of the year 1667. They also complained of the method, in which the Negotiation of peace had been carried on, and of our giving up the interests of the Emperor, the King of Portugal, and of the Catalans. But after a warm debate, that lasted till nine o'clock in the evening, it was resolved by

* *Ultimæ effort.*
† *Certain ruin.*

An address of thanks for the peace voted.

a Majority of eighty-two votes against sixty-nine, to present an address, to acknowledge her Majesty's goodness to her people, in delivering them by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, from the burthen of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become, at last, impracticable; and to intreat her Majesty to pursue such measures, as she should judge necessary for completing the settlement of Europe on the principles laid down in her Majesty's speech. An address to that purpose was the next day agreed to, and sent down to the Commons for their concurrence.

In the mean time, to prepare the Commons Report of to give their approbation to the conduct of the Ministry, in concluding their treaties with France and Spain, several papers were laid before the House: Particularly, a report, with observations from the Commissioners of public accounts, setting forth the abuses and mismanagements in cloathing the army, in disposing the off-reckonings of regiments, and in other instances. Then, to give a view how heavy the war was become to England, and how insupportable the continuance of it would have proved, there was added, a state of the expence of the late war for twelve years, which, with the supply of 2,776,228 l. granted this Session, amounted to above sixty-eight millions and a half. But the most remarkable paper of all was an account of the state of the several treaties of peace, between the Queen and her Allies, and France and Spain, with the obstructions she had met with, in her endeavours to make the same universal and compleat; Pr. H. C. and of what was done relating to the Catalans.

This account (supposed to be drawn up by the Lord Bolingbroke, in order to remove the objections against the late treaties, particularly the giving up the interests of the King of Portugal and of the Catalans) was so varnished over with glosses and popular pretences, that many Members, who were willing to believe what was said, and had no opportunity or inclination to be better informed, were persuaded of the truth of it, and induced to side with the Ministry in all the debates about the Succession and Treaties (1).

On

(1) The substance of this account was as follows: The Author began with artfully suggesting, 'That her Majesty looked upon the peace between Spain and Portugal to be as good as concluded: That, in the mean while, her Majesty had taken the most effectual care of the Interests of the King of Portugal, having given to that Prince, on the 18th of August 1713, of her own motion, a new guaranty, whereby the Queen obliged herself to secure the restitution, even by force of arms, if that should become necessary, of any thing, which might be taken from Portugal, before the conclusion of the peace; to procure to that Crown the Colony of the Sacramento, or, in lieu thereof, such an equivalent, as the King of Portugal himself should be contented to accept: To obtain satisfaction to the Portuguese, for what they claim to be due to them on account of their *Assiento*, or contract with the Crown of Spain; and to set on foot, after the peace, an amicable Negotiation, for accommodating the differences, which had arisen, concerning several estates situated in Portugal, and claimed by subjects of Portugal, residing in Spain; and concerning those Spanish ships, which were, about the beginning of the war, seized by the Portuguese. That on these principles the Earl of Strafford made a solemn declaration to Numb. LXXVII. Vol. IV.

the Ministers of Spain in February last, when he exchanged with them the instruments of ratification of the treaties between her Majesty and the Catholic King. That the peace, which the Queen then ratified, did not dispense with the obligations, which she lay under to the King of Portugal, as well by her guaranty lately granted, as by her defensive Alliance made in 1703. As to the Catalans, it was alledged, 'That the landing of the Earl of Peterborough in Catalonia, and her Majesty's entering into that part of the war, were in consequence of the solicitations of the Catalans, and other Spaniards, affected to the House of Austria; and that all the engagements, which she gave to these people, went no farther than the obtaining from King Charles the Third a confirmation of their rights and privileges: And although her Majesty offered, at that time, to give a guaranty for the same, and to enter into a treaty with that people; yet it did not appear, that such a guaranty was ever given, or that such a treaty was ever made. That notwithstanding the treatment the Queen had received from the Emperor, and the just provocation she had to leave him to struggle with the consequences of his own measures; yet, at the end of the year 1713, her Majesty set a Negotiation on foot for the evacuation of Catalonia,

U u u

1714.
The Pro-
testant
Succession
noted out
of danger
by the
Commons.
Pr. H. C.

On the 15th of April, a motion was made in a Committee of the whole House, by Sir Edward Knatchbull, and the question put, 'Whether the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover be in danger under her Majesty's Government?' Mr Secretary Bromley endeavoured to prove, it was not, by representing what the Queen had done for securing that Succession, and removing the Pretender from Lorrain. He was answered by Mr Walpole, who, with great spirit, shewed the Protestant Succession to be in danger, not from her Majesty, but from the dubious conduct of some persons in high stations; and therefore insisted, that the Queen might not be mentioned in the question. Mr Campion, having spoken in vindication of the Ministry, was answered by the Earl of Hertford. The Lord Hinchinbroke expressed likewise his fears of the Protestant Succession being in danger, from the encouragement, that was given to the Pretender's friends, and particularly, in North-Britain, which he had an opportunity to observe, when he was there with the regiment, in which he had a troop. After some other speeches, the Court-party, being apprehensive, the question would go against them, endeavoured to drop it, by moving, that Mr Freeman, Chairman of the Committee, should leave the Chair. Upon this, Sir Thomas Hanmer, the Speaker, made a memorable speech, importing, 'That he was sorry to see, that endeavours were used to wave that question, and stop their mouths; but he was of opinion, this was the proper, and perhaps the only time for Patriots to speak. That a great deal of pains were taken to screen

some persons; and, in order to that, to make them overlook the dangers, that threatened the Queen, the Nation, and the Protestant Succession. That, for his own part, he had all the honour and respect imaginable for her Majesty's Ministers; but that he owed still more to his Country than to any Minister. That, in this debate, so much had been said to prove the Succession to be in danger, and so little to make out the contrary, that he could not but believe the first.' He concluded with taking notice of 'Sir Patrick Lawless being suffered to come over, and admitted to an audience of her Majesty.' This speech had a great influence on the unbiassed and unprejudiced Members; but nevertheless, after a long and warm debate, it was resolved, by a majority of two hundred and fifty six voices against two hundred and eight, 'First, That it was the opinion of this Committee, that the Protestant Succession in the House of Hanover was in no danger under her Majesty's Government. Secondly, That the House be moved, for an address to return the thanks of the House to her Majesty, for the instances she had used for the removal of the Pretender from the Dominions of the Duke of Lorrain; and to beseech her to renew her instances for his speedy removal from thence.' When these resolutions were reported the next day to the House, there arose a debate, in which Mr Walpole, Mr Lechmere, and General Stanhope, made very strong speeches. Mr Walpole, among other things, applauded the public spirit, which the Speaker had shewn the Day before; but added, He despaired of seeing truth and justice

Catalonia, and the neutrality of Italy. That her Majesty's aim, by the first part of this treaty, was, to secure the return of the Emperor, and of the Imperial troops; and, since she could no longer support the Catalans by her arms, to provide for them by the Terms of peace. That her Majesty's aim, in the second part, was to leave as little room as possible for France, or Spain, to attack his Imperial Majesty, when the treaties between her Majesty and the States-General should be concluded with the most Christian King. That the Queen considered, that these Treaties, and the Barrier of the States, would secure the ten Provinces of the Netherlands from any Invasion; and, by this Convention for a Neutrality in Italy, the Emperor's territories in that Country were likewise covered; so that by the care, which her Majesty took, since he was determined to run the risk of continuing single in the war, he would lie open in no frontier but that of the Rhine, where, by the same means, he would be able considerably to increase his strength, as well with draughts out of Italy, as with the Germans, and other forces, which were to be transported from Spain. That it was no sooner than the end of January, 1712-13, that, by the good offices of her Majesty's Ministers at Utrecht, the Imperial and French Plenipotentiaries were brought to meet upon this Negotiation; and, in the mean time, her Majesty endeavoured to induce the Catholic King to facilitate this matter as much as possible, and particularly on the head of the privileges of the Catalans, in which the Ministers of France concurred with the greatest earnestness. But that it soon appeared, that his Catholic Majesty, who saw the advantage which the conduct of the Imperial Court gave him, would hardly be prevailed upon to grant any thing more than a general Act of Oblivion, and a restitution of honours and estates. That on the 14th of March, N. S. 1713, the convention for the neutrality of Italy, and the evacuation of Catalonia was executed, and the article concerning the privileges of the Catalans left undetermined; a right being reserved to her Majesty to insist, whenever the Emperor should treat

of peace, that those privileges should be preferred to them; and the most Christian King declaring, that he would concur with the Queen to the same end. That, in May, 1713, the treaty of peace between her Majesty and the Catholic King was signed provisionally here, and in July definitively at Utrecht; whereby there was not only an absolute amnesty, with a full possession of all their estates and honours, but also the privileges of the Castilians granted to the Catalans; which article was, at least in this respect, considerable, that the people of Catalonia are thereby entitled to hold any employments in the West-Indies, or to trade directly thither, in as full and ample a manner, as the people of Castile, from which they were formerly as much excluded as any foreign nation whatever. That the preservation of their ancient privileges was neither granted nor directly refused by this article; so that the Queen, either when the peace should come to be treated between their Imperial and Catholic Majesties, or on another favourable occasion, which might offer itself, was at liberty to renew her application upon this head. That in the mean time it was certain, that the refusal of the people of this principality, as well as the Island of Majorca, to submit to the Catholic King, when, in pursuance of the treaty of neutrality, these Countries were evacuated by the Emperor's forces, and their obdurate resistance, since that time, must, have rendered the obtaining of their privileges still more difficult than it was. In short, that, if the ancient privileges of these people, in their full extent, were not obtained, it must be attributed to those, who rendered it impracticable to treat effectually for them, before the withdrawing of the Queen's forces out of Catalonia; and, if their condition was become since more desperate, those only were to answer for it, who had encouraged them not to submit a second time to their Prince, with the hopes of relief, which they, who gave such hopes, must have known themselves in no condition of making good.' As to the treaty with France, after a long detail of the Negotiation, upon the overtures made by that crown in April 1711, it was alledged, 'That by

the

1714. justice prevail, since, notwithstanding the weight of a person of his known integrity, merit, and eloquence, the majority of votes had carried it against reason and argument.³ General Stanhope endeavoured to prove the Protestant Succession to be in danger by this single but forcible induction, 'That as it was universally acknowledged, it had been the French King's intention, so it was still his interest, and he had it now, more than ever, in his power to restore the Pretender.' However, it was carried without a division, that the Protestant Succession was out of danger, and that an address of thanks should be presented to the Queen. To which address she answered, that she would renew her instances for the removal of the Pretender out of Lorrain.

The Lords having sent (as hath been said) a message to the Commons for their concurrence, in an address of thanks for the treaties of peace

The Commons agree with the Lords in an address upon the treaties of peace.
Fr. H. C.

the Conferences held with Monsieur Buys here, by the accounts, which came from abroad, and by the representations, which some of the Allies made to her Majesty, it appeared undeniably evident, not only that the war was become, on the present foot, absolutely impracticable, but also that no alteration could be attempted, either in the method of carrying it on, or in the views, towards which it was directed, without dissolving at once the Confederacy; and that the dispute was in fact, not whether a peace, by which Spain and the Indies would be left to Philip, should be made, but who should have the making of it? That the real annual expence of this Kingdom amounted to more than seven millions; whereas we were not in a condition effectually to raise near six millions in the course of a year; from hence it follows, that, if this proportion had been continued, about nine millions would have been the true charge of a second war, and about eleven millions that of a third. But this was the state of our affairs, whilst the House of Austria contributed nothing but one regiment to the war of Spain, little to that of Italy, had but few forces, and those entirely unactive, on the Rhine; and sent none into the Netherlands, except such, as those harassed Provinces were obliged to maintain, and were thereby rendered unable to furnish troops, or make the necessary provisions for the operations of the army; both which they might otherwise have done, and both which they did in an eminent degree, whilst they were under the Government of the present King of Spain. That the States-General bore a considerable burthen; but, as they had, from the year 1708, sent no supplies of any kind, either to Portugal, or to Catalonia, and had drawn themselves almost entirely out of the Spanish war; as they furnished, in no proportion, their quota for the sea-service; as they had reduced their joint contributions with the Queen, in all payments, to one third of the whole; and as they were very backward in answering even this share of expence; so the load of Great-Britain came, upon their account, as well as upon the Emperor's, to be vastly increased. As to the rest of the Allies, all the troops, which they furnished, were maintained by the Queen and the States, except a few, and those almost wholly employed in covering their own frontiers. That, in this situation of affairs, her Majesty declared to the Imperialists, and to the Dutch, that if they would not allow France to have given sufficient grounds for opening the Conferences; if they were desirous to carry on the war, and determined to accept of no terms of peace, inferior to those, which had been formerly demanded and refused; she was, on her part, ready to concur with them. But that, in justice to herself and to them, she thought herself bound to let them know, that she could no longer bear so disproportionate a burthen: That it was evident, that the common effort must be still greater than it was; or

and commerce with France and Spain, the message was taken into consideration on the 22d of April, and a warm debate arose. The most material objections were raised by Mr Ward, an eminent Merchant, to the treaties of commerce, in which many essential points, particularly the duties on several sorts of goods and merchandize, were left loose and undetermined, and therefore liable to arbitrary explanations. Mr Auditor Foley having answered him, he was replied to by Mr Horace Walpole, who was supported by Sir Peter King. Mr Aylmer, who had, some time before, left the Court-party, and was therefore removed from his place of one of the Lords of the Admiralty, spoke, on this occasion, with great vehemence against the Ministers, for having made so precarious a peace. They were answered by Mr Campion; and the leading men among the Whigs plainly perceiving, from the noise and laughter of their Antagonists,

that there would remain no prospect of arriving at the ends, which they proposed; and that for these reasons it would be incumbent upon them, if the war continued, to increase their expences, whilst the Queen reduced hers. That the Ministers of the States-General were very candid and open upon this head: Monsieur Buys asserted, that his Masters had done their utmost already; and could be obliged to no more: Many of the others had, on several occasions, declared their Country unable to support the charge they were at another summer; and the Pensionary himself, in a deputation of the States, appointed to attend the Earl of Strafford, in October 1711, declared, that it was impossible to think of continuing the war another year. That what from the Emperor, and what from the Princes of the North, we should be in the utmost danger, should we attempt to do it; and finally, that there were traitors to their Country, who were against the peace. That many instances might be produced to shew, that there was at least as little reason to expect from the House of Austria, as from the States-General, a greater effort than they had hitherto made. That the Imperial Ministers confessed, that their Master expected the Queen should furnish all the money; and that the utmost he could do, would be to send troops at her expence; in the same breath avowing the Emperor's intention to break the Negotiation of peace, and to continue the war, till Spain was conquered; the entire Monarchy whereof he expected. That upon the death of the late Emperor Joseph, in the beginning of the year 1711, the eyes, not only of the Princes of the Empire, but of all the Confederates, and of her Majesty, in the first place, were immediately fixed on his brother. And this event occasioned a great alteration in the councils of Europe, and gave a new turn to the sentiments of many Princes. That there was reason to believe, that the Ministers of Vienna themselves began to cool in the project of recovering Spain and the Indies. They seemed to intend nothing more, than to get the present Emperor into Germany, and to secure the possession of Italy to themselves. That, in Holland, a partition of the Spanish Monarchy seemed almost the general scheme; and the conduct of that Republic, as well as the confession of its Ministers, shewed, that the project of driving Philip out of Spain was looked upon there to be a pure chimera. That her Majesty had been acquainted, that some of the Princes of the Empire thought it a point, which deserved the most serious reflection, whether they should suffer the Imperial and Spanish Crowns to be united on the same head; and whether it might not be proper, in the capitulation of the Empire, to insist on the separating of them. That other Members of the grand Alliance, and those the only two, with whom her Majesty had entered into any formal engagement, for recovering the entire Spanish Monarchy, represented upon the same occasion

1714. tagonists, that they were sure of a majority, gave up the contest, and did not think fit to insist on a division, which would but expose their weakness. So it was resolved to agree with the Lords in the following address, which was presented, the 24th of April, by both Houses to the Queen :

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to express the just sense, which we have of your Majesty's goodness to your people, in delivering them, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, from the heavy burthen of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable. And we do most earnestly intreat your Majesty, that

you will be pleased, with the same steadiness, notwithstanding all the obstructions, which have been, or may be, thrown in your way, to pursue such measures, as you shall judge necessary for completing the Settlement of Europe, on the principles, laid down by your Majesty in your most gracious speech from the Throne.

1714.

To which the Queen returned this answer :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The State of public affairs in Europe, as well as the necessities of my own Kingdom, obliged me to enter into a Negotiation of peace ; and, notwithstanding all obstructions and difficulties, I have, by the blessing of God, brought it to a happy conclusion.

I esteem this address as the united voice of my affectionate and loyal subjects ; and I return you all the heartiest thanks, which can be

occasion against placing this crown on the Emperor's head. And it was urged by one of the most considerable Princes in the Alliance, that the principle, upon which he engaged in the war, was now altered ; and that, instead of fighting to procure the Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, his interest, and even his safety, required, that he should fight to prevent it. That the case therefore stood thus ; The present Emperor, even after his brother's death, and his own election, would content himself with nothing less, than the whole Spanish Monarchy, and insisted, that the war should be prosecuted in this view. Of the other Allies, some looked on this prospect as chimerical, others as dangerous : From whence it follows, that to keep the grand Alliance united in this principle was impracticable ; and it must be allowed, that to have many different interests, and to have formed a system entirely new, in the midst of the war, was an experiment too hazardous to be attempted. That in this situation of affairs no time was to be lost. The Queen knew very well, that attempts to open a treaty with France separately from her were made by those, who clamoured the loudest against her measures ; and the present Emperor had thought fit, on board one of her Majesty's ships, and by her own Ministers, to send her a message of the same nature. She therefore insisted with the Imperialists, and with the Dutch, that she would be at some certainty, and that they should comply with her in the measures either of war or peace. The war being become impracticable, as was shewn before, the Author of the Account relates what obstructions there were to the carrying on a treaty of peace. That the principal, and only avowed dispute between her Majesty and the States at this time, concerned the method of carrying a Negotiation forward. That, the States pretended, that a fair opportunity would be given to the Ministers of France to divide the Confederates, if they were suffered to meet together in a general Congress, before the essential articles of peace were settled by specific preliminaries. That the use, which had been made of this method on a former occasion, to evade the concluding of any peace, when, according to the confession of the Dutch Ministers themselves, the difference, on which the Allies and France broke off, did not deserve the life of a single soldier, gave no great encouragement to pursue the same again : Besides which, as the Queen would not take upon her to settle the interests of others, neither would she suffer others to determine those of her own Kingdoms : And, if all the Confederates were to assemble, in order to adjust a preliminary treaty, the objection made by the States returned upon them. That, in December 1711, the States concurred with her Majesty in fixing the place and time of the treaty : And, if nothing had happened to revive the spirits of

those, who were bent against the peace, it is highly probable, by the little time which it cost to conclude most of the treaties, after the Conferences that had been interrupted, were resumed at Utrecht, and the Allies proceeded in earnest to negotiate, that the treaties of all the Confederates with France might have been finished, before the season of opening the campaign in 1712 : But that, before Monsieur Buys returned into Holland, or the Conferences could begin, the efforts were renewed with the greatest vigour, to break off the Negotiations ; the cry against a peace, by which Spain and the Indies should be left to any branch of the House of Bourbon, became louder than ever ; and letters and memorials were not only delivered, but printed ; and appeals made against her Majesty's proceedings to all Europe, and even to her own subjects. That, on these encouragements, the good dispositions towards peace received a check ; and some of those, who had owned themselves against the prosecution of the war, to recover the whole Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, joined now, under this very pretence, to break the Measures of peace. That the treatment which her Majesty met with at this time, will appear in the clearest light from this circumstance : The Minister of the States General proposed to her Majesty's servants, that, considering the difficulties, which the Queen lay under, how impossible it was to recover by war, or by treaty, the Spanish Monarchy from King Philip, she should now at least apprehend it to be for her Majesty to carry on any Negotiation, by which this Monarchy should be left to Philip, he was ready (to extricate her Majesty from this dilemma, and to screen her Ministers in carrying on the work, which they had begun) in the name of his Masters, to present a memorial, by which the point of obtaining Spain and the Indies should be given up ; provided he might be assured, that the Dutch should have an equal share with her Majesty's subjects in the *Assiento*, which contract, he supposed, it was stipulated should be made with Great-Britain. That from the causes, and by the steps abovementioned, was the disunion among the Allies arrived to the highest pitch, at the opening of the Conferences in January 1711-12, when the strictest union amongst them was more than ever necessary, and when the whole fruit of those successes, wherewith God had blessed their cause, in the course of the war, depended on it. That they sent their several Plenipotentiaries to Utrecht ; but it was very apparent, that most of them acted on that Maxim, which one of them professed, that giving into the measures of peace was the surest way to continue the war. They flattered themselves, that the Imperial Ministers, in conjunction with those of Britain, having, two years before, baffled the designs of Holland to make peace, it would be, at least, as easy for the

Ministers

1714. ' be given by a Sovereign, who desires nothing more, than to see her people safe and flourishing (1).'

Thus the Ministers obtained a Parliamentary sanction to their late measures, and by that means thought themselves secure from any future enquiries.

A letter from Lesley in favour of the Pretender. In the mean time, notwithstanding the proceedings and addresses of both Houses against the Pretender, his friends, depending on a superior power, still endeavoured to promote his interest with great industry. To this purpose, a letter written by Mr Lesley, a famous Nonjuring Clergyman, from Barleduc in Lorrain, the Pretender's Residence, to a Member of Parliament in London, was openly handed about, containing a particular account of the state of affairs, and what observations Mr Lesley had made since his coming thither (2).

The Queen writes to the Princess Sophia about the Duke of Cambridge's coming over. See Examiner, of Apr. 23. 1714. About the same time, both parties being in suspense, upon the hopes or fears of the coming over of the Duke of Cambridge, the Authors of the Examiner plainly enough discovered the perplexity some of the Ministers were in at that juncture *. On the other hand, Mr Toland published the reasons and necessity of the Duke of Cambridge's coming and residing in Great Britain; the last of which reasons was, ' That the Prince's coming over would bring to the test some great persons, who were reported to act on perfidious and dangerous principles to the Hanover family.' But neither the Queen nor her Ministers were willing to put things upon that issue; for, upon a report, that the Princess Sophia intended to desire the Queen's approbation for the Duke of Cambridge's coming into England, her Majesty, with the advice of her Cabinet-Council, wrote to that Princess the following letter:

Madam, Sister, Aunt,

' Since the right of Succession to my Kingdoms has been declared to belong to you and your Family, there have always been disaffected

persons, who, by particular views of their own interest, have entered into measures to fix a Prince of your blood in my Dominions, even whilst I am yet living. I never thought, till now, that this project would have gone so far, as to have made the least impression on your mind. But, as I have lately perceived by public rumours, which are industriously spread, that your Electoral Highness is come into this sentiment, it is of importance, with respect to the Succession of your Family, that I should tell you, such a proceeding will infallibly draw along with it some consequences, that will be dangerous to that Succession itself, which is not secure any other ways, than as the Prince, who actually wears the Crown, maintains her authority and prerogative. There are here (such is our misfortune) a great many people, that are seditiously disposed. So I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise, if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent, that the least thing should be done, that may disturb the repose of me or my subjects.

Open yourself to me with the same freedom I do to you, and propose whatever you think may contribute to the security of the Succession, I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain. I am, with a great deal of affection, &c.'

St James's, May 19, 1714.

Superfcribed,

To my Sister and Aunt, Electress Dowager of Brunswick and Lunenburg.

The Queen, at the same time, wrote a letter to the Duke of Cambridge to this effect:

Cousin,

' An accident, which has happened in my Lord Paget's family, having hindered him from setting forward so soon as he thought to have done,

Ministers of the Empire, in conjunction with those of the States-General, to render fruitless, at this time, all her Majesty's endeavours to the same end. And that, after this, it would not appear surprizing, if the utmost dexterity was exerted to delay the entering on business at Utrecht, and to wait for the events of the campaign. Concluding, that, from this state of the several treaties between her Majesty, her Allies, and France and Spain, the reasonableness of all the steps her Majesty had taken, and those designs, which had been pursued at first, to wrest the Negotiation out of her hands, and since to unravel all that had been done, and to throw us into confusion, would sufficiently appear.'

This account made a great impression upon the generality of the Members; yet the weight of it will be easily taken off, by comparing it with the original papers relating to those transactions, which were afterwards inserted in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

(1) Though the Queen esteemed this address, as the united voice of her loyal subjects, yet the Lords in their first address to King George I. said, *It is by no means to be imputed to the Nation in general*: And the Commons, in less than a year afterwards, said: ' We are sensibly touched not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought upon the Nation by the unjustifiable conclusion of a war, which was carried

on at so vast an expence, and was attended with such unparalleled successes: But, as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole Nation, so we firmly hope, and believe, that, through your Majesty's great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of these your Kingdoms will, in due time, be vindicated and restored.'

(2) This letter is dated, April 23, 1714, and begins with a description of the Pretender's person and character; his graceful mien, magnanimity of spirit, devotion free from bigotry, application to business, ready apprehension, sound judgment, and affability; so that none conversed with him, but what were charmed with his good sense and sweetness of temper. Then, coming to the main design of this letter, Mr Lesley said, That the Chevalier expressed no resentment at the cruel proceedings of the Parliament, to leave him no place to flee unto. But that other men were astonished, and said, ' For what is all this rage? What has he done? Was it a crime in him to be born? If his birth was suspicious, it was a good reason indeed to bar his accession to the Throne, but none to persecute him, or set a price on his head, as was proposed in Parliament, by a rich and powerful party, to encourage the assassination of him. He added, ' That, since so much depended on his Birth, why was it not inquired into? That the Prince of Orange promised it in his first declaration, and referred it to be examined in Parliament: But, this not having been

X x x

done

1714. done, I cannot defer any longer letting you know my thoughts with respect to the design you have of coming into my Kingdoms. As the opening of this matter ought to have been first to me; so I expected you would not have given ear to it, without knowing my thoughts about it. However, this is what I owe to my own dignity, the friendship I have for you, and the Electoral House, to which you belong; and the true desire I have, that it may succeed to my Kingdoms: And this requires of me, that I should tell you, that nothing can be more dangerous to the tranquillity of my Dominions, and the right of Succession in your line, and consequently more disagreeable to me, than such a proceeding at this juncture.

I am,

With a great deal of friendship,

Your very affectionate Cousin,

St James's, May
19, 1714.

ANNE R.

The Lord-Treasurer, who began now to be sensible of the ascendant Lord Bolingbroke had over him at Court, thought it his best way to secure a retreat behind the Protestant Succession, which the other was undermining with more precipitation than before. For, the Queen having never recovered her fit at *Christmas*, it was thought proper to hasten the measures that were taken to defeat the Protestant Succession. The Treasurer, who was no stranger to these proceedings though he was not concerned in them, wrote also a letter to the Elector of *Brunswick*:

May it please your Royal Highness,

‘ Though I expect Mr *Harley* every moment in return from your Court, and thereby shall have another opportunity of doing myself the honour to present your Royal Highness with my most humble duty, and the assurance of my utmost service; yet I cannot slip this occasion of the Queen’s Messenger attending your Royal Highness with her Majesty’s letter, to lay myself at your feet. I have no enemy, that knows me, who is not just enough to allow me, to be

inviolably devoted to your Succession, nothing coming in competition with that, because I know I please the Queen, when I am zealous for the service of your Serene House. I hope, therefore, I shall find credit with your Royal Highness, when I humbly lay my sincere opinion before you. The Queen is most heartily for your Succession. If there be any thing, which may render it more secure, which is consistent with her Majesty’s safety, it will be accomplished. It is not the eager desires of some, nor what flows from the advice of others, whose discontents perhaps animate their zeal, can balance the security you have in the Queen’s friendship, and the dutiful affection of all her faithful subjects; for, as I am sure your Royal Highness’s great wisdom would not chuse to rule by a party, so you will not let their narrow measures be the standard of your Government. I doubt not, but the accident, that happened about the writ, may be improved, to increase the most perfect friendship between the Queen and your most Serene Family. I will study to do every thing to demonstrate the profound veneration and respect, wherewith I am, &c.

OXFORD.

There was another letter from the Queen to the Elector of *Brunswick*, but written in a style so unbecoming the one and the other, that the persons, to whom these letters were transmitted, did not think fit to give copies of it; but, upon a report industriously spread by the Pretender’s agents, that the Duke of *Cambridge* might have come over, if the Elector his father would have let him, but, that the Elector did not think the Crown of *Great-Britain* worth accepting, the copies of the other three letters were dispersed in print. This gave so great offence to the Ministers, that the publisher and the person who sent him the letters were seized by Lord *Bolingbroke*’s warrant, and bound over to appear at the *Queen’s-Bench*.

The Princess *Sophia*, now in the 84th year of *Death of the Princess Sophia*, was much affected by these letters, and on the 28th of *May*, the day after the receipt, being seized as she was walking in the gardens *May 28; at*

done either by Parliament, Court of Judicature, or any other authority whatever, it afforded an infallible demonstration of the truth of his Birth; since, by the laws of God and Man, every child, that is owned by both parents, is to be received as such, unless evident proof be made to the contrary. That it was very obvious, why former Parliaments, and in a former reign, would not enter into the examination of his Birth, because they knew the truth of it, and that no proof could be made against it. But the false rumours and suppositions, which were industriously spread abroad concerning it, to make way for the Prince of *Orange* more easily to ascend the Throne (having served their turn) were laid aside, like scaffolding, when a House is built. That he hoped it was reserved for this Parliament, to make a full examination, and to set the Nation at rest upon this material point; if not, the Birth of this Prince was infallibly confirmed. That there was no danger herein to his Sister, who now reigned; for none could doubt but he would be very well pleased to make such a compromise with her, that she might hold the Crown during her life, provided his Succession after her were settled; and give all the security for this, that could be desired, even to put his

person into her hands, if she thought fit. And that would unite both their interests, and render her reign more secure and comfortable to her, than it was or could otherwise be. That, if we were afraid of a Popish Successor, why did we make the next Successor a Papist? For it was they did it, who banished him, when an infant, into a Popish Country, and passed an act of attainder against him, if he should return to be instructed in our religion; and had sent to all the Protestant Courts in *Europe* not to admit him, or to drive him thence, if he should come, and had excluded him from the Crown without any reserve for him, though he should become a Protestant; and at the same time declared openly, they would not believe him, if he should profess it: Which things were so irrational, that they had no tolerable foundation to stand upon. That the *British* Nation had no reason to be afraid of the Chevalier’s introducing Popery and Slavery, since he had neither foreign Force nor Alliances; and, if he were upon the Throne, he must be perfectly in the hands of his people. That, as to religion, he had promised to hear, in due time and place, what could be said on that subject; which was all that could be expected. But that, whatever should be the issue of his hearing, as

to

1714.

Her pedigree and character.

at *Herenbausen* with a fit of the apoplexy, died in the arms of the Electoral Princefs (the late Queen *Caroline*) and the Countefs of *Pickenburg*, who were talking with her, before any other perfon could come to her affiftance. This Princefs was fourth and youngft daughter of *Frederick*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Elizabeth* of *England*, only daughter of King *James* the Firft; and was born at the *Hague*, the 3d of *October*, 1630: So ſhe was eighty-three years, eight months, and five days old at her death. In the year 1658, ſhe was married to *Erneſt Auguſtus*, Duke of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, (fourth and youngft ſon to *George* Duke of *Lunenbourg-Zell*) who, in 1662, ſucceeded Count *Francis* of *Wirtemberg*, in the Biſhopric of *Osnabrug*: In 1680, on the death of his eldeſt brother, *John Frederic* Duke of *Hanover*, *Erneſt Auguſtus* ſucceeded him alſo in that dignity; and, in the year 1692, he received the inveſtiture of the Electoral dignity of *Brunſwick Lunenburg*. This Prince died on the 23d of *January* 1698, having had, by the Princefs *Sophia*, fix ſons, *George Lewis*, *Frederic Auguſtus*, *Maximilian William*, *Charles Philip*, *Chriſtian*, and *Erneſt Auguſtus*, and one daughter, *Sophia Dorothy*, who, in the year 1684, became the ſecond wife of *Frederic* the Third, King of *Pruffia*. The Princefs *Sophia* had a very strong healthy conſtitution, and was endowed with great abilities natural and acquired. She was perfect miſtreſs of the *Low-Dutch*, *German*, *Engliſh*, *French*, and *Italian* languages, and had a genius equally turned for converſation or buſineſs, which rendered her not only the ornament and delight of her Court, but qualified her to manage and ſupport the higheſt intereſts. The greatneſs of her Soul bore proportion to her birth, and the ſtation, which ſhe filled; but with all was tempered with ſo much ſweetneſs and affability, that the duty of thoſe below her became their pleaſure. No one ever gave liberties with a better choice, or could act without reſerve to greater advantage. She behaved in both parts to admiration, as a daughter of *England*, and as a mother of *Germany*. Her wit was ſprightly, curious, and ſurprizing; her judgment ſolid and penetrating, founded upon the nobleſt maxims from reading and ſtudy, explained by obſervation and experience. Nothing

could exceed the beauties and advantages of her converſation, but her letters; both were eaſy, entertaining, and uſeful. She had a fund of happineſs within herſelf, which gave a reliſh to her retirements: But her care in Government and æconomy ſhewed the juſt ſenſe ſhe had of being born for the good of others. Her piety was exemplary without affectation; her ſentiments of religion juſt and noble, neither perplexed with doubts, nor enſlaved by ſuperſtition. The neighbourhood of the *Jefuits* ſerved only to confirm her in the opinion ſhe had of the impoſtures and corruptions of their Church and Order. But, though bred up in the Reformed Religion, according to the *Calvinian* diſcipline, yet ſhe ever had a great eſteem for the Liturgy and Conſtitution of the Church of *England*. She hated every thing, that was ſour, malicious, or ill-natured to ſuch a degree, that none could be more ſedulous to oppoſe, or more active to ſuppreſs, every little quarrel and party, that grew up, where ſhe had any influence.

Baron Batmar arrived at *London* on the 25th of *June*, with the character of Envoy Extraordinary from the Eleſtor of *Hanover*, and, in a private audience of the Queen, notified the death of the Princefs *Sophia*; upon which an order was made in Council for mourning, and for praying for the Eleſtor of *Brunſwick*, in the Liturgy of the Church of *England*.

In the conſultation held by the Miniſtry, after the demand of the Duke of *Cambridge's* writ, wherein it was debated, Whether the Queen ſhould invite over that Duke? The Lord-Treaſurer, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, and another Privy-Counſellor, were for it; but the Lord *Bolingbroke* having oppoſed it, and carried the negative, reſolved to puſh his point, and to uſe all poſſible means to defeat the Proteſtant Succeſſion. With that view he is ſaid to have broke all meaſures with the Treafurer, and united himſelf more cloſely with the High-Church party. As the farther diſcouragement and even ruin of the Diſſenters was thought neceſſary for accompliſhing this ſcheme, it was begun with the famous *Schiſm-bill*. A motion for it, on the 12th of *May*, by Sir *William Wyndham*, was introduced, by reading the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th ſections of the *act of Uniformity*,

The Schiſm bill moved for.
Pr. H. C.

to his own private judgment, the Church of *England* might be no leſs ſecure; for it was always his fixed perſuaſion, that the ſecurity of the Crown and Church of *England* was, next under God, in their mutual ſupport of each other. And becauſe the greateſt hurt any King of *England* can do to the Church of *England* is putting bad Biſhops upon her; this being a corrupting the fountain; therefore, to avoid all jealousies, he was willing, during his reign, ſo far to wave his prerogative in the nomination of Biſhops, Deans, and other Eccleſiaſtical preferments in the gift of the Crown, that five Biſhops ſhould be appointed, of which the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for the time being, always to be one; who, upon any vacancy, might name three perſons to him, of whom he would chooſe one. And the Church of *England*, as by law eſtabliſhed, ſhould be ſecured in the ſole poſſeſſion, not only of all the Churches, but of the Universities, and even Schools. And, as a further mark of his favour, he remitted, during his time, the tenths and firſt-fruits payable by the Biſhops and Clergy to the Crown. That he had informed himſelf of paſt miſcarriages, and knew well

the difference between the office of a King and a Miſſionary. That therefore he would concern himſelf with no man's religion, but was reſolved to defend that, which was legally eſtabliſhed, and whoſe principles are true to Monarchy, and ſafe for Government. That, for the ſatisfaction of the Church of *England*, and his own Reſtoration, he thought himſelf obliged to do every thing, that was conſiſtent with confidence and honour. That, as an inſtance of his good intentions, he had ſent for Mr *Leſley* to officiate to the Proteſtants in his family; had cauſed a room to be fitted up in his own houſe for a Chapel for them; and had taken out of their congregation his preſent Secretary of State and chief Miniſter. And, in order to prejudice the people againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion, Mr *Leſley* ſubjoined, 'That the avowed doctrine of the illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover* was Conſubſtantiation; which was as erroneous, and as contrary to the doctrine of the Church of *England*, as Tranſubſtantiation; and yet no provision has been made, that, when they ſhould come into *Great-Britain*, they ſhould be of the Communion of the Church of *England*.'

(1) Sir

1714. mity, passed after the Restoration, by which, above two thousand Ministers were turned out of their Livings. The motion being approved, a bill was made to be brought in, *to prevent the growth of Schism, and for the further security of the Church of England as by law established* (1). On the other hand, in order to strengthen the Jacobite party in Scotland, a motion was made for a bill, to invest the Scots Bishops revenues and rents in the Queen, to be applied to the support of the Episcopal Clergy. To render this bill ineffectual, it was proposed by the Whigs, that these revenues should be applied to such only of the Episcopal Clergy, as should pray for the Queen and the Princess Sophia in express words. As the Court-party could not well oppose this addition, and as the refusing of the Episcopal revenues (which had been forfeited at the Revolution, and given to the Ministers of the Kirk of Scotland) would have been attended with great difficulties, the bill was suffered to drop. It was, however, resolved to finish the Schism-bill. When this bill was introduced and read the third time in order to be passed, there arose a long and warm debate. Mr Hampden, Mr Robert Walpole, General Stanhope, Mr Lechmere, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Sir Peter King, exerted their eloquence in opposing it, representing in general, 'That it looked more like a decree of Julian the Apostate, than a law enacted by a Protestant Parliament, since it tended to raise as great a persecution against our Protestant brethren, as either the primitive Christians ever suffered from the Heathen Emperors, or the Protestants from Popery and the Inquisition.' Mr Stanhope shewed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law, as it would of course occasion foreign education; which, on the one hand, would drain the Kingdom of great sums of money; and, which was still worse, fills the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own Country. He illustrated and strengthened his argument by the example of the English Popish Seminaries abroad, which, he said, were so pernicious to Great-Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, he could wish those already in force against Papists were mitigated; and that they should be allowed a certain number of schools. The chief advocates for the bill were Mr Secretary Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Hungerford, and Mr Collier. Mr Bromley maintained, 'The Dissenters were equally dangerous both to Church and State. However, if the Members, who spoke in their behalf, would have this bill drop, he would readily consent to it, provided another bill were brought in, to incapacitate them either to sit in that House, or to vote in elections of members of Parliament.' Mr Walpole answered this speech with great force; after which Mr Hungerford recapitulated, and, in his usual ludicrous way, faintly labour-

ed to confute what had been offered by the Whig Members.

Mr Collier, who brought up the rear, did still worse. This man, formerly an Attorney, had, by a wife, got the Directorship of the Play-house in Drury-Lane; and afterwards, by his intruding assurance, the acquaintance and intimacy of the Lord Bolingbroke. At whole earnest request, Mr Collier, though scarce worth thirty pounds a year, was, by the Duke of Beaufort's interest, brought into the House of Commons, where he took this solemn occasion to signalize his zeal for the cause he was to serve. With this intention he seconded Mr Hungerford, and, in order to expose the Dissenters, he desired leave to read to the House a collection of absurdities and impious expressions, which he pretended to have taken from their Writings. After reading part of this impertinent legend, he fell on a passage extracted from the non-sensical rhapsodies of the late Mr Hickeringill, Minister at Colchester, wherein Mr Collier said, he averred, *That our blessed Saviour was a Son of a W* —. At these shocking expressions, Mr Bromley interrupted him, saying, *Such impious words ought not to be repeated in that Assembly*. On the other hand, some other Members observed, *That Mr Hickeringill was not a Dissenting Teacher, but a Minister of the Church of England*: And that he was known to be crack-brain'd; and therefore his extravagancies and blasphemies proved nothing against any set of men, much less against the Dissenters. Mr Lechmere spoke against the bill with great vehemence; and, among other things, took notice, 'That the indulgence granted to Protestant Dissenters, since the Revolution, had been so far from hurting the Church, that it had rather enlarged it's pale; and it was notorious, that some persons [meaning the Treasurer, the Chancellor, and the Lord Bolingbroke] who had been bred among Schismatics, were, or, at least, pretended to be the strongest supports of the Established Church.' Several other speeches were made for and against the bill; which was carried by a majority of two hundred and thirty-seven voices against one hundred and twenty-six; and Sir William Wyndham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who brought it into the House, and promoted it with all his power, was ordered to carry it to the Lords.

The public were divided in their opinions whether the Lord-Treasurer was for or against this bill. It is said * that the Schism-bill was castrated by him, and that he took out the most malicious and persecuting part, which had been formed by Aterbury, Bolingbroke, and Wyndham. However this be, the Lord Harley, his son, Mr Thomas Harley his cousin (lately returned from Hanover) and all his friends, except his brother the Auditor, voted for the bill.

When

A bill, for refusing the Episcopal revenues in Scotland, is dropped.
May 22.

Debate about the Schism-bill, which passed.
Pr. H. C.

(1) Sir William Wyndham, Mr Cholmondeley, Sir John Stanhouse, Sir Arthur Kay, Mr Campion, Mr Gore, Mr Aldworth, Mr Secretary Bromley, Lord Downe, Mr Finch, Mr Windsor, Sir William Whitlocke, and Dr Paise were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill. Whilst this was doing, it was resolved to address the Queen for a copy of the instructions given to the Earl of Strafford, with relation to the declara-

tions made by him on the part of her Majesty, to the Ministers of the several Allies who had any troops in her Majesty's pay before the cessation of arms. This address was voted with intention to prepare the way for refusing to pay the arrears of 65,022 l. 8 s. 8 d. due to the Elector of Hanover's troops, which had been lately demanded by the Electoral Highness's Minister.

* Hist. of the White Staff.

1714. When the bill was read the first time in the House of Peers, the Lord *Bolingbroke* said, 'It was a bill of the last importance, since it concerned the security of the Church of *England*, the best and firmest support of the Monarchy; both which all good men, and, in particular, that August Assembly, who derive their lustre from, and are nearest the Throne, ought to have most at heart: And therefore he moved, that it should be read a second time.' The Lord *Cowper* said, 'No man was more ready than himself to do every thing, that should appear necessary to attain the seeming intention of this bill, *the preventing the growth of Schism, and the further securing the Church of England*. But the enacting part would be so far from answering the title of it, that, in his opinion, it would have a quite contrary effect, and prove equally pernicious to Church and State.' He spoke on these two heads near half an hour, and, among other things, represented, 'That instead of preventing Schism, and enlarging the pale of the Church, this bill tended to introduce ignorance, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion.' To this purpose, he took notice, 'That, in many country-towns, readings, writing, and grammar-schools were chiefly supported by the Dissenters; not only for the instruction and benefit of their own children, but likewise of those of poor Churchmen; so that the suppressing of those schools would, in some places, suppress the reading the Holy Scriptures.' On the other hand, he observed, 'That this bill struck at the ancient rights and prerogative of the House of Peers; which, by the constitution, is the supreme Court of Judicature, and the *Dernier resort* in all Causes; whereas, by this bill, *the Justices of the Peace were empowered finally to hear and determine the offences against the same*. My Lords, *added he*, I would rather enlarge, than abridge the power of Justices of the Peace, were it but to encourage Gentlemen to take upon them an office so troublesome, and at the same time so unprofitable, unless it be perhaps in the County of *Middlesex*. But, my Lords, I shall never consent to give up the birth-right and ancient privileges of this August Assembly, of which I have the honour to be a Member.'

The Earl of *Wharton*, in his ironical way, said, 'He was agreeably surprized to see, that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious, as to set up for patrons of the Church. But he could not but wonder, that persons, who had been educated in Dissenting Academies, whom he could point at, and whose Tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. That this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from those schools, which had bred those great men, who had made so *glorious a peace, and treaties, that executed themselves*; who had obtained so great advantages for our commerce, and who had paid the public debts, without any further charge to the Nation. So that he could see no reason there was to suppress those Academies, unless it were an apprehension, that they might still produce greater genius's, that should drown the merits and abilities of those great men. My Lords, *continued he*, to be serious, it is no less melancholy than surprizing, that, at a time, when the Court of *France* prosecutes the design they have long since

laid to extirpate our Holy Religion; when, not only secret practices are used to impose a Popish Pretender on these Realms, but men publicly insisted for his service; it is melancholy and surprizing, I say, that, at this very time, a bill should be brought in, which cannot but tend to divide Protestants; and consequently to weaken their interest, and hasten their ruin. But then the wonder will cease, if we consider what madmen were the contrivers and promoters of this bill.' He excepted, in particular, against the word Schism, with which the frontispiece of the bill was set off, and said, 'It was somewhat strange, they should call Schism in *England* what is the Established Religion in *Scotland*; and therefore, if the Lords, who represented the Nobility of that part of *Great-Britain*, were for this bill, he hoped, that, in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they would move for the bringing in another bill, to prevent the growth of Schism in their own Country.' He said also, on another occasion (for he spoke more than once) 'That both in this bill, and in the speeches of those, who declared for it, several laws were recited and alledged; but that there was a law, that had not yet been mentioned. I expected, *added he*, that venerable bench [turning to the Bishops] would have put us in mind of it; but, since they are pleased to be silent in this debate, I will myself tell them, that it is the law of the gospel, *To do unto others as we would be done unto*'.

The Earls of *Abingdon* and *Anglesea* spoke afterwards for the bill; and *Anglesea* said, among other things, 'That the Dissenters were equally dangerous both to Church and State: That they were irreconcilable enemies to the Established Church, which they had sufficiently manifested in the late King *James the Second's* Reign, when, in order to obtain a Toleration, they joined themselves with the Papists; and that they had rendered themselves unworthy of the indulgence the Church of *England* granted them at the Revolution, by endeavouring to engross the education of youth; for which purpose they had set up Schools and Academies in most cities and towns in the Kingdom, to the great detriment of the Universities, and danger of the Established Church.'

The Lord *Hallifax* spoke on the other side, and urged, 'That the very bringing in of this bill was injurious to the Queen; and he could not believe, her Majesty would ever give her Royal assent to such a law, after the solemn declaration she had made from the Throne, that she would *inviolably maintain the Toleration*, which this bill visibly struck at. That her Majesty made it the glory of her Reign to follow the steps of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had not only entertained and protected the Reformed *Walloons*, who took sanctuary in her Dominions from the *Spanish* Inquisition, but had likewise allowed them the public exercise of their Religion, and caused a clause in their favour to be inserted in the act of *Uniformity*. That, by that means, that wise and glorious Queen had vastly increased the wealth of the Realm, the *Walloons* having settled here the woollen manufactures, which are the best branch of the National trade. That the protection and encouragement the late King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and her present Majesty, had given to the *French* Refugees, had proved no less advantageous to *Great-Britain*:

Y y y

And

1714.

And therefore it would be a piece of barbarity to make an act, which should debar many *French* Protestants of means of subsisting, either by keeping public Schools, or teaching in private Families; especially considering their late hard usage, the Government not having, for above three years past, paid them any part of the fifteen thousand pounds *per ann.* allowed by Parliament in the Civil List, towards the maintenance of their Ministers and Poor.* He concluded with taking notice of the fatal consequences of persecuting the Dissenters in King Charles the First's Reign, which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended in the total overthrow of Church and State, and in the King's Parricide.*

The Lord Townshend spoke on the same side, and, among other arguments, represented the ill effects of persecution in general. He said, 'He had lived a long time in *Holland*, and had observed, that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful Commonwealth lay in the number of its inhabitants: And at the same time he was persuaded, that, if the *States* should cause the schools of any one sect, tolerated in the United Provinces, to be shut up, they would soon be as thin of people as *Sweden* or *Spain*, whereas they now swarm with inhabitants.'

The Lord North and Grey, who spoke for the bill, maintained the general assertion of his party, That the Church was in danger from the growth of *Schismatics*. The Earl of Nottingham said, 'He owned he had formerly been of opinion, that the occasional conformity of Dissenters was dangerous to the Established Church; and therefore he ever promoted the bill to prevent it. But that, the Church having now that security, he believed her safe and out of danger; and therefore he thought himself in conscience obliged to oppose so barbarous a law as this, which tended to deprive parents of their natural right of educating their own children. He added, He had observed both from history and his own experience, that all the Persecutions, that had been raised in *England* against *Schismatics*, originally proceeded from, and tended to favouring Popery.* He particularly excepted against that part of the bill, which enacts, That any person, who should keep any public or private school, or instruct any youth as Tutor, should have a licence of the respective Archbishop or Bishop of the place, &c. 'My Lords, said he, I have many children; and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live, to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my Lords, I own, I tremble, when I think, that a certain Divine, who is hardly suspected of being a Christian [meaning Dr *Swift*] is in a fair way of being a Bishop; and may one day give licences to those, who shall be intrusted with the instruction of youth.* Some other Lords made speeches for and against the bill. But the Lord-Treasurer contented himself with saying, 'That he had not yet considered of it; but, when he had, he would vote according as it should appear to him, to be either for the good or detriment of his Country. And therefore he was for reading the bill a second time;' which was agreed to without dividing, and put off to the 7th of June.

After this, the Presbyterians petitioned that they might be heard by their Counsel against the bill; but their petition was rejected by a majority

of seventy-two voices against sixty-six. It was observed, on this occasion, Earl Powlet, the Lord Foley, the Lord Mansel, and some other friends of the Lord-Treasurer, voted with the Whig Lords, for allowing the petition; and the Lord-Treasurer himself was out of the House, that he might not be obliged to declare on either side; which strengthened their opinion, who thought the bill levelled against him, with a view, that, if he voted for it, he would lose the Dissenters and the Whigs entirely; if he voted against it, he would lose the Queen.

On the day appointed, the Lords read the Schism-bill a second time, and after a short debate agreed, that a clause should be inserted in the bill in favour of the *French* Protestant Churches. Two days after, in a Committee of the whole House, of which the Archbishop of York was Chairman, the bill was examined paragraph by paragraph, from one in the afternoon till eight in the evening. The Bishop of London having suggested, 'That the Dissenters had made this bill necessary, by their endeavours to propagate their Schism, and to draw the children of Churchmen to their Schools and Academies;' the Lord Halifax answered, 'That what they did was with the knowledge and consent of the parents, who, in many places, had not sufficient means to educate their own children.* For which reason he moved, 'That, since this bill was occasioned, as was suggested, by the Dissenters endeavouring to engross the education of the youth of both persuasions, they might be allowed schools to instruct their own children.* This motion, being formed into a question, was debated for near three hours. The Lords Cowper and Halifax, the Earl of Sunderland, and some other Peers, made several speeches for the affirmative. But the Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Abingdon, and the Lord Chancellor, insisted on the negative, which was at last carried by sixty-two votes against forty-eight. After this it was moved, that Dissenters might, at least, be suffered to have School-mistresses to teach their children to read, which, after a debate of about half an hour, was carried without dividing; as was also a clause, 'That this act should not extend to any person, who should instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or any part of mathematical learning, that relates to navigation, or any mechanical art only.* Then was examined that part of the bill, whereby the conviction of offenders against this act was left to the Justices of the peace; and, after a warm debate, it was carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes against fifty-four, that the conviction should be in the ordinary course of Justice, upon an information, presentment, or indictment, in any of her Majesty's Courts of Record at Westminster, or at the Assizes, or before Justices of Oyer and Terminer. The Court-party finding, by this last division, that they lost considerable ground, and fearing, other amendments would be made, which would render the bill altogether useless, moved, that the Chairman leave the Chair, in order to adjourn. But though the contrary party at first opposed it, yet, after some debate, upon the penalties to be inflicted on the offenders, both parties being equally tired, the House adjourned to the next day.

1714.

Accordingly,

1714. Accordingly, on the 10th of June, the Lords resumed the debate about the penalties, and fixed the same to three months imprisonment; after which it was moved and agreed, That persons aggrieved might appeal from *Ecclesiastical censures, as in cases of ordinary jurisdiction*. A clause was afterwards proposed and carried to exempt from the penalties of this act any Tutor, who shall be employed by any Nobleman or Noblewoman, to teach in their families, provided such Tutor do, in every respect, qualify himself according to this act, except only in that of taking a licence from the Bishop. The Earl of Anglesea moved, that a clause might be inserted, to extend this act to Ireland: Which after some debate, was carried in the affirmative by the majority of one voice only. When the bill with these amendments was reported to the House by the Archbishop of York, severe speeches were made against the clause to extend this bill to Ireland; particularly by the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, who was just returned from thence. But, the question being put, it was carried by fifty-seven voices against fifty-one, that the clause should stand. The next day, the bill was read the third time; and, after a small debate, it was carried by seventy-seven votes against seventy-two, that it should pass (1).

When the bill thus amended was sent to the Commons, a short debate arose. Mr Lechmere and Mr Walpole represented, 'That, since the

Protestant Dissenters of Ireland were made liable to the penalties of this bill, it were but just either to insert a clause in it, or to bring in another bill, to make them enjoy the benefit of the *Toleration act*, passed in England in the last Reign.' But Sir William Wyndham and Mr Campion said, 'If leave were given to bring in such a bill, they hoped they should have leave also to bring in another, to incapacitate Dissenters from voting in elections for Parliament-men.' Upon which that matter dropped. On the other hand, General Stanhope proposed, 'That the Tutors in the families of Members of the House of Commons might be put on the same foot with those, who taught in the families of a Nobleman or Noblewoman; it being reasonable to suppose, that the Members of that House, many of whom were of noble extraction, had as great a concern as the Lords for the education of their children, and an equal right to take care of their instruction.' Several Members of both parties were of Mr Stanhope's opinion. But Mr Hungerford representing, 'That the least amendment now made in the House might occasion the loss of the bill;' the promoters of it caused the question to be put, and it was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty-eight votes against ninety-eight, that the Commons agreed to the Lords amendments. On the 25th of June, the Schism-bill, with several others, received the Royal assent by commission. But it is observable, the very day it was to take place*, the

1714.

* Aug. 1.
Queen

(1) The following Peers entered a protest against it, the Dukes of Somerset, Bolton, Grafton, Devonshire, Schomberg, and Angles; the Marquis of Dorchester; the Earls of Wharton, Sunderland, Dorset, Carlisle, Orford, Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Radnor, and Torrington; the Lords Viscounts Townshend and Longueville; the Lords Sommers, Halifax, Cowper, Rockingham, Haverham, Cornwallis, and Foley; and the Bishops of Ely, Bangor, St Asaph, Landaff, and Lincoln.

The protest was in these terms:

I. We cannot apprehend (as the bill recites) that great danger may ensue from the Dissenters to the Church and State:

Because, 1. By law no Dissenter is capable of any station, which can be supposed to render him dangerous.

2. And, since the several sects of Dissenters differ from each other as much as they do from the Established Church, they can never form of themselves a National Church; nor have they any temptation to set up any one sect among them; for in that case, all, that the other sects can expect, is only a Toleration, which they already enjoy by the indulgence of the State; and therefore it is their interest to support the Established Church against any other sect, that would attempt to destroy it.

II. If, nevertheless, the Dissenters were dangerous, severity is not so proper and effectual a method to reduce them to the Church, as a charitable indulgence, as is manifest by experience, there having been more Dissenters reconciled to the Church since the Act of Toleration, than in all the time since the Act of Uniformity, to the time of the said Act of Toleration; and there is scarce one considerable family in England in communion with the Dissenters. Severity may make them hypocrites, but not converts.

III. If severity could be supposed ever to be of use, yet this is not a proper time for it, while we are threatened with much greater dangers to our Church and Nation, against which the Protestant Dissenters have

joined, and are still willing to join with us in our defence; and therefore we should not drive them from us, by enforcing the laws against them in a manner, which, of all others, must most sensibly grieve them, viz. the education of their children; which reduces them to a necessity either of breeding them in a way they do not approve, or of leaving them without instruction.

IV. This must be the more grievous to the Dissenters, because it was little expected from the Members of the Established Church, after so favourable an indulgence, as the Act of Toleration, and the repeated declarations and professions from the Throne and former Parliaments, against all persecution, which is the peculiar badge of the Roman Church, which avows and practises this doctrine: And yet this has not been retaliated even upon the Papists, for all the laws made against them have been the effects and just punishment of treason, and from time to time committed against the State. But it is not pretended, that this bill is designed as a punishment of any crime, which the Protestant Dissenters have been guilty of against the civil Government, or that they are disaffected to the Protestant Succession, as by law established; for in this their zeal is very conspicuous.

V. In all the instances of making laws, or of a rigid execution of the laws against Dissenters, it is very remarkable, that the design was to weaken the Church, and to drive them into one common interest with the Papists, and to join them in measures tending to the destruction of it. This was the method suggested by Popish Counsels, to prepare them for the two successive declarations in the time of King Charles II, and the following one issued out by King James II, to ruin all our civil and religious rights. And we cannot think, that the arts and contrivances of the Papists, to subvert our Church, are proper means to preserve it, especially at a time, when we are in more danger of Popery than ever, by the designs of the Pretender, supported by the mighty power of the French King, who is engaged to extirpate our religion, and by great numbers in this Kingdom, who are professedly in his interests.

VI. But,

1714. Queen departed this life; which accident broke all the measures of those, who had promoted that law, and rendered it in a manner ineffectual (1).

The Queen again indisposed.

On the 5th of May the Queen removed from St James's to her Palace at Kensington, in appearance pretty well in health; but, having the next day in the evening felt a shivering, her Physicians thought fit, that she should immediately come back to St James's, where she was, for some time, detained in her chamber by an imposthumation in one of her legs. The Duke of Shrewsbury, having (as has been said) early notice of the dangerous condition the Queen was in, was very desirous to be in England; though, on the other hand, he was unwilling to leave the Government of Ireland in their hands, whom he knew inclined to favour the Pretender's agents; who still continued inlisting men for his service (2). But, all things considered, he judged his presence more necessary at London than in Dublin, and came over about the beginning of June. Finding those about the Queen jarring and disjointed, he resolved to act a cautious part, and not side with either of the contending parties; but, as soon as a proper occasion (which he judged could not be far off) offered itself, to put himself at the head of the well-affected to the Protestant Succession, who indeed were no less strengthened by his arrival at this critical juncture than the Lord Bolingbroke's interest was weakened by the death of the Duke of Beaufort, which happened some days before.

May 24.

Towards the end of May, the Marquis de Trivulz, Ambassador from the new King of Sicily, made his public entry; but it was the 8th of June, before the Queen was in a condition to

admit him to a public audience. Two days after the Queen, finding herself something better, removed from St James's to Kensington.

About this time, upon information given to the Earl of Wharton, that two Irish Officers, Hugh and William Kelly, were listing men for the Pretender in London and Westminster, he carried his evidence to Chief-Justice Parker, upon whose warrant William Kelly was seized at Gravesend, with five men inlisted, as Hugh Kelly was a few days after at Deal, with a pair from the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State to the Pretender. This affair having made a great noise, the Ministers could not avoid taking notice of those treasonable practices; and a Proclamation was published for apprehending the Pretender, whenever he should land, or attempt to land in Great-Britain, and promising a reward of five thousand pounds for that service. The next day Mr Freeman having moved in the House of Commons for an address of thanks for the Proclamation, he was seconded by Mr Auditor Hervey, and supported by the Earl of Hertford, who added, 'That the five thousand pounds mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation was too small a recompence for so important a service;' and therefore moved for an addition to the address, 'That this House would cheerfully aid and assist her Majesty, by granting the sum of a hundred thousand pounds, as a further reward to any, who should perform so great a service to her Majesty and her Kingdoms.' This was opposed by Mr Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr Campion, who suggested, 'That the promising of a reward so far beyond what was mentioned in the Queen's Proclamation, would be a sort of reflection on her Majesty.'

But

VI. But, if the Dissenters should not be provoked, by this severity, to concur in the destruction of their Country and the Protestant Religion, yet we may justly fear they may be driven by this bill from England to the great prejudice of our manufactures; for, as we gained them by the persecution abroad, so we may lose them by the like proceedings at home.

Lastly, The miseries, we apprehend here, are greatly increased by extending the bill to Ireland, where the consequences of it may be fatal; for since the number of Papists in that Kingdom far exceeds the Protestants of all denominations together; and that the Dissenters are to be treated as enemies, or, at least, as persons dangerous to that Church and State, who have always, in all times, joined, and still would join, with the Members of that Church, against the common enemy of their religion; and since the army there is very much reduced, the Protestants, thus unnecessarily divided, seem to us to be exposed to the danger of another massacre, and the Protestant Religion in danger of being extirpated.

And we may further fear, that the Scots in Britain, whose National Church is Presbyterian, will not so heartily and zealously join with us in our defence, when they see those of the same Nation, same Blood, and same Religion, so hardly treated by us.

And this will be still more grievous to the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, because, whilst the Popish Priests are registered, and so indulged by law, as that they exercise their Religion without molestation, the Dissenters are so far from enjoying the like toleration, that the laws by this bill are enforced against them.

(1) This act enjoins, That no person in Great-Britain, or Wales, shall keep any public or private School, or Seminary, or teach or instruct youth, as Tutor or Schoolmaster, that has not first subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England, and has

obtained licence from the respective Diocesan, or Ordinary of the place, or, upon failure of so doing, may be committed to prison, without bail or mainprize. And that no such licence shall be granted, before the party produces a certificate, of his having received the Sacrament, according to the Communion of the Church of England, in some Parish-Church, within a year before obtaining such licence, and hath subscribed the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy.

That if any person, having complied with these points, shall knowingly or willingly resort to any Conventicle, or be present in any Assembly, where the Queen is not prayed for, should be liable to the penalty of this act, and from thenceforth be incapable to keep any School, or Seminary, or instruct any youth, as Tutor or Schoolmaster. And if any person teaches any other Catechism, than what is set forth in the Common-Prayer, his licence shall be thenceforth void, and he be liable to the penalties of the act; but no person to be punished twice for the same fact. Any person convicted by this act, conforming to the Church for one year, without having been present at any Conventicle, shall be again capacitated. This act to be construed to extend to Ireland.

(2) On the 14th of May, information being brought to the Duke of Shrewsbury, that about one hundred and fifty men, listed for the Pretender's service, were at the hill of Hoath, near Dublin, waiting to go on shipboard for France, some Comtables, with a file of Musqueteers, were sent thither, who took twenty-four of them, and brought them to Dublin, where they were committed to prison, in order to be tried for high-treason. On the 26th of June, John Reilly, Alexander Bourke, and Martin Carroll, were executed for it at Stephen's Green: And, about the beginning of July, twenty-one persons more were tried and condemned for the same crime.

But, this objection being exploded, the address was unanimously carried, and, four days after, presented by the whole House to the Queen, who told them, 'That the hearty concern they shewed in it for the Protestant Succession was very agreeable to her: And that she hoped, their concurrence would have the desired effect in removing jealousies, and quieting the minds of her good subjects.'

The same day, the Earl of Nottingham moved in the House of Lords for an address of thanks for the proclamation against the Pretender, and was seconded by the Lord Halifax. The H. L. Earl of Wharton, who likewise supported the motion, holding the Queen's proclamation in his hand, most pathetically lamented her Majesty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the Pretender from Lorrain had been ineffectual. 'Unhappy Princess, said he, how much is her condition altered! Will Posterity believe, that so great a Queen, who had reduced the exorbitant power of France, given a King to Spain, and whose very Ministers have made the Emperor and the States-General to tremble, should yet want power to make so pretty, so inconsiderable a Prince as the Duke of Lorrain, comply with her just request, of removing out of his Dominions the Pretender to her Crown?' None of the Peers speaking against the Earl of Nottingham's motion, it was unanimously carried, and the address was, the next day, presented to the Queen, who told them, 'They might be assured, she should continue to do whatever she judged necessary for the securing our Religion, the liberty of her People, and for putting an end to the vain hopes of the Pretender.'

The Lord Bolingbroke, being come into the House of Peers, just after the address was voted, appeared a little surprized at that resolution, and said, 'There was a more effectual way to secure the Succession in the House of Hanover.' Some Members expressing their desire, that he would offer it to the House, he proposed a bill, to make it high-treason to list or to be enlisted into the Pretender's service. The Lord Halifax represented, 'That such a bill was altogether needless, both the Pretender, and all his Adherents, being already attainted of high-treason. However, he should be glad such a bill were brought in, because, with some alterations, it might be made a very good one.' The bill was accordingly brought in, and, in a Committee of the whole House, of which the Lord Bolingbroke was Chairman, the Lords Halifax, Townshend, Cowper, Sommers and Wharton, made it their business to shew, 'That the Pretender was inconsiderable of himself, and not to be feared, but so far forth as he was countenanced and protected by the French King, whose interest and constant design was to impose him upon these realms.' And therefore they moved, and it was agreed, That the title of the bill should be, *to prevent the listing her Majesty's subjects to serve as soldiers, without her Majesty's licence; and that it should be high-treason to list, or be listed, to serve any foreign Prince, State, or Potentate, without a licence under the sign manual of her Majesty, her Heirs or Successors.* The following proviso was likewise agreed to, 'That no licence should be effectual to exempt any person from the penalties of this act, who should

list, or cause to be listed into the service of the French King, until after the French King should have disbanded and dismissed all the regiments, troops, or companies of soldiers, which he had in his service, consisting of the natural-born subjects of Great-Britain.' This act to continue in force for three years. With these amendments, the bill was sent to the Commons, who gave it their concurrence.

This, and other provisions against the Pretender, seemed the more necessary, because his friends were by this time grown to that height of assurance, as publickly to assert his right, and drink his health. To this purpose, above an hundred Irish Papists had a feast at the Sun-Tavern in the Strand, where the Lord Fingal was chosen Steward, and all that came were admitted by a printed ticket, in which was the image of a Pope, or Popish Saint, treading Hereby under foot.

On the second of July, the Lords took into consideration the trade to Spain and the West-Indies; and the Earl of Nottingham made it plainly appear, that by reason of the discouragements, to which that trade was subjected by the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and Spain (which explanations were made at Madrid, after signing the treaty at Utrecht) it was impossible for our Merchants to carry on that trade without certain loss. This was confirmed by the testimony of Sir William Hodges, and about thirty more eminent Merchants, who being called to the House, unanimously averred, that, unless the explanations of these three articles were rescinded, they could not carry on their commerce without losing twenty or twenty-five per Cent. It was observed, the Treasurer joined with the Lords, who insisted on the hearing of the Spanish Merchants; which was strenuously opposed by the Lord Bolingbroke. But, after a long debate, it was resolved to address the Queen, for all the papers relating to the Negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain; with the names of the persons, who advised her Majesty to that treaty. The Queen sent an answer, 'That, being given to understand, that the three explanatory articles of the treaty of commerce with Spain were not detrimental to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty.' The Queen making no mention of the persons, who had advised her to ratify those explanatory articles, (which was the chief design of the address) several Members excepted against the answer as unsatisfactory. And, among the rest, the Earl of Wharton and the Lord Halifax represented, 'That, if so little regard was shewn to the addresses and applications of that August Assembly to the Sovereign, they had no business in that House;' and moved, that a representation be made to her Majesty, to lay before her the insuperable difficulties, that attended the Spanish trade on the foot of the late treaty; which was agreed to: It was also moved, That the House should insist on her Majesty's naming the persons, who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But the Courtiers warded off that blow, which was chiefly levelled at the Lord Bolingbroke, and his agent Arthur Moore. The next day the Lords proceeded to the consideration of the Spanish trade, and to the examination

1714.

Meeting of the Pretender's friends. June 24.

Debate about the Spanish trade. Pr. H. L.

1714.

mination of the Commissioners of trade and plantations. The Earl of *Wharton* said ironically, 'He did not doubt but one of those Gentlemen could make it appear, that the treaty of commerce with *Spain* was very advantageous.' Which was meant of *Arthur Moore*, who had the chief management of that affair, and who contradicted himself in his answers to several questions, asked him by the Lord *Cowper* about the three explanatory articles. This was aggravated by the confession of the other Commissioners, particularly of Mr *Robert Monkton*, who declared, Mr *Moore* only read cursorily to them the articles, without giving them time to examine the same. Besides which, Mr *Popple*, their Secretary, deposed, that Mr *Moore* had shewn him a letter in French from Monsieur *Orry*, directed to Don *Arturo Moro*, importing in substance, 'That he must not expect the two thousand *Louis d'Ors per Annum*, that had been promised him, unless he got the three explanatory articles ratified.' Though the Lords came to no resolution about that affair, at a General Court of the *South-Sea Company*, upon a full hearing of a complaint of Captain *Johnson*, it was resolved, 'That *Arthur Moore*, while a Director of this Company, was privy to, and encouraged a design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of this Corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him; and that, for such his breach of trust, he be declared incapable of being a Director of, or having any other employment in this Company.' This censure made a great noise, and was highly resented by the Lord *Bolingbroke*.

On the 8th of *July* the Lords examined Mr *Lovvater*, Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr *Taylor*, first Clerk, concerning the *Assiento Contract*. They confessed, that they were only Nominal Assignees for the quarter part of the *Assiento Contract* reserved for the Queen, and that some persons, to them unknown (but who were strongly suspected to be the Lord *Bolingbroke*, the Lady *Masham*, and Mr *Arthur Moore*) were to have the benefit of it. The Lord *Cowper* having represented, 'That the uncertainty and suspense, in which the *South-Sea Company* had a long time been kept, whether her Majesty would retain to herself, or give to the Company, the quarter part of the *Assiento Contract*, reserved to her, had been the principal obstruction to the Company's carrying on that trade.' The Earl of *Wharton* moved for an address to the Queen, to give to the *South-Sea Company*, not only that quarter part of the *Assiento Contract*, but also the seven and a half per Cent. granted to *Mannasseh Gilligan*, and any other profits arising from that contract.' But, the question being put, it was carried in the Negative by fifty voices against forty-three. After this, on the Earl of *Anglesea's* motion, it was resolved by fifty-six votes against forty, to present an address, to return thanks for her Majesty's having so generously given, not only licences for two ships of five hundred tons each, and the *Assiento Contract*; but also the quarter part, which she was pleased at first to reserve to herself; and that she would be pleased, that such other advantages, which were, or might be, vested in her, might be disposed of for the use of the public.' This day's debate took up the Lords till nine o'clock in the evening; so they had no time, as some

Whig Lords designed it, to proceed to the censure of Mr *Moore*.

The next day, the Queen's answer to their address was reported: 'That she always had a great consideration for the advice of the House: And, as to the particulars desired, she would dispose of them, as she should judge best for the service.' The latter part of this answer was very ill relished by the Whig Lords; and some Members took occasion to complain of the Queen's silence in relation to the persons, who advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles. But, the Lottery-Bill being ready for the Royal assent, the Queen came that very day to the House of Peers, and put an end to the Session with the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THE progress, which has been made in the public business, and the season of the year, render it both convenient and necessary, that I should put an end to this Session.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'I return you my hearty thanks for all your good services to Me and to your Country, and particularly for the supplies you have given me, as well to defray the expences of the current year, as towards the discharge of the National Debts. In our present circumstances it could not be expected, that a full provision should be made on both these heads. What you have granted shall be laid out with the best husbandry, and to the greatest advantage.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I hope early in the winter to meet you again, and to find you in such a temper, as is necessary for the real improvement of our commerce, and of all the other advantages of peace. My chief concern is to preserve to you, and to your posterity, our Holy Religion, and the liberty of my subjects, and to secure the present and future tranquillity of my Kingdoms. But I must tell you plainly, that these desirable ends can never be attained, unless you bring the same dispositions on your parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions amongst you, be laid aside; and unless you shew the same regard for my just prerogative, and for the honour of my Government, as I have always expressed for the rights of my people.'

When the Queen had ended her speech, the Parliament was prorogued to the 10th of *August*, but she died before that day came.

Promptly after the rising of the Parliament, the discord among the Ministers came to an open rupture. The Treasurer, ever since he had received the Staff, had kept to himself the principal direction of domestic affairs, and the disposal of most places of profit; and, by the credit and interest of his post, and favour with the Queen, had procured advantageous alliances for his children, brought great riches into his Family,

1714. Family, and advanced all his relations (1), whilst the conduct of foreign affairs lay on the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who, as he was less circumspect in the prosecution of bold measures than the Treasurer, had therefore the largest share of the public odium, without any other advantage than the profits of his office, most of which he lavished away in riotous pleasures. Being a man impatient of dependance, he had frequent warm expostulations with the Treasurer, who, thinking himself secure in the Queen's favour, and in his interest with the Parliament, disregarded his complaints, by which the Secretary was still more enraged. Their private disputes would often have ended in an open quarrel, had not the Queen, assisted by the Chancellor and Lady *Masham*, as often reconciled them, or rather, had not their Confederacy in the late measures made them suspend their mutual hatred to consult their common safety. But, as soon as the danger was over by the Parliament's solemn approbation of the peace, it appeared there was an irreconcilable rivalry and enmity between them. Before this last struggle, the Treasurer, either finding his interest declining at Court, or despairing of the Queen's life, and apprehending the consequences of the late steps, bethought himself of a timely retreat; and, to that end, endeavoured to reconcile himself to the Whigs. He tried to gain the friendship of the Lord *Cowper*, who had the greatest weight amongst them; and, with that view, procured him to be chosen Umpire between his son, the Lord *Harley*, and the Lord *Pelham*, in a controversy about the inheritance of the late Duke of *Newcastle*. But the Lord *Cowper* contented himself with arbitrating the matter according to the strictest rules of equity, and with doing justice to the son, without espousing the interest of the father. On the other hand, the Treasurer expected to be strongly supported by the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who had maintained himself in the esteem both of the Sovereign and of the Public, and whose late behaviour in *Ireland* had endeared him to the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succession. But the Duke, justly resenting the neglect of the Ministers, while he was at *Dublin*, was very much unconcerned about them, when he came to *London*, and rather inflamed than moderated their differences, by complaining to the Queen of some orders, that had been sent him, which he thought inconsistent with her Majesty's and the Nation's service. Notwithstanding these disappointments, the Treasurer formed a design of removing his competitor, as the best means to approve his affection to the Protestant Succession, and therefore set Mr *Robert Monkton* against Mr *Arthur Moore* (the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s creature) who narrowly escaped a censure in the House of Peers, in which the Treasurer hoped the Secretary might have been involved. But,

in this very instance, the Treasurer found he had lost considerable ground at Court, the Queen having thought fit, at the Lord *Bolingbroke*'s desire, to put a sudden stop to that inquiry. And it appeared soon after, that, by his superior interest with Lady *Masham*, by the assistance of the Lord Chancellor, by his humouring the Queen's natural inclination, and boldly pursuing the measures she had entered upon, the Secretary entirely ruined his rival in her favour and confidence.

The Treasurer, in this situation of his affairs, wrote a letter to the Queen, and with it sent her an account of public affairs from *August* the 8th 1710, to *June* the 8th 1714; in which he endeavours to justify his own conduct, and expose the uneasy, turbulent, and ambitious spirit of Lord *Bolingbroke*. But this had not the intended effect upon the Queen.

While the Court was in this ferment, something happened, which hastened the Treasurer's disgrace. Some pretend, the Lord *Bolingbroke* had intelligence, and informed the Queen of the Treasurer's inviting the Duke of *Marlborough* to come over (for which purpose the Duke was indeed arrived at *Oxford**) and of his private Conferences with several Whig Lords: Others, that he was suspected of discovering the Queen's councils to the Court of *Hanover*, and even of putting them upon demanding a writ for the Duke of *Cambridge*: Others again, that he was both against the scheme of new-modelling the army, and the project of a new offensive and defensive league between *Great-Britain*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Sicily*: And others, still, that the Queen was extremely angry at his presuming to send orders to *Ireland*, without consulting with her or the Council; and that the Duke of *Shrewsbury* insisted on his removal, which the Duke of *Marlborough* had made a previous condition of his return to *England*. But a certain author* (who writes in his vindication) plainly asserts, that his disgrace was entirely owing to his attachment to the House of *Hanover*, whose Succession his enemies were resolved to prevent (2). However this be, on the 20th of *July* the Chancellor, (who had retired into the Country for a few days) was sent for in haste; and the next day was in close Conference with the Queen and the Lord *Bolingbroke*; after which it was generally reported, the Treasurer would be speedily removed. It was said at the same time, that, to soften his fall, the Queen designed to bestow on him an annual pension of five thousand pounds for life, with the title of Duke of *Newcastle*; and, upon his recommendation, to give the title of Earl of *Clare* to the Lord *Pelham*. But, contrary to his own, and indeed the general expectation, when he came to Court on the 27th of *July*, the Staff was taken from him, rather with mortifying, than

1714.

July 18.

* Hist. of
the White-
staff.

The Lord-
Treasurer
Harley
removed.

than

(1) His son, *Edward Lord Harley*, married the only daughter of the late Duke of *Newcastle*; who brought him a fortune of above 15000 *l. per annum*. *Elizabeth*, his first daughter, was married to *Peregrine Hyde Osborne*, Marquis of *Caermarthen*, son and heir to the Duke of *Leeds*: And *Abigail*, his second daughter, was married to *George Baron Hoy*, Viscount *Dupplin*, son and heir to *Thomas Earl of Kinnoul*, a Scotch Peer.

(2) The Treasurer's enemies (says that Author)

thought they could not hurt him any way more with the Queen, than by representing him as inviolably attached to the Protestant Succession. 'The party (says he) took hold of this article, as if they had a great advantage given them against the *White-Staff*, intimating, that it was a great affront to her, and an apparent carrying on his own game at the Court of *Hanover*; accordingly, her Majesty was prejudiced by it, as if it had been a dishonour to her.' *White-Staff*, p. 34.

(1) * He

1714. than agreeable circumstances. It is certain, that severe reproaches passed, in the Queen's hearing, between the falling Minister and the Lord Chancellor, and the Lady *Masham*, whom the Treasurer had disoblged some days before, by making a demur to a grant she had obtained of fifteen hundred pounds a year, and whom he looked upon as accessory to his disgrace. He told them, 'He had been wronged and abused by lyes and misrepresentations; but he should be revenged, and leave some people as low as he found them (1).' These expostulations could not but shock the sick Queen, and give her uneasy suspicions of her being abused and deluded by one or two, if not by all three, of her principal Ministers. It is pretended, that in this agitation of thought, which opened her eyes, she resolved to resign herself wholly to the conduct of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. But it can hardly be supposed, that, in her condition, she was capable of forming a resolution so inconsistent with her late measures. It is far more reasonable to imagine that the Lord *Bolingbroke*, having gained so great an ascendant over her, was most likely to succeed the Earl of *Oxford* in the management of affairs. This is certain, the very day, the Treasurer was removed, the Lord *Bolingbroke* entertained at dinner the Generals *Stanhope*, *Cadogan*, and *Palmer*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr *Craggs*, and some other Gentlemen; which meeting of men of such opposite principles occasioned various speculations. The most probable conjecture was, that the Lord *Bolingbroke*, considering he could not depend on the Queen's precarious life to accomplish his designs, and foreseeing a storm, he could not be able to weather, resolved to strike in with the Whigs, and to invite over the Duke of *Marlborough*; in which he had reason to expect better success than his late rival, with whom the Duke had vowed never to be reconciled. Some other particulars were at that time mentioned to corroborate these suggestions. But though the Duke of *Marlborough*, after having been detained about a fortnight by contrary winds, did, at this very time, embark at *Ostend* for *England*; yet the true motive of his coming at this critical juncture is not certainly known. It appeared plainly, however, soon after, that, whatever were the Lord *Bolingbroke's* thoughts and views at this time, the main design of the Whigs was to inflame the animosity between him and the Earl of *Oxford*, as the readiest way to ruin them both.

The Treasurer's removal was so sudden, and occasioned such confusion, that no scheme was either formed or agreed on, to supply his place, and to fill up such other vacancies, as must naturally attend his disgrace. A Cabinet-Council, or rather chamber-consultation, was indeed held in a hurry, the very night the Earl of *Oxford* was removed, and several persons were proposed to manage the Treasury, which was de-

signed to be put in Commission. Their number was to be five, of which Sir *William Wyndham*, as Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, was to be one; but the choice of the other four perplexed both the Queen and her Counsellors. It is said, the persons named were the Lords *Bolingbroke*, *Paquet*, *Lexington*, *Bathurst*, and *Masham*; the Bishop of *London*; Mr *Henry Boyle*, and Mr *Bridges*; Sir *John Pockington*, Mr *Campion*, Mr *Hill*, and some others. But, whether there were fewer or more in nomination, it is certain, no resolution was taken as to the choice of any four, either in that first consultation, or in the Council held the next morning; several persons, who had been proposed, and spoken to, having declined to accept a precarious employment in such a juncture. On the 29th of *July*, the Cabinet-Council was to have sat on the same affair; but their meeting was deferred to the next day, by reason of the Queen's indisposition, which, she was sensible, was occasioned by the late quarrelling among her servants, having intimated to one of her Physicians, 'That she should not outlive it.'

It is certain, both the dispute, to which she was an ear-witness, and the consultation upon it, which lasted till near two o'clock in the morning, occasioned such a violent agitation of the Queen's spirits, as could not but hinder, according to Dr *Shadwell's* opinion, the usual discharge of the imposthumation in her leg, so that the gouty humour, translating itself upon the brain, was the immediate occasion of her death. On *Thursday* morning², the Queen finding herself indisposed with a dozing heaviness, and a shooting pain in her head, the Physicians judged proper, she should be cupped, which she liked better than bleeding, and which, in the same symptoms, had often given her ease. The Queen was now something relieved by it; went to bed at the usual hour; rested pretty well till three o'clock on *Friday* morning, when she July 30. waked, and finding something heavy on her stomach, and reaching to vomit, she brought up some matter, and then composed herself to sleep. Towards seven o'clock she waked again; and, finding herself pretty well, rose from bed, and got her head combed. This done, towards eight, she went to look on the clock; and Mrs *Danvers*, one of the Bed-chamber women, taking notice, that she fixed her eyes a long time upon it, asked her, *What she saw in the clock more than ordinary?* The Queen answered her only with turning her head, and a dying look; at which Mrs *Danvers* being frightened, she called for help. The Physicians judging, she was seized with a fit of an apoplexy, caused her to be let blood; upon which she came to herself again, and was pretty quiet till a little after nine, when she was seized with a second fit of heaviness and dozing, which increased so much upon her, that for above an hour she was speechless and motionless. Those about her judging, she was either

(1) 'He exposed (says the Author of the *White-stoff*) their new schemes, ridiculed their impolitic measures, and foretold them to what distresses they would reduce themselves in a little time, putting them in mind of a debt they would owe to the national justice at last, and how unwilling they would be to pay it. He prophetically told them, they would be in a little

while reduced to the primitive meanness and contempt in which he found them! That he had too long borne the reproaches which was due to their measures, which he had in vain persuaded them against, and that it was time now that the world should see, who were the enemies to the British Establishment.'

(1) It

1714. either dead, or near expiring, the Dukes of Ormond, one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber, then in waiting, sent, with all speed, a messenger to the Duke her husband, with this melancholy news, which being brought to the Committee of Council, then assembled at the Cockpit, they immediately went to *Kensington*. In the mean time the Physicians thought fit to give the Queen a vomit, which not having all the desired effect, they administered another medicine, proposed by Dr Mead; upon which she recovered her speech and senses.

The Dukes of *Somerset* and *Argyle*, being informed of the Queen's desperate condition, instantly repaired to *Kensington*, and, without being summoned, went into the Council-Chamber, where the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Ormond*, the three Secretaries of State, the Bishop of *London*, and some others, were in a Committee. It is easy to imagine, that some of them were surprized at their coming in; but, after they had acquainted the Board with the reasons which brought them thither, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* returned them thanks for their readiness to give the Council their assistance in that critical juncture. Then they took their places, and moved, that the Physicians might be examined, and ordered to give an account in writing of the Queen's illness, which they did. After this, one of the Council represented, how necessary it was, in case the Queen died, that the place of Lord-Treasurer should be filled; to which the whole Board assenting, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was proposed, and unanimously approved, as the fittest person for that high trust. Sir *Richard Blackmore*, Dr *Shadwell*, Dr *Mead*, and the other Physicians, who were examined, having assured the Council, that the Queen was sensible, the Chancellor, with the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, and some other Lords, were ordered to attend her, and lay before her the unanimous opinion of the Council; upon which she said, 'They could not recommend a person she liked better than the Duke of *Shrewsbury*;' and, giving him the Treasurer's Staff, bid him use it for the good of her people. The Duke would have returned the Lord-Chamberlain's Staff, but she desired, he should keep them both; so the same person was at once possessed of three of the highest places of trust, honour, and profit under the Crown of *Great-Britain*, being Lord-Treasurer, Lord-Chamberlain, and Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke's advancement to the post of Lord-Treasurer immediately changed the face of affairs; baffled the Lord *Bolingbroke's* schemes; alarmed

the friends of the Pretender; and revived the spirits of the well-affected to the *Hanover* Succession (1). Upon the motion of the Dukes of *Somerset* and *Argyle*, it was agreed, that all Privy-Counsellors, in or about *London*, without distinction, should attend; which the Lord *Sommers*, and some other friends to the House of *Hanover*, did that very day.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the Queen relapsed into a lethargy or apoplectic fit, out of which she hardly recovered by the application of the spirit of *sal ammoniac* to her nostrils. The Physicians thought fit to apply blisters; but, at the same time, acquainted the Council, that the Queen's life was in the utmost danger, and entirely depended on the effect of this last remedy.

In the mean time, the Privy-Council took into consideration the state of the Kingdom; and very severe reflections were made on the late Administration, for leaving the maritime places, particularly the important town of *Portsmouth*, unprovided with men and warlike stores, and consequently incapable of defence, in case of a sudden invasion, which might be reasonably apprehended, in case of the Queen's death (2). But, the present business not being to enquire into, but to mend faults, the Council, with great prudence and dispatch, provided for the security of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, of the Maritime Towns, and of *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Orders were immediately dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons quartered in remote counties, to march up to the villages near *London*, to keep the Jacobites and Disaffected in awe: And to seven of the ten battalions of *British* forces, to embark at *Oxford*, and sail for *England* with all possible speed. An embargo was ordered on all shipping, and directions were given for fitting out as many men of war, as could soonest be got ready. By these orders the public tranquillity remained undisturbed, and no consternation appeared, but in the faces of the avowed partisans of the Pretender.

The Queen continued all night in a lethargic fit, which increased to such a degree about ten o'clock on Saturday morning, that all the Physicians despaired of her life. Upon this the Privy-Council sent orders to the Heralds at Arms, and to a troop of Life-Guards, to be in a readiness to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of *Brunswick* King of *Great-Britain*. At the same time, they caused a letter to be written to his Electoral Highness, to acquaint him with the extreme danger the Queen's life was in; with the measures they had taken to secure the Crown

(1) It would take up another volume (says the Author of the History of the *White-Staff*) to give an account how struck they appeared at this surprising blow. What gave away the Staff? Said they, after they had stood looking upon one another speechless and confounded for some time, at a private assembly of all their Confederates, which was held on this occasion, where they gave vent to their passions, and broke out into all the extravagancies of rage and despair. 'The blast of hell, and the rage of a million of devils, be on this cursed Staff (said the Secretary, flinging the purse to the ground) it is he that has ruined us.' 'Give away the Staff, said the Bishop, by G—— I could not have believed the durst have done it? What can we do without it? We have but one way left, *France* and the Lawful Heir; it must and shall be done by G——.'

Numb. LXXX. VOL. IV.

Whither do I launch (says the Author) this is a scene of such consequence, filled with such a discovery of black designs, that it cannot be entered upon here, but must be referred to another occasion. See *Hist. of the White-Staff*.

(2) Sir *John Gibson*, Deputy-Governor of *Portsmouth*, had, a little before, sent up to the Secretary of State an information he had received, of great preparations then making at *Havre de Grace*, for an embarkation of troops, which he apprehended to be in order to invade the Kingdom, and bring in the Pretender: And, at the same time, he represented how unprovided he was, both with men and warlike stores, to defend that important place, in case of a sudden attack: But no notice was taken either of his information, or representation.

1714.

Crown to him; and to desire him to repair, with all convenient speed, to *Holland*, where a *British* Squadron, that was fitting out with all possible expedition, would attend him, and bring him over, in case of the Queen's death. This letter was that very morning sent express by Mr *James Craggs*, and with him orders were dispatched to the Earl of *Strafford*, to desire the *States-General* to get ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant Succession, if need should require.

This done, the Privy-Council resumed the consideration of the State of the sea-port towns, and ordered a strong reinforcement to be sent down to *Portsmouth*; and rightly judging, that, if the Pretender's friends stirred any where in *Great-Britain*, it would be, most probably, in *Scotland*, they ordered Major-General *Whetnam* to repair thither, and assist Major-General *Wightman*; and appointed the Earl of *Berkely* to command the fleet. The Queen gave some signs of life between twelve and one o'clock, and took some spoonfuls of broth. She continued in a lethargic condition till about six in the afternoon, when, her pulse beating a little faster and higher, those about her began to entertain some hopes. But the blisters not having had the desired effect, she expired on Sunday the 1st of *August*, a little after seven o'clock in the morning, having lived forty-nine years, five months, and six days, and reigned twelve years and five months, wanting seven days. She was not able, either to receive the Sacrament, which the Bishop of *London* was ready to administer, or to sign the draught of a will, whereby she directed her burial to be in the same manner and place with her late Royal Consort; and in which she left legacies to some of her servants.

Thus died Queen *Anne*, whose character has already, in great measure, been described, but will more fully appear in the following remarks on the circumstances and affairs of her Reign.

Remarks
on the
Reign and
Character
of Queen
Anne.

No Reign was ever more memorable than this for important events. Different accounts and numerous comments have disguised and confounded many material particulars. But, notwithstanding this, the true state of affairs, and the real character of this Princess, may, without much difficulty, be explained. No period of time afforded men more eminent for wisdom and abilities, and more distinguished by successes equal to their merit. Had not such circumstances happened, *Europe* must have submitted to an Universal Monarchy, which would not have endured any remains of civil or religious Liberty.

When the war was begun, nothing could be more menacing than our prospects. The House of *Bourbon* despising all treaties, and most solemn engagements, without any difficulty or opposition seized territories more extensive and considerable, than were ever gained by the most rapid Conqueror, by the toils of a long life. All the powers of *Europe* were obliged, by the laws of prudence and self-defence, to oppose a Monarch thus prepared for their destruction. Those, at remoter distances, were easy and insensible; and some, who were nearly concerned, entered into the pernicious measures of *France*. The pride and oppression of the Court of *Vienna* aggravated the evil, by giving occasion to the insurrection of those subjects*, of

whose usefulness and importance the present times have afforded full evidence.

The Turks remaining quiet during the whole war; the insurrection in the *Cevennes*; and the victory at *Hockstedt*, are instances of the most favourable incidents. When we review the case of those brave and oppressed Protestants, how can we forbear inquiring, Why was not a deep and incurable wound then given to *France* in her vitals? Must we ascribe our fatal neglect to bigotry, perfidy, to an aversion to all foreign Churches, and to the natural operation of Tory principles? It is affirmed, it was only carried by one vote at the Council-board, not to call them rebels in our *Gazette*: And, *Will your Majesty assist rebels*? Is said to have been the expostulation of a very grave Nobleman with the Queen's conscience. While too many were averse, others seem to have had no true sense of the importance of this incident. Complaints have been likewise made of our being betrayed by our Agents.

The wonderful and very seasonable success at *Hockstedt* was properly pursued by our great General. But, how faulty was the House of *Austria* on their part? How much valuable time was wasted; and how feebly did they come prepared to the siege of *Landau*? Military preparations were neglected, and the vain pomp and shew of a King of the *Romans* chiefly regarded. Thus the troops were obliged to continue in the field till the beginning of winter, to their great detriment. The feebleness or slowness of the *Germans*, or the envy of their General, defeated the designs which were excellently formed, of penetrating into *France* on its weakest side. A year's reprieve thus gained enabled the enemy to offer us battle. A complete and cheap victory was gained and followed with all desirable consequences. Time spent in the sieges of this and the following years has been represented as the want of conduct, or something worse. But the importance of a barrier is evident to every honest and thinking man. When this security is neglected, the awe and terror it must produce will convince by facts far more effectual than the clearest reasoning. The entering *France*, and leaving behind the numerous fortified towns of the new conquests, had any mischance happened, would have been deemed an unpardonable want of precaution. To a second attempt, by the way of *Lorrain*, there was nothing to give encouragement.

Our advantages in other parts were very considerable; particularly by disappointments of the enemy in the sieges of *Gibraltar* and *Barcelona*. But what account can be given of our misfortune and misconduct, when a sure, near, and easy method of possessing *Spain* was offered? What hindered Lord *Galway's* marching with proper expedition to *Madrid*? Had this been executed, all the Courts and Tribunals of the Kingdom would have been secured. By dispatches from thence the Governments of *America* might have been gained. But in what terms shall we mention the delays of King *Charles* and the Earl of *Peterborough*, after the flying retreat of King *Philip* and his army? Their behaviour, in all its parts, was a direct contradiction to all the dictates of prudence, interest, and glory. Had they immediately assembled the troops in *Valencia* and *Catalonia*, joined Lord *Galway*, and marched directly to the *Pyrenees*, *Philip* must have been for ever excluded; and the great and good

* the
Hungari-
an

ed's

1714. ends of the war would have been happily and speedily accomplished. What a reverse happened, has been related in its proper place.

The disappointment before *Toulon* was almost equally affecting. Such a conquest would have been a most sensible wound to *France*. Had not the army been weakened by the great body of troops sent to the conquest of *Naples*, the affair must have succeeded. Jesuitical counsels and *French* money are supposed to have influenced the Court of *Vienna*. The reasoning fatally urged was to this purpose: If the naval power of *France* is destroyed in the *Mediterranean* by taking *Marseilles* and *Toulon*, the uncontrollable dominion of two maritime powers, which are Protestants, will be intolerable. The Priests of *Italy* and *Spain* trembled for *Rome* and the Holy House. They had lively forebodings of something worse than the return of the days of *Cromwell*. As they had an assured prospect of *Spain*, the perfect awe and subjection of the maritime part of that Catholic Kingdom to Heretics came into consideration: This, though known to *Dr Hare*, was not inserted in his excellent political tracts published in 1711 and 1712, for a very obvious reason; since it would have given assistance to the Ministers in their evil designs of infusing into the Nation ill-will and aversion to the House of *Austria*, and kind inclinations to that of *Bourbon*.

Not improving advantages and opportunities is matter of easy observation to all, who reflect on the several wars, of which we have accounts. In Confederacies, wherein there are a variety of humours and opposite interests, such misfortunes are in a great measure unavoidable. But, notwithstanding the several escapes of the enemy, the Duke of *Marborough's* sure and steady progress, and the damages the *French* sustained in other places, reduced them to a state of the utmost distress and terror. Their frontiers were impaired to such a degree, that we had gained an easy and secure admission into the open and defenceless parts of *France*, had his Queen and Country duly supported this great Captain. The grand Monarch would have been driven from his Capital; his glory had received an indelible stain; and his vain and insolent subjects a just mortification. Such advantages would have repaid all our toils and expences. He must have gladly compounded by recalling his grandson from *Spain*. His forcible and fraudulent acquisitions must have been surrendered; and sure foundations laid for the lasting peace and safety of this part of the world. Clearer and more obvious truths appear no where in the histories of any age or people; yet such hath been the delusion of party, that contrary representations have gained an entire credit. The speculative and practical propagators of them have been considered by a numerous party, as the best Writers, and the wisest and most worthy Ministers.

The temper, behaviour, and management of the Queen, on whom so much depended, deserves a particular and impartial consideration. As both parties in their turns were greatly dis-

obliged and offended, no praises have been given her for personal steadiness and wisdom. In some sermons indeed, parts and abilities have been ascribed to her; but, were such passages duly explained, the abilities would be found to belong only to her Ministers.

Great are the dishonours, which have redounded to the sacred order by the behaviour of those Princes, who have been most favoured with their esteem. The effects of their zeal have not appeared in a warm and equal concern for the welfare of society; but in aiding one party to oppose and ruin the other. Benevolence and compassion have been disregarded; and wrath, clamour, and brutal qualities have been encouraged; and those of the divine and human kind been greatly neglected.

There were two things, to which the inglorious part of this Reign may be chiefly imputed; the Queen's passion for Favourites, and the prejudices of her Education. To the secret influence of Favourites was owing the disgrace of her General, who, while he was steadily pursuing the interest of the Public, was not only dismissed and loaded with the heaviest reproaches, but even prosecuted for what had been granted him by the Queen's warrant under her own hand, and what was afterwards given to the Duke of *Ormond*. By the same secret influence, the exchanging the Able, Honest, and Successful, for Those whose management proved them in all respects the reverse, was esteemed an important deliverance. Hence also it was, that the Ministers had often such put upon them as were their enemies, and the just aversion of those on whose assistance they depended. This incommoded every Ministry, and was the cause of the Queen's constant complaints of her being only a Royal Slave. In a word, passion for favourites seemed to have a greater effect upon her, than the impressions of ambition and glory: For otherwise, the most worthy designs had not been abandoned, when there was so near a prospect of their accomplishment.

The prejudices of the Queen's education had also a great share in fullying the glory of her Reign. It was her misfortune to be educated in such times, and under such persons, as had given her wrong ideas of Religion and the Church, and infused into her, from her very infancy, strong prejudices against the Whigs, who were represented to her as enemies to the Constitution in Church and State. Deliberate reviews are very uncommon, and especially in those who are at the height of power. This evil was therefore incurable, and had very ill consequences! Hence, though the Queen has been justly commended for her devout and regular attendance on the offices of the Church (1), and for ardent wishes for its prosperity, yet for want of true notions of religious liberty (which she had never been taught) attempts were repeatedly made in the beginning of her Reign, with her approbation, to discourage and distress the Dissenters. But these attempts were disappointed by the moderation and justice, which then subsisted in the House of Lords. The concurrence of the Treasurer * • Lord and General † in those measures hath been re-

1714.

(1) She was so strict an observer of forms, that once at *Windsor* the reproved the Minister for giving

her the Sacrament before the other Clergy then present had first received it. *Coke*, Vol. III. 481.

(1) It

* • Lord presented phin.
† The Duke of Marlbo-

1714. presented as an instance and most unseasonable expression of their enmity to the true principles of liberty. But the immediate and pressing motive of their behaviour was a necessity of complying with the inclinations of their Royal mistress. Had they refused, they would have given their rivals a very dangerous advantage. And, though we should allow the fullest strength to their old leaven, yet it must be supposed, if they had been at perfect liberty, their known prudence and policy would have restrained such appearances of it at this time. For nothing could be more mortifying and offensive to the *Dutch*, and all the Reformed Churches. Besides, to begin such a war with disuniting measures at home would have been to the last degree absurd.

Distressing and incapacitating were consistent with the designs, the views, and the measures of the four last years of the Queen's reign. All Protestants abroad, as well as those at home, who differed from the Establishment, were marked with infamy. A loud noise for the Church filled all places, and prevented all attention to the calamity and destruction preparing for the State. Depriving the Dissenters of the natural right of educating their children was the prelude to the divesting of them of their most important privileges in society. For their power of voting for Members of Parliament would have been taken away; and they would have been rendered equally incapable of being concerned in the choice of Members of Corporations.

How soon hath the sense of such a deliverance been lost! Because impracticable favours have not been granted, many of them, who dignify themselves with the name of *Consistent Protestants*, and the true assertors of liberty in its full extent, have shewn themselves extremely perverse both in their words and actions; and in some places applied their wonderfully-preserved privileges and capacities for the service of an interest, which had doomed them to destruction; in others, they have been indolent and unconcerned.

How the Queen's zeal for the Church operated in the affair of Dr *Sacheverel*, is but too well known. This zeal gave the enemies of the Ministry advantages at Court and in the Country, beyond their most sanguine expectations. To the mad ferment which was diffused through the Kingdom, and which influenced the future elections, the easy success of the new Ministry may be justly ascribed. For though they had been possessed of power; and though the Nation was tired out with taxes; yet nothing but the operation of the noise and name of the Church could have given them so secure a majority. This alone, after such affecting successes, was capable of producing an insensibility of the advantages given the enemy, and of the distress, to which we most faithlessly and insolently reduced our Allies. Our liberties, trade, and commerce could only by this means have been placed in so bad a situation.

1714. An explanation of the real secret of the management of the new Ministry, and of the impeaching Parliament, hath not been attempted. Perhaps of this, as well as of some other particulars both at home and abroad, no full and exact account will ever be given. It hath been said, that the Treasurer and his Friends foresaw and intended some of the consequences. The Junto and their Friends, the zealous promoters of it, were to have been given up. That the Junto had often made remonstrances and demands, both with regard to persons and things, in a manner disagreeable to the Prime Minister, may be allowed, without supposing a wife man capable of so absurd a scheme for his deliverance. Besides, the combination between the then Patriots and the Tories was known to be so firm, as not to suffer him to entertain the least hopes of making any impression. From all appearances, we may conclude it to have been the effect of hasty unthinking zeal. Express and Parliamentary approbation was intended for the principles, on which the Revolution is founded. Something of this kind seemed necessary, because, throughout this Reign, Revolution principles had been perpetually disgraced and opposed from the Press and the Pulpit.

The heart of the Queen was well known, and her secret affections and dissatisfactions well understood. Therefore, during the trial of Dr *Sacheverel*, and immediately after, the principles of the Revolution were vilified beyond measure; and the Doctrines of Slavery became matter of glory, as the peculiarials of Christianity and the Church. Addresses were graciously received, wherein, with the omission only of his name, the Pretender's title was expressly asserted; and, by evident implication, this was calling the Possessor of the Throne an *Usurper*; language, which hath ever been unpardonable with every other Prince. However this be, most certain it is, that those who had expressed their readiness to concur in the measures of the Court, were regarded as well affected, and declarations and assurances in favour of the House of *Hanover* were considered only as a matter of necessity and form.

No one of our Monarchs ever had greater advantages of doing good both at home and abroad, nor had any Reign been distinguished with such glorious and important events. *Germany* saved from destruction; the Imperial Crown preserved and fixed on the head of our Ally; *Flanders* subdued; the exorbitant power of *France* reduced; the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, are events for which the Reign of Queen *Anne* will be had in everlasting remembrance. But by a dishonourable peace, how fruitless were these important events rendered? How soon was the power of *France* restored to a condition of injuring, oppressing, and terrifying the world? And very probably, nothing but the Queen's sudden removal prevented the execution of those schemes in favour of the Pretender, which the Peace-makers had laid, and for which due preparation had been made (1).

Had

(1) It is made a question by some, whether the Queen knew any thing of the design of bringing in the Pretender, notwithstanding the strong appearances of it. In 1708, when the attempt was made on *Scotland*, Sir *George Bing* had no instructions as to the person of

the Pretender. When this particular was taken into consideration, the council broke up in confusion. For when some mentioned methods of dispatch, the moving appearance of the Queen's flowing tears prevented all farther deliberation. *Lamberti* says (Vol. VIII. p. 657.) that

1714.

Had not the Emperor and *Catalans* prolonged the war, *Lewis XIV.* some months before the Queen's death would have sent us his last legacy; for he would have been at perfect liberty to have aided those here, who had prepared every thing for a second Restoration. Who can mention the *Catalans*, and forbear lamenting their severe and horrible usage? We not only neglected their securities and privileges, though they had been true to all their engagements, but assisted in completing their ruin (1). The case of the *Catalans* seems to afford full proof, that the Queen was deceived by her Ministry, and kept in total ignorance of affairs; for if

that had not been the case, she must have had no inclination to truth and probity, and have been incapable to distinguish between right and wrong, in the strongest instances, which cannot well be supposed (2).

The domineering manner, in which we joined with *France*, in dictating terms to our Allies; the faithless and insolent manner of abandoning them; the injurious usage of them in debates and resolutions of Parliament, and by Ministerial Writers, have given impressions greatly detrimental to all future Negotiations, and fixed indelible infamy upon our Nation.

Queen *Anne*, as to her person, was middle sized,

1714.

that it was very evident, the Queen of Great-Britain was extremely inclined to set the Pretender on her Throne. This inclination first appeared on the death of her son the Duke of Gloucester. For an express being sent by the Queen (then Princess of Denmark) to the Court of St Germain, to notify the Duke's death, the Earl of Manchester, Ambassador from King William to the Court of France, sent his Secretary Mr Chetwin to *Loe*, to inform the King of this proceeding. The reader may also see the extract Numb. I. annexed to the end of this reign, concerning the Pretender's affair.

(1) See the case of the *Catalans*, Numb. II, at the end of this reign.

(2) How grossly the Ministry imposed on the Queen, appears from several transactions, orders and directions given by the Ministers in the Queen's name, directly contrary to her sentiments as expressed in her messages and speeches to the Parliament, concerning the terms of peace, which she communicated to both Houses. The Committee of Secrecy examined this matter, and compared the Queen's Declarations with the measures her Ministers presumed to take in carrying on the negotiations. This they did in the following manner, in their report to the House of Commons.

The first time that the Queen made any mention of the peace to the Parliament, was on December 11, 1711, at which time nothing had been concluded between *England* and *France*, but the special Preliminaries that were signed by the Earl of Dartmouth and Mr St John on the part of *England*, and Monsieur Mesnager on the part of *France*, September 27, 1711, and the general preliminaries signed by Monsieur Mesnager only, which were sent over by the Earl of Strafford as the foundation of a general peace. After these Preliminaries were signed, Mr St John had pressed Monsieur de Torcy, that the King of *France* would explain himself with regard to the Allies; begs that the Queen may have some explication of his intentions in respect to the particular interest of the Allies, and concludes with saying, if the Sieur Gaultier returns with these marks of confidence, you will see our Parliament as much inclined to peace as ever it was to war.

Such explications as the King of *France* thought fit to make, are contained in the answer to the memorial brought by Monsieur Gaultier, Nov. 18, 1711*. Upon which her Majesty, at the opening of that Session, in laying before the Parliament the state of the treaty then on foot, according to the advice and representation made to her by her Ministers, said, 'That notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. Our Allies, especially the *States-General*, whose interest I look upon as inseparable from my own, have, by their ready concurrence, expressed their confidence in me.' The Queen thought the *States* had readily concurred with her; but it must be remembered, that the *States* had in the strongest manner represented against the propositions signed by Mr Mesnager, as too general and uncertain, not being a sufficient foundation upon which a Negotiation might be hazarded; they dreaded the fatal consequences of opening the general conferences, before the articles offered by *France* were made specific, and before they knew what they

were to trust to for their own barrier and their commerce. These representations were made in *Holland* to the Earl of Strafford; and Mr Buys was sent over into *England* to enforce them here.

But, instead of acquainting the Queen with these representations, or acting according to her Majesty's sentiments, Mr St John, October 9, declares, 'Certain it is, that her Majesty is so far determined in her measures, that those will deceive themselves who may imagine by delay to break them.' And October 29, 'The Queen remains firm in her first resolution, of causing the Conferences to be opened upon the articles signed by Monsieur Mesnager.' And November 2d, 'The Queen will not finally concert a plan for the prosecution of the war with the *States*, until they join with her in agreeing to open the Conferences of peace.' And November 15, Lord Strafford says, 'He had now told them her Majesty's order to him was to declare, that she should look upon any delay as a refusal to comply with her propositions.' By these threats and extraordinary measures, the *States* are compelled by the Queen's Ministers, to consent to open the Conferences; when at the same time her Majesty was persuaded, that they readily concurred in what had been proposed to them. Her Majesty declares, 'She looks upon the interest of the *States-General* to be inseparable from her own.' Mr St John declares, 'That Britain had gone so much too far in weaving her interest into that of the Continent, that it would prove no easy task to disentangle them without tearing and rending.'

The Queen says further, 'The Princes and *States* *Ibid.* which have been engaged with us in this war, being by treaties entitled to have their several interests secured at a peace, I will not only do my utmost to procure every one of them all reasonable satisfaction, but I shall also unite with them in the strictest engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general peace secure and lasting.' And in her message of the 17th of January following, her Majesty again expresses 'The care she intended to take of all her Allies, and the strict union in which she proposed to join with them.'

By these Declarations it appears, her Majesty's own resolution was to unite with the Allies in the strictest engagements. But her Ministers had taken upon them, in the private propositions sent over by Mr Prior, to insert an article, 'That the secret should be inviolably kept between *England* and *France*, till allowed to be divulged by the consent of both parties.' And although *France*, in the first propositions sent over by Monsieur de Torcy, had offered to treat with *England* and *Holland*, either separately or jointly, with the rest of the Allies, at the choice of *England*, the Queen's Ministers excluded the Allies; and in the Conference held with Monsieur Mesnager, 'They are much surprized to find that he had orders to insist, that the Queen should enter into particular engagements, upon divers articles, which depend not upon her, and which regard the interest of the Allies: And they insisted that it was absolutely necessary to remit the discussion of the particular interests of the Allies to general Conferences.' And when Mr St John was pressing Monsieur de Torcy to give them some explanations

1714. sized, and well made, but not so majestic as her Sister Queen *Mary*. Her hair dark brown; her complexion sanguine and ruddy; her face round, rather comely than handsome; her features strong and regular; and the only blemish in her face was owing to the defluxion she had, when young, in her eyes, which left a contraction in the upper-lids, and gave a cloudiness to her countenance. Her bones were small, and hands beautiful. She had a very good ear for music, and performed on the *Guitar*, an instrument formerly much in vogue. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, which particularly appeared, in the graceful delivery of her speeches

to the Parliament. She was reckoned a pattern of conjugal affection, and a prudent indulgent Mother. She was liberal, though an enemy to luxury and profuseness. She was very reserved; and, in all conditions of life, she required a strict attendance from all persons in their respective stations, she herself being nicely observant of all the decorums of a Court.

The exercise she principally loved was hunting, which she practised in her chaise; but the gout increasing upon her, and growing extremely unwieldy, she disliked that and other diversions, conducive to her health, which perhaps might have been longer preserved, had she not eat so much,

tions of what was designed for the Allies, he assures him, 'If the King would offer a plan of specific Preliminaries, the Queen will never communicate it to her Allies.' And upon another occasion, he declares, 'This Negotiation was begun and carried on upon a supposition, that the Queen must desist from many conditions which in rigour she was obliged to procure for her Allies.'

In the message of the 17th of January the Queen declares, 'Her Plenipotentiaries had begun, in pursuance of their instructions, to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in Alliance with her, according to their treaties, and particularly with relation to *Spain* and the *Indies*.' And her Majesty had said before, in answer to an address from the House of Lords, presented the 11th of December 1711.

Sept 229 'I should be sorry any one could think I would not do my utmost to recover *Spain* and the *Indies* from the House of *Bourbon*.'

The Committee did not doubt but her Majesty was determined to recover *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*: But, that her Ministers had no such thoughts, and did not in the least endeavour it, appears in every part of the Negotiation. In the first propositions sent over by Mr *Prior*, demands are made of the King of *France*, to be performed by the King of *Spain*, which the King of *France* was to engage for. And, as appears by an entry in Lord *Strafford's* book, Mr *Prior* had orders to see if they had full powers from *Spain*. In the special Preliminaries, an acceptance whereof was signed by the Earl of *Dartmouth* and Mr *St John*, September the 17th, 1711, it is laid expressly, The King promises in the name of the King of *Spain* his grandson, and according to the powers which his Majesty has received from that Prince, That Port *Mahon* and *Gibraltar* shall remain to the *English*. These steps had been taken by the Queen's Ministers, even before her Majesty had made these Declarations; which the Committee cannot therefore but conclude her Majesty was not informed of. And although the Queen's Plenipotentiaries were obliged by their instructions to insist, That *Spain* and the *West-Indies* should not be allotted to any branch of the House of *Bourbon*; when the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, on the 11th of February 1711-12, gave in their specific explanation of the general Preliminaries, signed by Mr *Mesnager*; the King of *France* made his first offers in the name, and by virtue of powers from his grandson King *Philip*, as King of *Spain*. On the 4th of March 1711-12, at a meeting of the Ministers of the Allies at *Utrecht*, where they were to communicate to each other their respective demands, Count *Zinzendorf* insisted, That the restitution of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy should be expressly mentioned; upon which occasion it appears, by a letter from the *English* Ministers of the 6th of March, That they were the only Ministers that did not make any mention at all of *Spain*, and that they were sensible of the disadvantageous consequences of being so; but being desirous to take off this odium, they make a general Declaration concerning the just and reasonable satisfaction for the Queen's Allies, in conformity to their Alliances; and humbly hope what was said will not be found contrary to what has been thereto declared.

All the attempt that the Queen's Ministers ever made towards obtaining this great point, which her Majesty declares, she should be sorry any one could think she did not do her utmost to procure, was to demand assurances that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should never be united. The method of preventing this union was never mentioned by the Queen's Ministers in order to be treated of, nor the sense of *France* and *Spain* ever asked upon it, till the latter end of March 1712.

In the same message her Majesty further adds, 'The world will now see how groundless those reports are which have been spread by men of evil intentions, to serve the worst designs, as if a separate peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least colour given.'

In this Declaration, her Majesty is advised by her Ministers, in order to clear them from the just suspicions which all the world had conceived of the separate measures they were engaged in, not only to declare there had not been the least colour given for such jealousies, but to brand all that entertain such apprehensions, with the character of men of evil intentions, that had the worst designs to serve. But that most just cause had been given for these reports, is sufficiently evident from what was just now observed. The Ministry had insisted that the secret should be inviolably kept between *England* and *France*, exclusive of all the Allies. A separate Negotiation between *England* and *France* had been carried on by papers sent backward and forward, and much time spent therein, as is said in Lord *Strafford's* instructions. Mr *Prior* had been sent into *France*, and Mr *Mesnager* had been in *England*, and not the least communication was given for five months together to any of the Allies of these transactions, which were depending from April 1711, to September following, from the time that the first proposals signed by Monsieur *de Torcy* were sent to the *States*, till the seven general Preliminaries signed by Mr *Mesnager*, were communicated to them. When these general Preliminaries were signed, which were sent over as a foundation to open the general Conferences, a set of special Preliminaries between *England* and *France* was signed on both parts, which were concealed, publicly disowned, and never appeared till this enquiry; and all these transactions had passed, however disguised to her Majesty, before the time that her Ministers advised the Queen to impose so grossly upon the Nation, as to declare in Parliament, there had not been the least colour given for these surmises.

Her Majesty is advised here to declare, That to report that a separate peace had been treated, proceeds from evil intentions, and to serve the worst designs. But the Committee observes, That after this Declaration of the Queen, her Ministers propose to *France*, agreed with *France*, and sent positive and repeated orders to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries, not only to treat, but to conclude a separate peace with *France*. On the 20th of June 1712. Mr *St John* acquaints Monsieur *de Torcy*, the Queen will make no difficulty to conclude immediately a separate peace with *France*, leaving the Allies a time wherein they may have liberty to submit to such conditions, as shall be agreed upon between

1714. much, an unhappiness derived to her not from her Father, who was abstemious enough, but from her Mother (1).

It was her unhappiness not to be much acquainted with our *English* History, and the actions of her Predecessors; whereas, Queen Mary

1714.

between the Queen and the most Christian King. In answer to this, Monsieur de Torcy tells Mr St John, upon condition the Queen does immediately make a separate peace, and keep no measures with her Allies, the King has determined to send his orders to permit the *English* troops to enter into *Dunkirk*. On the 12th of July, 1712. Mr St John thinks the Queen in a condition not to lose a moment's time in concluding with the Ministers of France the Convention for a general suspension of arms both by sea and land, and even the treaty of peace between Britain and France. And on the 4th of August, 1712. Monsieur de Torcy acquaints Mr St John, That the King consented to the Duke of Savoy's having Sicily upon certain conditions; where in one express condition is, That a peace be concluded between England and France, Spain, and Savoy. And at last, when the treaty drew near to a conclusion, and almost all the Allies were ready to sign, on the 20th of February, 1712-13. positive orders are sent to the British Plenipotentiaries to conclude and sign with France; and on the 28th, Lord Bolingbroke repeats his orders to the British Plenipotentiaries to conclude and sign with France: And acquaints them, 'The Duke of Shrewsbury had declared, that their Lordships had orders, in case the French complied, as they now have actually done, to sign her Majesty's peace with France without further delay; and that his Grace had also declared, That in this case her Majesty would open the Parliament by telling them that she had made a peace with France: These two considerations, his Lordship says, were perhaps the most prevalent inducements to the French Court to come roundly into her Majesty's propositions.'

The Committee close this head with repeating a passage from one of Lord Bolingbroke's letters to Mr Prior, wherein he says, 'If such overtures as these were not instantly accepted, our separate peace would, fitting this Parliament, be addressed for, made, approved, and the cause of France for once become popular in Great-Britain.'

Sept. 267. On the 6th of June 1712, the Queen says, 'I am now come to let you know upon what terms a general peace may be made.'

On the same day, Lord Bolingbroke acquaints Monsieur de Torcy, 'That though the King of France had not answered the Queen's demands, according to expectation, the Queen would not defer going that day to Parliament, and making all the declarations that were necessary to render the Nation unanimously inclined to the peace.'

ibid. The Queen says, 'The difficulties had been increased by other obstructions, artfully contrived to hinder this great and good work.' Whereas it is notorious, that the Ministers had received but the day before, the account that King Philip had consented to make the renunciation, upon which account only the Queen's speaking to the Parliament had been deferred.

ibid. The Queen says, 'I have not omitted any thing which might procure to all our Allies what is due to them by treaties, and what is necessary for their security.'

Lord Bolingbroke, on the very same day, in his letter to Monsieur de Torcy, says, 'Lord Strafford is going back to Utrecht, and the instructions he is to carry will put the Queen's Plenipotentiaries in a condition to keep no longer those measures to which they have hitherto been obliged to submit; but from henceforth they may openly join with those of France, and give law to them, who will not submit to just and reasonable conditions.'

ibid. The Queen says, 'Nothing has moved me from steadily pursuing, in the first place, the true interest of my own Kingdoms.'

Lord Bolingbroke just before, on the 24th of May, had proposed to Monsieur de Torcy, 'That the Queen being much more intent upon the general peace, than any particular advantages, Commisaries should be ap-

pointed to settle, after the peace, such points relating to trade, as required a longer discussion than the present crisis would admit.'

The Queen says, 'That to prevent the Union of the two Crowns, she would not be content with what was speculative, but insisted upon something solid.' Although Monsieur de Torcy had before declared to the Queen's Ministers, 'That to accept of this expedient which they proposed, would be to build upon a sandy foundation.'

The Queen says, 'The nature of the proposal for a renunciation is such, that it executes itself; and that France and Spain are thereby more effectually divided than ever.' But Monsieur de Torcy had before assured the Queen's Ministers, 'That this renunciation would be null and void, by the fundamental laws of France; and they would deceive themselves, who accepted of it as an expedient to prevent the Union of the two Crowns.'

The Queen says, 'Provision is made, that the same privileges and advantages as shall be granted to any other Nation by France, shall be granted in like manner to us.' But it appears, by a letter of Lord Bolingbroke's in January following, to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 'That France refused to let our trade stand upon the foot of *Gens amicitissima*; declared the Tariff of 1664, which was granted to the Dutch, except the four species, was too beneficial for us; and refused to grant it, until another Tariff should be made in Great-Britain exactly conformable to that of 1664, whereby our duties would be reduced as theirs are in France by that Tariff.'

As to our commerce with France, the Queen says here, June 6, 1712, 'It was in a method of being settled.' And Mr Prior says of it in May following, near a twelvemonth after, 'We had like to have made an *Athanasian* business of it at Utrecht, by that explanation of our own way of understanding our own commerce. Their letters to you, full of surmises and doubts, that all was unhinged; and their letters to us again, that explanations, however made, were only to save appearances, and signified nothing: This *Mélange*, I say, and my endeavouring to understand it, had like to make me run mad, if the Duke of Shrewsbury's extreme good sense, and Mons. de Torcy's not only honest, but right understanding, had not redressed us.'

The Queen says, 'The French consented to deliver p. 268. up Newfoundland and Placentia.' But it must be remembered, that in the preliminaries signed in September preceding, the French had reserved to themselves a liberty of taking and drying fish in Newfoundland.

The Queen says, 'An absolute cession was to be made of Nova Scotia, or Acadia.' But Cape Breton, which was always understood to be, and is so declared by the Queen's instructions to the Duke of Shrewsbury, to be part of Nova Scotia, is expressly given up to France.

The Queen says, 'The trade to Spain and the West-Indies may in general be settled, as it was in the time of the late King of Spain, Charles the Second.' But when the project of the treaty of commerce came from Madrid, Lord Bolingbroke says of it, 'They had sent a blind, lame, miltapen, indigested monster, instead of that fair offspring, which we had reason to expect from our candour.'

If all the other parts of this speech be strictly examined, it will be found that the Ministry did so grossly deceive the Queen, in order to impose upon the Parliament by her authority, that there is scarce a paragraph that does not contain some unfair, or at least equivocal representation of the state of the Negotiations. And when the Queen was advised by her Ministers to make this communication to Parliament, as the terms upon which a general peace might be made, it is very evident, they had no assurances that France would make good what they prevailed upon the Queen to declare in so solemn and public a manner.

(1) This seems to confuse the scandalous report of the

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

ibid.

1714. Mary was extremely well versed, not only in our own, but the Histories of other Countries.

Her Reign may be called *Bloodless*, not one person having been executed, at least beheaded, for treason, during the whole course of it; which cannot be said of any Reign since the time of Edward I, who died in 1307.

Semper Eadem was the motto of Queen Elizabeth, which Queen Anne assumed upon her Accession to the Throne; and which, had she pursued with the same resolution and steadiness, she might have exceeded her in glory and fame. But in one thing she was very unlike Queen Elizabeth, whom she proposed for her pattern. Queen Elizabeth was very sparing of her honours, and a man must have deserved it, before he could obtain so much as a Knighthood at her hands (1): Whereas Queen Anne made more Peers of the Realm at once, than the other did in a Reign of forty-four years. Indeed, her Great-Grandfather King James, was the first that was lavish in conferring honour, whose example was but

too much followed by his Descendants; so that Queen Anne was not singular in that respect, except in creating so many together, for an end that will remain a blemish upon her Administration, as long as History endures.

In Queen Anne ended the line of the *Stuarts*: Their merit and demerit may be rightly stated, by considering what their regards or disregards were to the welfare of Europe; to the union and strengthening of the Protestant Interest; and to the quiet and prosperity of their subjects. In order to make up such an account duly and accurately, many important materials are still wanting.

There had been a new vault made on the South-side, and towards the East-end of Henry VII's Chapel, to deposit the body of King Charles II, in which that Prince, Queen Mary, King William III, and Prince George of Denmark, were laid. Here the remains of Queen Anne were likewise deposited, and there being no more room left, the vault is closed up with brickwork.

the Queen's drinking spirituous liquors, which was told with so much assurance, that many who loved and esteemed her gave in to it, whereas one of her * Historians affirms it for a truth, that she abhorred all strong waters. The French Continuator of Rapin gives credit to the common report, and says, she accustomed

herself to it out of complaisance to the Prince her husband.

(1) It is well known how angry Queen Elizabeth was with the Earl of Essex, for making so many Knights at the taking of Cadiz.

The End of the Reign of Queen ANNE.



EXTRACTS and PAPERS relating to the History of Queen ANNE.

I. The proceedings about the Pretender, as reported by the Committee of Secrecy, June 1715.

Secret
transac-
tions about
the Pre-
tender.
Rep. of
the Com.
of Secr.
* See p.
219, 252.

THE Committee begin with observing, that Abbot Gaultier*, though he did not appear to have any public character, resided in England during the greatest part of the Negotiation for peace; and, upon extraordinary occasions, was often sent backward and forward. But the share, he had in the more public transactions, was not his only business. It was evident, some Negotiations, which required more than ordinary privacy, were verbally transacted; and, upon all such occasions, Abbot Gaultier was the person, to whom the French and English Ministers mutually referred each other. And as of necessity nothing could be a greater secret, than all matters relating to the Pretender, this province was particularly allotted to Abbot Gaultier, that through his hands, and under his conveyance, by French Couriers, going continually betwixt France and England, such practices might be carried on with great safety, which, in any other manner, had been too dangerous an undertaking.

The first time, that any secret Negotiation is expressly referred to Abbot Gaultier, is found in a letter of Mr Secretary St John, of March 4, 1711-12, wherein he tells Monsieur de Torcy, 'He had deferred writing to him of late, till he might write with certainty, till the necessary dispositions were made among our people at home, and till the Queen had taken the only resolution, which could bring us, in a short time, to a good and solid peace. I have now the satisfaction to tell you, that this resolution is taken; and that Mr Harley will carry with him this night, or to-morrow morning, the final instructions of the Queen to her Plenipotentiaries. I refer myself to Mr Gaultier, to explain to you more at large the subject of this Gentleman's Commission, and what the Queen hopes his most Christian Majesty will do to co-operate with her.'

The Committee of Secrecy observed, that several letters and papers were wanting, which, by the circumstances of time and matters then depending, appeared to be of moment and consequence; it was not to be expected, that those, who had been so careful to suppress matters of less importance, would leave behind them any transactions, that might tend openly and directly to favour and support the cause of the Pretender. But there were still left several passages, which are a plain indication of the tenderness and regard, with which the cause and person of the Pretender were treated, as often as mentioned, and which the Committee thought fit to bring together in one view, as follows:

There is a paper, that was left in Lord Bolingbroke's closet, dated at Versailles the 24th of September 1711, indorsed, as other office-papers usually are. It gives an account, that the Pope's Nuncio had, in his last audience of the King of France, made the following declaration: 'That the Court of Rome being fully informed,

that France was endeavouring to procure a peace upon the most advantageous terms, that was possible; and being persuaded, that if the peace should be made, England would not suffer, that the King of France should permit the Prince of Wales to continue in his Realms; the Court of Rome offers to the King of France; to give this Prince an asylum at Rome; or in any other part of the Ecclesiastical Dominions.¹ To which the King of France returned in answer, 'That an asylum for the Prince of Wales would be no obstacle to the peace: That if, the Allies did truly desire to make a peace, he would accept of any reasonable propositions they should make; and in this case an article for the Prince of Wales would be inserted in the treaty.'²

June 7, 1712, the Bishop of Bristol, giving an account to Lord Bolingbroke of some discourse he had with some of the Ministers of the Allies, says, 'Monsieur Conbruck, one of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries, kept also within the terms of decency, save only, that he took it for granted, that one great end of all this management on our part was to bring in the Pretender; which apprehension one of the Ministers of the States lately owned in private discourse, to have been the fundamental reason of all their conduct of late.'³

It is well known, what great stress and weight was laid upon the removal of the Pretender out of the Dominions of France. This was what all the Nation, with great justice, expected, and what the Queen declared was taken care of, as an additional security to the Protestant Succession. But his removing out of France, and being permitted to reside in Lorrain, was not only a great surprize to all the Nation, but was received with such just indignation, that the Parliament addressed the Queen upon this occasion, 'That she would insist upon his removal from Lorrain; that residence being equally or more dangerous to Great-Britain, than his abode in France.'⁴ Her Majesty's answer, That she would repeat her instances, occasioned in the House of Lords a becoming resentment, that the Duke of Lorrain should presume to receive and entertain the Pretender to her Majesty's Crown, in defiance to her Majesty's application to the contrary. But it now appears in what manner the removal of the Pretender out of France was transacted and settled; and that his residing in Lorrain was not only with the approbation, but even by the direction and appointment of the English Ministry. Mr St John, in his letter to Monsieur de Torcy, of the 24th of May, 1712, O. S. when he sent him over the conditions, upon which her Majesty would make those important and decisive declarations to Parliament, concludes that letter with saying, 'He hopes, that, with the general repose, we shall see revived, in a few weeks, a good understanding between two Nations, which may become, to each other, the most useful friends, for the same reasons they have been the most formidable enemies. The Queen commands me to tell you,

that she hopes, when you send an answer to this letter, we shall have an account, that the Chevalier had begun his journey.' In answer to this, Monsieur de Torcy says to Lord Bolingbroke, on the 10th of June, 'You may assure the Queen, that the Chevalier is ready to depart at a moment's warning, if he did but know where he was to go, and in what place he might be in safety. I own to you, that I know no Prince, who is willing to receive him, for fear of displeasing the Queen or other powers. It will be absolutely necessary, that there should be some explanation upon this subject, which I desire you to make to me by the Abbot Gaultier, if you do not judge it proper to do it yourself.'

Mr Secretary St John, on the 6th of June 1712, O. S. writes a public letter, in answer to the several points contained in Monsieur de Torcy's last letter; but, in that letter, takes no notice at all of the Chevalier. But the day after, June the 7th, 1712, he writes a private letter, as he calls it himself, to Monsieur de Torcy, and concludes it with saying, 'The Abbot Gaultier will write to you upon the subject of the Chevalier.' There were two copies of this private letter, one delivered by Lord Bolingbroke, the other entered in Lord Strafford's book: And, in the copy of this letter given by Lord Bolingbroke, this passage, 'That Abbot Gaultier shall write about the Chevalier,' is omitted by his Lordship.

On the 22d of June 1712, N. S. Monsieur de Torcy writes two letters to Lord Bolingbroke. In the public letter nothing is said of the Pretender: The private letter concludes with saying, 'I have the honour to send you a letter under the King's hand for her Britannic Majesty; and I refer you to what the Abbot Gaultier shall say to you about the departure of the Chevalier.'

On the 21st of August 1712, Lord Bolingbroke being then in France, to give the finishing stroke to all matters of consequence, that were undetermined, in his dispatch to the Earl of Derimouth, giving an account of his proceedings at the Court of France, says, 'The Chevalier has fixed his departure for the first of next month, N. S. They propose, that he shall retire to Bar, and they intend to write to the Duke of Lorraine, to ask of the Emperor, and other Princes, a security for his person during his residence in that place.'

But on the 28th of December 1712, N. S. it appears, that the Chevalier was still in France; upon which account Mr Prior writes thus to Lord Bolingbroke: 'Another point, upon which this Court is very solicitous, is, that the Chevalier remaining in any town of France obstructs the signing the peace; yet he cannot go to Lorraine, till the Emperor's passports will secure him there. Your Lordship, by the perusal of the papers, will see the state of that case, and I have only to add upon this subject, that the Court of France expresses an impossibility on their side to do more than they have done; and hopes we should have interest enough with the Emperor, to obtain such passports from him, as may secure, as well the person, who is to go into Lorraine, as the Duke of Lorraine, who is to receive him.'

Mr Prior, on the 29th, writes to the same effect to the Lord-Treasurer, and says, 'The

Monarch is a good deal troubled upon this head, lest the young man should fall into the hands of Hussars or Barbarians. And Monsieur d'Aumont has, I presume, orders to speak to our Ministry upon it. As to the dowry, I shall not only be dunned to death, but hanged; for the Dowager sends messages to me, which you in England do not think it extremely lawful to receive. But, if it is to be paid, pray let it be done in an handsome manner, that may shew the charity of the Queen, and the generosity of her Lord-Treasurer.'

The papers, referred to in Mr Prior's letter, contain an account of what the Duke of Lorraine had done at the desire of the King of France, to obtain from the Allies the necessary safeguard for the Chevalier. He says, that understanding, that the Queen of Great-Britain had already granted her safeguard or protection to the Chevalier de St George, he believed they had no more to do, but to apply to the Emperor, and to the States-General.

By this account it is evident, that Abbot Gaultier was the person intrusted to manage the affairs of the Pretender, with whom such practices were verbally to be transacted, as the British Ministers did not think proper to commit to writing. It appears, that the place, to which he was to go, because nobody would receive him at the hazard of the Queen's displeasure, and where he might remain in safety, was to be prescribed from England: That this was not fixed and determined till Lord Bolingbroke went into France: And, if his Lordship's instructions are considered, it will be hard to find in them any thing of that importance and secrecy, as to require his going in person to settle it. His Lordship gives an account from thence, that the Pretender was to go to Bar; and this is acquiesced in here, without the least objection made. The Ministry are told by Mr Prior, that the Court of France hopes, by our interest, such passports would be procured, as might secure his person. And, in the paper sent to France from the Duke of Lorraine, it is asserted, that the Queen of Great-Britain had already granted her protection to the Pretender.

But, November 6, 1713, Lord Bolingbroke writes to Mr Prior, and says, 'Her Majesty having repeated to the Duke of Lorraine the instances, which, you know, have been so often made to the most Christian King, for removing of the Pretender to her Crown out of his Dominions, I am directed to acquaint you therewith, that you may speak to the Minister of Lorraine, and to any other Minister, whom you shall think proper; and let them know it is absolutely inconsistent with the amity and good correspondence, that is between the Queen and their Masters, to receive into their Dominions, or to protect a person, who disputes her Majesty's most undoubted title, and thereby endeavours to disturb the peace and quiet of her Kingdoms. That you may be able to shew them, that this is the collective sense of the whole Nation, as well as the Queen's command to you, I herewith send you the addresses of both Houses of Parliament.' This can be understood as no more than a bare compliance with the addresses of Parliament. And how little repentment and indignation was conceived against the Duke of Lorraine, for this indignity offered to her Majesty, appears from a letter written by

by Lord Bolingbroke to Mr Prior, November 10, within four days after his last-mentioned letter upon the subject of the Pretender, 'This letter, says he, will be delivered to you by Baron de Forstner, who has been twice at our Court, with the character of Envoy from the Duke of Lorrain, and who is extremely well with your friends on this side of the water, that I make no doubt, but that he will be a welcome acquaintance to you. I must, at the same time, recommend the interest of the Duke of Lorrain his Master to your care. You know, Sir, how little that Prince has yet felt the good effects of what was stipulated for him at Ryswick. You know, Sir, how justly he pretends to an equivalent from this Emperor for the Montserrat. In a word, you are enough apprized of his wants, of his expectations, and of her Majesty's earnest desire, if by any means he can, to contribute to the ease and to the advantage of a Prince, who deserves much better usage than he has on many occasions met with.

There were several other letters, that were wrote after the address of Parliament, to press the removal of the Pretender from Lorrain: But, after what has been said, it is needless to observe, what little effect was to be expected from such representations made in the several Courts of Europe, which were known to be contrary to the sense and intention of the Court of Great-Britain. And, if any further demonstration was wanting to shew their true spirit and inclination, it may be observed, that the addresses in Parliament were made in July 1713, and the first letter, that Lord Bolingbroke wrote in pursuance of those addresses, was the 6th of November, which was four months after the addresses were presented to the Queen.

It will not be improper to insert here an extract of a memorial, touching the demolition of the sluices of Dunkirk, delivered by Monsieur de Torcy to Lord Bolingbroke, at Paris, in August 1712. 'It is not our business now to examine, whether the Queen of England, and the English Nation, were in the right to demand the demolition of the fortifications, and the filling up the harbour of Dunkirk. That is a thing resolved and agreed upon. It may perhaps come to pass, in the course of this affair, for reasons easily to be foreseen, that England shall repent having demanded the demolition of a place, and the destruction of an harbour, which might be of great use in conjunctures, which perhaps are not very remote.' The Committee of Secrecy did not take upon them to explain, what conjunctures France had in view, and which they thought not very remote, when Dunkirk might be of particular service; but they thought proper to conclude that part of their report with observing, That the Pretender did, immediately upon the demise of Queen Anne, publish a Declaration, which the Duke of Lorrain acknowledged in his letter of the 6th of December 1714, that he received from the Pretender himself, wherein is this remarkable passage: 'Yet contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the Princess our Sister (of whose good intentions towards us we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found, that our people, instead of taking this opportunity of retrieving the honour

and true interest of their Country; by doing us and themselves justice, had immediately proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of Hereditary Right, which their pretended acts of Settlement can never abrogate.' Thus stood the Pretender's affairs at the death of Queen Anne.

II. The case of the Catalans, as represented in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, June 1715.

AFTER several unsuccessful attempts by way of Portugal, and the design upon Cadiz, to settle King Charles on the Throne of Spain; and that the Confederate fleet had appeared before Barcelona in 1704, without the desired success; her Majesty, in the beginning of the year 1705, sent Mr Crowe as her Minister to Genoa, with private instructions, to the following effect: 'That her Majesty being informed, that the people of Catalonia were inclined to cast off the yoke imposed upon them by the French; and by withdrawing themselves from the power of the Duke of Anjou, to return to the obedience of the House of Austria, was desirous to maintain and improve that good disposition in them; and, to induce them to put the same speedily in execution, had made choice of him to carry on so great a work, for the advantage of her service, and the good of the common cause. He is therefore ordered to repair to Genoa, Leghorn, or other such neutral country or place, as he should judge most proper for carrying on her Majesty's service in this particular; and to treat with the Catalans, or any other people of Spain, about their coming into the interest of Charles the Third of Spain, and joining with her Majesty and her Allies. For that purpose he is to inform himself, what number of forces they will raise, and what they expect shall be sent to assist them. If any of the Nobility insist upon a sum of money to be advanced to them, he must assure them, he does not doubt but he shall be empowered to remit to them whatsoever is necessary and reasonable for their support, as soon as they are actually in the field. That he shall give the Catalans, or other Spaniards, assurances of her Majesty's utmost endeavours to procure the Establishment of all such rights and immunities, as they have formerly enjoyed under the House of Austria. That she has, for their further satisfaction, sent to King Charles the Third, for powers for confirming the same to them; and that she is willing, if they insist on it, to give her guaranty, that it shall be done.'

Mr Crowe had also a Commission of the same date with his instructions, to treat with the Catalans upon the terms before-mentioned, upon this express condition on their side, that they should acknowledge and receive King Charles as lawful King of Spain, and utterly renounce the House of Bourbon.

He had, with this, credential letters signed by the Queen, directed to the Nobility, Magistrates, and all Officers, civil and military, of Catalonia, desiring them to depend upon the promises he should make them in her name.

The Earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, by their instructions, dated May 1, 1705,

atc

are likewise ordered to use their endeavours to induce the *Catalans* to join with them in their undertakings; and, to animate that people, to prosecute their liberty with more vigour, they are empowered to assure them of the Queen's support, and to promise them, in the Queen's name, that she will secure them a confirmation of their rights and privileges from the King of *Spain*, that they may be settled on a lasting foundation to them and their posterities. But, left persuasions alone should not prevail, they are ordered, in case the *Catalans* make no suitable return to these kind offers, to annoy the towns on the coast of *Spain*, and to reduce them by force.

In conformity to these instructions, a declaration was drawn here, and delivered by Mr Secretary *Harley* to the Earl of *Peterborough*, for him to publish in *Spain*, full of assurances, in the Queen's name, of support, and of their liberties on the one hand, and threats on the other; which declaration he, on his arrival in *Spain*, did accordingly publish.

The success of that expedition is well known. King *Charles*, in his letter to the Queen, of *October* 22, 1705, gives an account of it, and what it was owing to, namely, 'The assurances of your Majesty's generous protection, upon which my subjects of *Catalonia* expose their lives and fortunes.'

No want of fidelity or zeal for the common cause during a long war, which abounded with extraordinary turns of fortune, was ever objected to these people. On the contrary, they received to the last the applauses of the Allies, and assurances repeated to them by every General and Minister, who was sent from *Great-Britain* to that Country, that they should never be abandoned.

When the Queen entered into separate measures of peace, Lord *Lexington* was sent Ambassador to *Spain*; at which time, considering the circumstances of *King Philip's* affairs, and the obligations he had then received from the Queen, the *Catalan* privileges, if plainly demanded and insisted upon, could not have been refused; and without it, could never be expected to be granted to a people so remarkably zealous for the common cause.

But his instructions, instead of directing him to insist upon this, as a condition of the Queen's coming into the peace, order him only to represent to the Court of *Spain*, that it is no less for the King's interest, than for the Queen's honour, that a general amnesty, without exception, be granted to all *Spaniards*, who have adhered to the House of *Austria*, and, in a particular manner, to the *Catalans*, with regard to their persons, estates, dignities, and privileges.

These instructions, though very defective, were not complied with; for Lord *Lexington*, in the 11th article of his paper, which is called *demands*, delivered to the Court of *Spain*, upon his arrival there expresses himself thus: 'That the Queen prays his Catholic Majesty, that a general amnesty, without exception, be granted;' but leaves out the words in his instructions, with regard to their persons, estates, dignities, and privileges.

The King's answer was, 'That the general amnesty, relating entirely to the general peace, was not proper for the present treaty; and therefore he leaves it to be then treated of: That his

Majesty will make use of his great clemency, provided the Queen will contribute to the safety, to the repose, and to the interests of so many faithful subjects, who, according to their duty, had followed his righteous cause in *Flanders*, and in all the parts of *Italy*; and that an express article be inserted in the peace, wherein it shall be declared, That all subjects, who have done their duty, by adhering to his Catholic Majesty, shall be established in their estates and honours, of what nature soever they be, which they enjoyed, when they were under his obedience; and that they may mortgage, exchange, or sell, at their pleasure; and that they shall have full liberty to continue in the service of their King; and that neither, upon this pretext, or any other whatsoever, they shall receive the least prejudice, or the least harm in their estates and honours, or any molestation whatever; and that any municipal law to the contrary (if there be any such) shall be made void by the treaty of peace.'

Lord *Lexington* transmits this answer to *England*, which, though containing a direct refusal at present of what was desired, and only general assurances of clemency from the King, on conditions, that could not possibly be expected to be complied with; yet his Lordship, in his letter to Lord *Dartmouth*, writes word, That the 11th article (which is this about the *Catalans*) was agreed to; and thinks, what they desire is but justice; and then goes on, 'Thus, my Lord, I have finished my Negotiation in the best manner, I could, and hope it will be to her Majesty's satisfaction.'

No dissatisfaction was shewn by the Ministry in *England*, either with this manner of negotiating, or the fruitlessness of it; but the Lord *Lexington* is ordered to proceed in the business, both as it was an act of humanity, which every one to the utmost of their power, ought to promote; and that the interest of the King of *Spain* was most nearly concerned by that means, to get the *Germans* out of the Country.

Hereupon another memorial for an amnesty is presented: The motive used to induce the King to grant it, is his own interest, and to remove the *Germans*, without any notice taken of the Queen's honour being concerned in the affair.

The King answered, 'That the *Catalans* had deserved little from him: That they were now reduced to a small extent of ground, by the withdrawing of the troops of *Britain* and *Portugal*: That his troops, and those of the King, his Grandfather, were entering into their Country by three several ways: Therefore, more in complaisance to the Queen, than for the arguments, that had been offered, he was willing to grant his pardon to those *Catalans*, who acknowledged his clemency, and repenting them of their error, should submit to his Dominion and Vassalage within a time to be prefixed.'

Count *Zinzendorf*, in the project for evacuating *Catalonia*, insisted upon the preserving the people their privileges. But the King of *Spain* refused it, and would only grant them an amnesty and pardon.

Lord *Dartmouth*, in his letters both to the Marquis de *Monteleone* and Lord *Lexington*, says, 'He cannot express the Queen's surprize to hear, that the privileges of the *Catalans* were not intended to be preserved to them by the Court of *Spain*: That these privileges were necessarily

cessarily included in the meaning of a general amnesty already granted. And this was an affair, wherein the Queen's honour was extremely concerned, and that she was obliged by motives of conscience not to depart from it.' Lord *Lexington* is hereupon ordered to insist again upon it in the strongest manner imaginable; that when the King of *Spain* is convinced of her Majesty's steadiness, and the firmness of her resolution to adhere to this demand, no doubt he will yield to what has been so solemnly promised, and is in itself so reasonable. That the Marquis de *Monteleone*, being restrained by his instructions from treating upon this point, the negotiating of it must entirely lie upon Lord *Lexington*.

Accordingly, his Lordship presents another memorial for a general amnesty, with the confirmation of all their privileges. The amnesty, he says, was granted; but the privileges entirely refused, and in such a positive stile, as he never met with, but in demanding a track of ground about *Gibraltar*.

In another letter to Lord *Dartmouth*, speaking of the many denials he met with in *Spain*, he says, ' Things are not here upon the same foot, as they were before the suspension; for the King told me these words, *We know, that the peace is as necessary for you as for us, and that you will not break it off for a trifle.*'

It may seem, at first sight, unaccountable how the Queen's endeavours could fail of success, when she declared her conscience was concerned in this matter; and that though she desired a peace, she would not act inconsistently with honour and justice to obtain it.

The first fatal step to the ruin of the *Catalans* was the orders sent Lord *Lexington* (contrary to his first instructions) upon his arrival at *Madrid*, to acknowledge *Philip* as King of *Spain*, in a private audience, before any one article of peace or commerce was settled, which put him in a condition of refusing this, and whatever else he should think fit.

The manner how *Spain* gained this important point, appears to be as follows: Lord *Dartmouth* had acquainted Mr *Prior*, that Lord *Lexington* was not to acknowledge *Philip* King of *Spain*, till he had agreed to the demands his Lordship was to make in the Queen's name. However, Lord *Dartmouth* thinks it convenient, that the sentiments of the *French* Court should be known upon this matter as soon as possible.

This method of proceeding with *Spain* was very much disliked in *France*; and Mr *Prior* writes Lord *Dartmouth* a very elaborate letter, full of Monsieur de *Tercy's* reasons, to induce the *English* Ministry to recede from that point, and concludes with this remarkable one, ' That the whole treaty being eventual, this acknowledgement of *Philip* as King of *Spain*, would fail, as the other points, unless the conditions were made good, and the peace agreed and ratified.'

Hereupon the Lord *Bolingbroke* determines this matter in favour of *Spain*, by imputing the former directions to Lord *Dartmouth's* mistaking the Queen's meaning, and writes Mr *Prior* word, that he was equally surprized and vexed to find, by the uncouth way of explaining the Queen's sense, that Mr *Prior* had been led to imagine, it was intended Lord *Lexington* should make any difficulty of acknowledging the King of *Spain* as such. ' The proceeding this way,

No. 81. Vol. IV.

by acknowledging the King in the first place, says his Lordship, seems natural, civil, and unexceptionable; but any other scheme is absurd and inconsistent with all the rest of our proceedings.' And he then concludes, ' For God's sake, dear *Matt*, hide the nakedness of thy Country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with, to the blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians, than the *French* are Poets.'

Lord *Dartmouth*, it seems, thought fit to acquiesce, and, the same day that this letter was writ, dispatched orders to Lord *Lexington*, to acknowledge King *Philip* in the first place, notwithstanding his former instructions to the contrary.

But to return to the *Catalans*: The Ministers did not shew that zeal for the Queen's honour, as might be expected, but plainly gave up this matter. Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his letter to the Queen's Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, tells them, ' It is not for the interest of *England* to preserve the *Catalan* liberties; and likewise begs leave to make an observation to them, that the *Catalan* privileges are the power of the purse and sword; but that the *Castilian* privileges, which the King of *Spain* will give them (in exchange for the *Catalan*) are the liberty of trading and resorting to the *West-Indies*, and a capacity of holding those beneficial employments the King has to bestow in *America*, which, says his Lordship, are of infinitely greater value to those, who intend to live in a due subjection to authority.'

Lord *Lexington* also, instead of supporting the *Catalan* privileges, treated the people as rebels; and to induce *Spain* to make peace with *Portugal*, puts Monsieur *Orry* in mind of the necessity *Spain* is in of withdrawing their troops from *Andalusia*, in order to end the rebellion of the *Catalans*.

When the Convention was forced upon the Emperor for evacuating *Catalonia*, the Imperial Ministers at *Utrecht* insisted upon the preserving, by that treaty, the privileges of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, and *Ivica*. But *France* and her Confederates insisting, that this matter should be referred to the peace, the Imperial Ministers at last acquiesced, upon the Queen of *Great-Britain's* declaring again, ' That she would interpose her good offices in the most effectual manner, to obtain the privileges of *Catalonia*, *Majorca*, and *Ivica*.' And the *French* King engaged, at the same time, to join his endeavours for that purpose. Hereupon, the Negotiation in *Spain* was kept up, till our treaty of peace with that Crown was ripe, by which the *Catalan* liberties were to be abandoned. This Lord *Lexington* signed, contenting himself with protesting against that article at the same time he signed it, as he had writ word before he intended to do; and that therefore the Queen was entirely at liberty to reject it. Notwithstanding the King of *Spain's* former refusal, Lord *Lexington* is again directed to insist upon the *Catalan* privileges, and is again told, That the Queen thought herself obliged by the strongest ties, those of honour and conscience, to insist upon it for a people, whom the necessity of the war had obliged her to draw into her interest. His Lordship had signed the treaty with *Spain* before these orders to present another memorial arrived. He thereupon acquaints the Marquis de *Bedmar*, that he was sorry he was obliged to do any

thing, which he knew was against the King's sentiments, but having received express orders, he must follow his duty, and presents the following memorial:

'The under-written Minister of the Queen of Great-Britain, in pursuance of the strict orders he received the last post, is obliged most humbly to renew the instances he has so frequently made to your Majesty in favour of the *Catalans*. The Queen orders him to represent, that she has nothing more at heart, than to obtain for these people the same privileges they formerly enjoyed, which she thinks herself obliged to do by the two strongest motives, that are possible, honour and conscience, that she may not leave a Nation, which the misfortune of war obliged her to draw into her interest, in a worse condition than she found them. She hopes, that after all the pains she has taken for procuring a solid and lasting peace to Europe, your Majesty will not leave her with the grief of having been the occasion of the loss of the privileges of that people; but rather, that in respect to the strict friendship, which with God's blessing is so near being established between your Majesties, as well as the Union so necessary to the interests of both Nations, your Majesty will not make any difficulty any longer, to grant this favour to her Majesty, which she has so much at heart.'

The Marquis de Bedmar's answer to this memorial was, That this point about the *Catalans* having been debated in the treaty lately concluded, and signed in this Court by his Excellency and himself, which his Excellency will own, and may be pleased to acknowledge, the King does not see, that any thing farther is to be done in the matter.

This treaty was sent to England, and ratified by the Queen. Lord Dartmouth says, in his letter to Lord Lexington, that Lord Bolingbroke had the principal share in the Negotiation; and that the article of the *Catalans* was put in as soft terms, as was consistent with the Queen's honour to allow.

The terms of the treaty are, That the *Catalans* shall have the same privileges as the King's best beloved subjects the *Castilians* enjoy.

When the King of Spain had received this convincing proof of our Ministry's attachment to his interests, and that the ties of the Queen's honour and conscience were of no force with them, when opposed to his desires, he takes a further step, and directly proposes to Lord Lexington, that the Queen would assist him with ships to block up Barcelona. His Lordship's answer was, That he was afraid this proposal would meet with this difficulty, That her Majesty would be very unwilling to lend her ships to exterminate a people that had taken up arms, in a great measure, at the instigation of her Ministers: And that she would think she had done enough to gratify the King, in not insisting upon the preserving for them their antient liberties, without helping to destroy them. But the regard the Ministry had to this request of the King, will afterwards appear.

The French Ambassador and the Princefs des Ursins, proposed to Lord Lexington, (and the night before he left Madrid, the King sent for him, and engaged him) to write a letter, concerted with him, and approved by the King, to the Regency of Barcelona, advising them to

submit themselves to their King. His Lordship assures them of his constant endeavours to do the best he could for them: That God had not permitted him to do more than he had done: That if they would take their resolutions soon, before he was out of Spain, he would write for them in the manner they should desire: And concludes his letter with new assurances of his concern for their interest.

To make this appear the more friendly to them, he tells them, he had intrusted the Consul at Alicante to get this letter conveyed to them, upon some pretence or other; though a duplicate of it was also sent to the Count of Leobenraine, one of the King of Spain's Generals, before the town, with direction to have it sent in as by a deserter, without his knowledge.

Mr Burch, his Lordship's Secretary, amongst other reasons, gives this for the writing this letter, That if the *Catalans* had a mind to accommodate, the Queen would have the mediation: And if they had not, that then the Court of Spain would see, that her Majesty would be always ready to serve them.

But this artifice to induce the *Catalans* to abandon their defence, in hopes of his Lordship's good offices, had no effect upon men determined to die for the liberty of their Country. Nothing but force could extort that from them; and therefore Sir Patrick Lawless, in September 1713, presents a memorial to the same effect, with what was proposed the month before to Lord Lexington in Spain, setting forth, that the *Catalans* and *Majorcans* had not submitted themselves to the King's obedience, and interrupted all commerce and correspondence in the Mediterranean; and submits it to the consideration of the Queen, not only as guarantee of the treaty of evacuation, but as it concerned the interests of Great-Britain; and therefore his Catholic Majesty hopes, the Queen will order a Squadron of her ships to reduce his subjects to their obedience; and thereby compleat the Tranquillity of Spain, and of the Mediterranean commerce.

As soon as the season of the year would permit, a fleet is accordingly fitted out for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir James Wylbart, whose first instructions bear date the 28th of February, and the additional 18th of March 1713-14; by which he is ordered to enforce a strict obedience to the treaty of evacuation in all its parts, upon any complaints of the Queen's subjects, of interrupting of commerce or depredations by the vessels of Catalonia, Majorca, Sardinia, Naples, and other places, to demand restitution; and, in case of a refusal, to make reprisals: To repair with the fleet before Barcelona, then besieged by the enemy, and demand immediate payment of the value of the Queen's stores in the town, or a sufficient security for payment in some reasonable time: To take care to time his arrival before the town, according to the advices from Lord Bingley, then designed to be sent to Spain: By the strongest representations to induce the Regency of Barcelona to accept of the terms, that shall be obtained for them: To take all the necessary measures, pursuant to the Queen's intentions, to put an end to the confusions that now reign in those parts: And all proper methods of persuasion to induce the inhabitants of Majorca to submit to the terms that shall be offered them; and, in case

of refusal, to employ his squadron in countenancing and assisting all attempts, which may be made for reducing them to a due obedience.

It may be observed here,

1. That although the Queen had engaged herself by the treaty of evacuation, to employ her good offices in the most effectual manner, to obtain the *Catalans* their liberties; yet instead thereof, the most effectual methods were used to the contrary; and Mr *Prior* acquainted Monsieur *de Torcy*, that the Queen was assured, the *Catalans* would submit upon the terms before offered by the King of *Spain*, without so much as mentioning their antient privileges any more.

2. That the *French* King, who had put himself under the same obligation as the Queen by that treaty, after this account from Mr *Prior* of the Queen's sentiments, thought fit also not to ask for their privileges; Mr *de Torcy* also alledging, that the King had little interest with the Court of *Spain*.

3. That *Britain* was under the same engagements by that treaty, to support the privileges of *Majorca*, as those of *Catalonia*, at the time Sir *James Wilsbart* had direct orders to attack them.

4. That when those rigorous measures were forming against the *Catalans*, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes word to Mr *Prior*, 'That by what we observe in the *Catalan* Agent here, of whom we have never taken the least notice as a public man, it is pretty plain, that a reasonable accommodation might be made, as he expresses it, with that turbulent people.' What was called *turbulency* in the *Catalans*, may appear by their answer to the Duke of *Popoli*, the King of *Spain's* General, who summoned them to surrender. They told him, they would die rather than be slaves; but if their antient liberties were confirmed to them, they would open their gates, and receive him with all gladness.

The House of Lords expressed their concern in a public manner for the miseries of the *Catalans*; and by their address to the Queen, April 3, 1714, made it their most humble and earnest request to her Majesty, 'That she would be graciously pleased to continue her interposition in the most pressing manner, that the *Catalans* may have the full enjoyment of their just and antient privileges continued to them.' Her Majesty's answer was, 'That at the time she concluded her peace with *Spain*, she resolved to use her interposition upon every occasion, for obtaining those liberties, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes to which that people are exposed by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them.'

Hereupon, for form's sake, and to allay the indignation conceived against the Ministry by the people in general, who compassionated the calamities of those who fought for liberty; the demand of the *Catalan* privileges is again put down in Lord *Bingley's* instruction, who was before ordered to go to *Spain*, but was never sent. So that the only favour obtained from the Ministry by this earnest address of the House of Lords in behalf of the *Catalans*, was an intimation sent by Lord *Bolingbroke* to the Admiral, not to appear before *Barcelona*, nor to attack the *Majorcans*, till he should hear from Lord *Bingley*, and receive directions from *England*: And also a letter from his Lordship to Mr *Grimaldo*, above two months after the address, though the town was invested at the time of making it,

wherein he makes a kind and friendly complaint, as he terms it, that the *Catalan* privileges had not been yet granted them, nor any reasonable terms offered, which they must either have accepted, or forfeited the Queen's compassion, and that of the whole world.

The Admiral had also his scruples, whether his orders, couched in ambiguous terms, would justify him in attacking *Barcelona*. He therefore writes to Lord *Bolingbroke* and Lord *Bingley* upon it, and submits it to Lord *Bingley's* consideration, whether the *Catalans* might not refuse conditions, that may be most advantageous, if they find he is not to act by force; and desires, that his orders to act before *Barcelona*, either by force or otherwise, may be very plain and clear; assuring him, that he will most punctually obey those already given him, and such as he shall hereafter receive.

When Sir *James Wilsbart* arrived at *Cádiz*, he gave the Governor a list of the ships under his command for the *Mediterranean* service, who sent it immediately to *Madrid*: But though several messages came from Court to the Governor during the Admiral's stay there, no one compliment was made him, to signify his arrival was welcome, or any question asked about what services he was to perform; which a little surprized him: That as soon as they had an account at *Madrid* of his arrival at *Cádiz*, Mr *Orry* was dispatched to *Catalonia* with full power to treat with the *Catalans*: 'So that, says he, it would appear, that though the King of *Spain* has all the advantages of the Queen's ships, as much as if they were actually before *Barcelona*, by representing to those people, which they very well knew, our arrival in those parts, and how far we are on our way to the *Mediterranean*; yet the King would not seem to owe the success of such agreement to the Queen and her ships, but to *France* only.'

But this Negotiation of Mr *Orry* failing of success, by the *Catalans* refusing to submit, without having their liberties granted them, obliged the Court of *Spain* to take more notice, than otherwise they were inclined to do, of the Admiral, who, from *Alicant*, writes to Lord *Bingley*, then expected at *Madrid*. That he had received a very civil letter from Mr *Grimaldo*, who sent him the King's orders for exempting the provisions for the fleet from paying any duty. He tells him, That this exemption was usually granted to the Admiral himself, that commanded; but, being a trifle, he submits it to his Lordship's better judgment, whether the granting him this might not be a means to prevent any thing that might be intended by the Court of *Madrid* more to his advantage; and leaves it to his Lordship's consideration, what may be most for his interest at that place; and hopes, by his friendship, to find some marks of favour from thence, in regard to his expence in this expedition, so much intended for their service, and for which he has no allowance from home but his pay, which will not defray half his charges.

In another letter of Sir *James Wilsbart* to Lord *Bingley*, he acquaints his Lordship, that though he had formerly desired him to move the King of *Spain*, that the grant of exemption of duties for provisions for the fleet might be made to himself; yet, upon farther consideration of the matter, which is but of small moment, and may appear greater at the Court of *Spain* and
England

England than really it is, he desires his Excellency not to take any notice of it, but let it stand as it does; and desires his countenance and assistance upon any other occasion, that the Court of Madrid might take to express their good-will to him. Nor was it long before the Admiral gave the Court of Spain more particular proofs, that he was not unworthy of their expected favours.

After Barcelona had been invested a considerable time by the Spaniards, and reduced to great difficulties for want of provisions, the French King, though engaged with the Queen by the treaty of evacuation, to employ his good offices in the most effectual manner, in favour of the Catalan liberties, thought fit to send his troops against them, commanded by Marshal Berwick, who opened the trenches before Barcelona the 1st of July, O. S. 1714. And, on the 8th of the same month, Sir James Walsart, in the Queen's name, writ them a threatening letter, directed to the Deputies, and others, who possessed the Government there, telling them, that complaints had been made of their disturbing the commerce of the Queen's subjects; and that they had insolently presumed to take, carry up, and plunder their ships, and used the men in a barbarous manner: He had therefore thought fit to send Captain Gordon with two men of war, to represent to them these unwarrantable and presumptuous proceedings; and by the Queen's command demands immediate satisfaction for the same, and the punishment of the Officers of the ships with the utmost severity. If this be not punctually complied with, he leaves it to themselves to judge what the consequences may be.

The Deputies returned answer, 'That only one of those vessels, mentioned in Captain Gordon's memorial, was taken by them into Barcelona, being laden with salt, for which they paid the price immediately to the Captain of it: That being besieged, they thought they might do so with justice. and by the law of Nations: That they were so far from living like pirates, as their enemies suggested, in order to distress them, by preventing any one's coming with provisions for their relief: That what English vessels had entered their ports with provisions, had been well treated, and had freely sold their merchandize, and at a higher price, than they could have got any where else: That they had paid them with their best sort of money, and to all their satisfactions: That they had that day published an order, forbidding, upon pain of death, any of their ships to molest any English, even though they were going with provisions to the enemy. They hoped his Excellency will be satisfied with their conduct, which is conformable to the rights of people, that are besieged; assuring him, that when they know any of their ships, either with Commission, or without, that shall have caused the least damage to any English, they will not only immediately inflict a rigorous punishment, but repair all the damage, desiring to live in the good correspondence they have had with this noble and generous Nation, with the utmost deference for the Queen, and ready to obey his Excellency's orders with all affection and respect.'

The Government of Barcelona, in their extremity, writ another letter to the Admiral, dated July 23, setting forth, 'That his Excellency very well knew, that the engagement Catalo-

nia entered into to receive Charles the Third for their King, was founded on the protection of the High Allies, but most particularly of England, without which they were not capable of undertaking so great an enterprise. That they had, for seven years together, endeavoured to serve the English Nation in every thing it was possible for them to do, by contributing troops and considerable sums of money without interest. And though they had pleased themselves with the thoughts of the happiness to be always subjects of Charles III, yet by the ordinary change, to which human affairs are liable, they now see the troops of the Duke of Anjou, aided by the French, Masters of all the Principality, except Barcelona and Cardona, committing through the whole the most execrable hostilities, burnings, and plunderings, without sparing the effusion of innocent blood, and without distinction of age or sex. That for a year together the enemy's army had oppressed Barcelona by sea and land, making them continually suffer the calamity of so long a blockade, during which time the enemies have thrown fourteen thousand bombs into the town; which have ruined the greatest part of the houses: That now they expect to be attacked in form, and that in twenty-four hours the town will be battered in breach. They cannot express their affliction, to see the danger of the Inhabitants exposed to be victims of that cruelty, with which the enemy threatens to treat them. Having no comfort left, they fly to the Queen of Great-Britain, beseeching her protection by the enclosed letter to Don Dalmases, their Envoy at London; and, in the mean time, till an answer can come, they beseech his Excellency, from their souls, to mediate with the French troops, who oppressed them, for a suspension of arms, since the congress at Baden, now sitting, to conclude of a general peace, may still determine this affair: They doubt not, that his mediation will be able to procure them this relief, since his Squadron is superior to that of the enemy. They see no other remedy in nature for their misfortunes; and therefore hope his Excellency will not refuse them: That if Catalonia has merited any thing by its services, and by its conjunction with the English Nation, this is the time to receive the fruits of it: That it is worthy of his Excellency to comfort the afflicted, and not to deny them this favour in their great necessity.'

How the Admiral was affected with this letter, appears by one of his to Lord Bingley, dated Aug. 7, 1714, wherein he acquaints him, 'That Mr Grimaldo had signified to him from the King of Spain, that all the King's ships of war being employed before Barcelona, his Majesty could not send any of them to meet his Flota then coming home; and therefore desired the Admiral to send three of his upon that service;' which was accordingly complied with. Of this he had acquainted Lord Bolingbroke, and hoped to meet with her Majesty's approbation.

The Catalans thus abandoned and given up to their enemies, contrary to faith and honour, were not, however, wanting to their own defence; but appealing to Heaven, and hanging up at the High Altar the Queen's solemn declaration to protect them, underwent the utmost miseries of a siege; during which multitudes perished by famine and the sword, many were afterwards

afterwards executed, and many persons of figure were dispersed about the *Spanish* Dominions in dungeons.

III. *The Lord Oxford's Letter to the Queen,*
June 9, 1714.

May it please your Majesty,

I Presume, in obedience to your Royal command, to lay before your Majesty a state of your affairs. Though I have very much contracted it from the draught I made, and the vouchers from whence it is taken, yet I find it swell under my pen in transcribing, being willing to put every thing before your Majesty in the clearest light my poor understanding can attain to. It was necessary to lay it before your Majesty in the series of time, from the beginning to this present time; and when that is completely laid before you, it remains only for me to beg God to direct your Majesty.

And as to myself, do with me what you please; place me either as a figure, or a cypher; displace me or replace me, as that best serves your Majesty's occasions, you shall ever find me, with the utmost devotion, and without any reserve,

M A D A M,

*Your most dutiful, most faithful,
most humble, most obedient subject,
and unworthy servant,*

O X F O R D.

A brief account of public affairs, since Aug. 8, 1710, to this present 8th of June, 1714. To which is added, the state of affairs abroad, as they relate to this Kingdom; with some humble proposals for securing the future tranquillity of her Majesty's Reign, and the safety of her Kingdoms.

Her Majesty, on the 8th of August 1710, was pleased to alter her Treasury, and two days after, in a new Commission, *Robert Harley*, by her Majesty's great favour, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The state of affairs at home and abroad are fresh in every one's memory.

The condition of the Treasury at that time was laid before her Majesty in a large representation.

I beg leave to touch some few heads: The army was in the field, no money in the Treasury; none of the Remitters would contract again; the Bank had refused to lend a hundred thousand pounds to Lord *Gadolphin*, on very good security; the Navy, and others branches of service, eleven millions in debt, which enhanced the price of every thing proportionably; the Civil List in debt about six hundred thousand pounds; and the yearly income too little for the current certain expence, by the lowest computation, one hundred twenty-four thousand, four hundred ninety-five pounds, two shillings and four-pence.

In a few days this new Commission made provision for paying the army, by the greatest remittance that had ever been known: Though the opposition from every office, which was full

Numb. LXXXII. Vol. IV.

of persons who were enemies to the change made by the Queen, was very strong, and very troublesome and vexatious: And such was the situation of affairs, that nothing but great patience could ever have overcome these difficulties; it being impossible, as well as unavoidable, to make removes, but by degrees.

As soon as it was possible (and notwithstanding the clamours then raised, it was the only proper time) a new Parliament is called.

Its first meeting was November 27, 1710. *Robert Harley* had prepared the funds ready (before the Parliament met, as he had done every Session to this day) not only for the current service of the year, both by sea and land, but also for easing the Nation of above nine millions of debt. This was thought so chimerical, when *Robert Harley* did begin to open it, that it was treated with ridicule, until he showed how practicable it was. It is true, this gave great reputation abroad, and enabled to treat advantageously of a peace. It raised sinking credit at home; but, at the same time, as it drew envy upon *Harley* from some, and the rage of others, so it gave offence to some of his fellow-servants, who told him plainly, that he ought to have told his secret, and if he would not get money himself, he ought to have let his friends share a hundred thousand pounds, which would not have been felt, or found out, in so vast a sum as nine or ten millions.

To this principle was owing the setting on foot at this time the unhappy voyage to *Canada*; to all which meetings *Harley* avoiding coming, and gave Lord *Rochester* his reasons; and after he desired his Lordship to be a means to the Queen, to hinder that expedition, but it happened to be too late. But Lady *Masham* knows how much *Harley* was concerned at it, though he did not know the true spring of that voyage, which will appear after in this paper.

The beginning of February 1710-11, there began to be a division among those called *Tories* in the House, and Mr Secretary *St John* thought it convenient to be lifting a separate party for himself.

To prevent this, Lord *Rochester* and *Harley* desired to have a meeting, and to cool such rash attempts; and it was contrived Mr Secretary *St John* should invite us to dinner (which was the last time he ever invited *Robert Harley*, being now above three years) where was the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Earl *Poulet*, Lord *Rochester*, and others; and Lord *Rochester* took the pains to calm the spirit of division and ambition.

Harley was at this time seized by a violent fever; and on his first coming abroad, March 8, met with a misfortune which confined him many weeks. The transactions during that time, are too public, as well as too black, for *Harley* to remember or to mention.

In the end of May, 1711, the Queen, out of her abounded goodness, was pleased to confer undeserved honours on *Robert Harley*; and, on the 29th of the same month, was pleased to put the Treasurer's Staff into his hands: A post so much above *Harley's* abilities to struggle with, that he had nothing but integrity and duty to recommend him to her Majesty's choice; so he must have recourse to her Majesty's transcendent goodness and mercy to pardon all his faults and failings, both of omission and commission, during the whole course of his service.

5 E

But

But to return and resume the thread of this discourse. The 4th of June 1711, three days after the Treasurer was sworn, he was surprized with a demand of twenty-eight thousand thirty-six pounds and five shillings, for arms and merchandize, said to be sent to *Canada*. When the Treasurer scrupled this, Mr Secretary *St John* and Mr *Moore* came to him with much passion upon this affair; and, about a fortnight after, the Secretary of State signified the Queen's positive pleasure to have that money paid: And accordingly her Majesty signed a warrant, June 21, and the Treasure not being able then, with all his precaution, to discover further light, the money was paid, July 4, 1711.

Since the return from that expedition, the secret is discovered, and the Treasurer's suspicion justified: For the public was cheated of above twenty thousand pounds.

There is reason to be more particular upon this head, because it is one of the things never to be forgiven the Treasurer; and Lord-Chancellor told him more to that purpose, that they told him no Government was worth serving, that would not let them make those advantages, and get such jobs.

One thing more is craved leave to be added, That the Treasurer was forced to use all his skill and credit to keep the House of Commons from examining this affair last Parliament.

June the 12, 1712, the first Session of last Parliament ended.

From this time, to the beginning of the next Session, the Treasurer's hands were full of negotiating the peace in all Courts abroad; and besides the ordinary and necessary duty of his office at home, he had frequent occasions of calming the quarrels and grudges Mr Secretary had sometimes against Lord *Dartmouth*, sometimes against Lady *Masham*, and sometimes against the Treasurer himself.

The second Session of the last Parliament began December the 7th, 1711.

This was attended with great difficulties and dangers, as well from the practices of the discontented here, as the designs carried on by Mr *Buyt*, Prince *Eugene*, and *Boikmar*; in which designs concurred the Emperor, and other States and Princes who gained by the war.

This put her Majesty under a sort of necessity to preserve the whole, and to take a method which had been used, to create some new Peers.

So many have been brought formerly out of the House of Commons, of those who used to manage public affairs, it was proposed to Mr Secretary, That if he would be contented to stay in the House of Commons that Sessions, her Majesty would have the goodness to create him a Peer, and that he should not lose his rank.

The second Session ended the 21st of June, 1712, and notwithstanding *Boikmar's* memorial, and all other attacks both from abroad and at home, Supplies were provided, and every thing relating to the Public put upon a good foot, and the Malecontents began to despair, as appeared by the Duke of *Marlborough's* retiring abroad, and other particulars.

After the Session was ended, the Queen, as she had promised, ordered a warrant for Mr Secretary *St John* to be a Viscount: This happened to put him in the utmost rage against

the Treasurer, Lady *Masham*, and without sparing the Greatest.

It did avail very little to tell him how much he had got in place; for had he been created with the other Lords, it would have fallen to his share to have come next after Lord *Trevor*: But the Treasurer, with great patience, bore all the storm, of which Lord *Masham* was often a witness of the outrageous speeches; and Mr *Moore* very lately told the Treasurer, that Lord *Bolingbroke* said very lately to him, that he owed him a revenge upon that head.

This discontent continued, until there happened an opportunity of sending him to *France*; of which there was not much occasion: But it was hoped, that this would have put him in good humour; which it did, until in October 1712, there were Knights of the Garter made.

This created a new disturbance, which is too well remembered, and breaks out now very often in outrageous expressions publicly against all then made.

In November, on the death of Duke *Hamilton*, he was much against Duke *Shrewsbury's* going, for reasons very plain, which then were in Negotiation: For before the last Session of that Parliament began, a new model was framed, or a scheme of Ministry; which how they afterwards came to fall out, will appear in its due place.

The third and last Session began April the 9th, 1713; which was as soon as the peace was concluded, and could be proclaimed.

It is not decent to take notice, That during this whole Negotiation, the Treasurer was obliged, by his own hand, and his own charge, to correspond in all the Courts concerned in the Negotiation; and very often he had the good luck to set right several mistakes, and to obtain some things very little expected: But the only merit of this belongs to her Majesty, the credit of whose favour brought it about, and gave power to the Treasurer to act with success.

During this Session, the Lords of the Cabinet, and others, met every Saturday at the Treasurer's, in order to carry on the Queen's business, as they had done the year before on *Thursday's*. Many offers were made, and repeated by the Treasurer, in order to attack former offenders, and quiet the minds of the Gentlemen, and of the Church-party; and the only reason for this failing, was, because of the project laid for their new scheme, and putting themselves at the head, as they called it, of the Church-party.

This being the last Session of Parliament, and some Gentlemen fearing their elections, and some for other reasons, dropt the bill of Commerce.

The Treasurer saw this opportunity, and immediately took it, and prevailed with Sir *Thomas Hammer*, and others, to come into the payment of the civil list debts, incurred before the change of the Treasury, though the present Treasurer was railed at, and maligned; which he chose to bear patiently, rather than own the true reason, that there was no money to do it with, which would have ruined all at once.

This step of paying the debts, put the Malecontented into the utmost rage, which they did very publicly express in both Houses.

This last Session of that Parliament, and the third since the change of the Ministry, ended July the 16, 1713.

The peace with *France* being over, and it growing necessary to put her Majesty's affairs into a further and more settled regulation, and to ease the Treasurer of the burthen, as well as envy, of such a bulk of business: Her Majesty was pleased to approve of the scheme of the Duke of *Ormond's* staying here to attend the army affairs, which was necessary at the time of disbanding; Duke *Shrewsbury* to go to *Ireland*, upon his return from *France*; Lord *Findlater* to be Chancellor of *Scotland*; Lord *Mar* third Secretary; Lord *Dartmouth* Privy-Seal, and Mr *Bromley* Secretary of State, and Sir *William Wyndham* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*. I am sure the Queen very well remembers the rage this caused, as perfectly defeating their scheme, and shewing that her Majesty would put her affairs upon a solid foot: The Lord-Chancellor said it was against law, and to this day will not treat Lord *Findlater* with decency; and Lord *Mar* has met with many ill treatments, as well as Mr Secretary *Bromley*.

But that the Treasurer might leave them without excuse, and make her Majesty's affairs, if possible, easy with and to those in her service; as soon as he was recovered enough to write, he wrote a large letter to Lord *Bolingbroke*, containing his scheme of the Queen's affairs, and what was necessary for Lord *Bolingbroke* to do, as belonging only to his province. This letter was dated *July* the 25th, 1713, and was answered *July* the 27th, by Lord *Bolingbroke*; the copy was shewn to Lady *Majbam*, who came to visit the Treasurer then confined to his chamber; and she then thought it a very good one, and what was proper for the occasion. I believe the whole would be of use to give light to her Majesty into the ground and foundation of the follies and madnefs which have since appeared; the whole is ready for her Majesty's perusal when she pleases.

In this letter the Treasurer gives an account to Lord *Bolingbroke* of the occasions, or rather the pretences, for giving disturbance to the Queen's servants. He proposes the remedy, and what was requisite to be done by him as Secretary in his own province, and also assurance of the Treasurer's assistance to the utmost, and of his desire to consult with him (Lord *Bolingbroke*) how to unite the rest of our friends.

Being then sick, the Treasurer took the liberty to put Lord *Bolingbroke* in mind of the several particulars which then required dispatch, and were solely belonging to his province, without any other interposition than that of taking your Majesty's direction.

Amongst others, that of a circular letter upon the addresses of both Houses, relating to the Pretender.

This was not done in three months. His Lordship wrote word it was done *July* the 27th.

In the same letter the Treasurer proposed, that (according to the treaty of peace) care should be taken of the following particulars, viz. *Newfoundland*, *Hudson's-Bay*, *Acadia*, *St Christopher's*, *Assiento*, and other things contained in the treaties of Commerce.

These particulars the Treasurer thought to have been executed, until within a few weeks he heard the contrary by accident, and that the time in the several treaties was elapsed. Upon this, the Treasurer on *Wednesday*, *June* the 2d, told Mr *Moore* of this, and that every body

would be liable to blame who are in the Queen's service. *Thursday*, *June* the 3d, 1714, Lord *Bolingbroke* writes to the Treasurer a letter, which begins thus:

'Mr *Moore* has been this morning with me, and has put into my hands a paper, which he calls, I think not improperly, a charge upon me.'

This paper contains the neglect above-mentioned in the Treasurer's letter, of *July* the 25th, 1713, and yet those faults are now charged upon the Treasurer.

From this account it is observable, that the Earl of *Oxford* took to himself the credit of corresponding with his own hand, and at his own charge, in all the Courts concerned in the Negotiations of peace, and that very often he had the good luck to set right several mistakes, and obtain some things little expected: That he boasted of his laying hold of a seasonable opportunity in Parliament, upon rejecting the bill of Commerce, to prevail with Members of the House of Commons to come into the payment of the Civil List debts; and also charged several persons, then in high stations, with corruption, and embezzlement of the public money; and recommended himself to the Queen, by having used all his skill and credit to keep the House of Commons from examining into the same. The Committee of Secrecy having received information, that large sums of money had been directed for special services relating to the war, by signs-manual, and warrants upon the same, countersigned by the Earl, which sums were afterwards paid to his order, the Committee thought it incumbent upon them to lay before the House copies of these signs-manual and warrants, and orders thereupon, together with extracts from the register of the *Exchequer*, by which it appeared, that these large sums issued for the service of the war, were received and applied to the Earl's private use.

IV. A letter from the States-General to the Queen of Great-Britain, &c. dated Hague, June 5, 1712, N. S.

MADAM,

AFTER all the proofs which your Majesty has given during the course of your glorious Reign, of your great zeal for the Public Good, and of your adherence to the Common Cause of the High Allies; after so many marks you have had the goodness to give us, of your tender affection, and of your Friendship to our Republic; and after the repeated assurances you have given us, and that very lately too, of your intentions, that your troops should act against the common enemy, until the war was concluded by a general peace: It is impossible we should not be surprized and afflicted by two declarations we have lately received, one after another, in the name of your Majesty; the first by the Duke of *Ormond* your General, that 'he could undertake nothing without new orders from you;' the other by the Bishop of *Bristol*, your Plenipotentiary to the Congress at *Utrecht*, 'That your Majesty perceiving that we did not answer as we ought, the proposals which you had made us, and that we would not act in concert with your Ministers on the subject of peace,

you

you would take your measures apart: And that you did not look upon yourself to be now under any obligation whatever, with respect to us.

As soon as we had notice of those declarations, we sent orders to our Minister, who has the honour to reside at your Majesty's Court, to represent to you the reasons of our surprize, and the consequences of those declarations; and to request you with that respect which we always had, and which we shall for ever entertain for your Royal person, that you would give other orders to the Duke of *Ormond*, that he may act with all possible vigour, according to the exigency of the war; and that your Majesty would have the goodness to entertain other sentiments of us, than those which the Bishop of *Bristol* had declared to our Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*.

But the more we consider those declarations, the more important we find them, and the more we apprehend their consequences: Therefore we could not forbear applying ourselves by this letter directly to your Majesty, hoping that you will consider it, as we promise ourselves you will, both from your great prudence and wisdom, and from your so much famed zeal for the public welfare; particularly from your usual friendship and affection for us and our Republic.

We protest before all things, that as we ever had a true friendship, as well as the highest respect for your Majesty, and a sincere affection to all your interests, with an earnest desire to live in a perfect good understanding and union with you; we have still the same sentiments, and shall always preserve them, wishing for nothing more, than to be able to give your Majesty the most convincing proofs of it.

After this, we pray your Majesty to consider, according to your great penetration, whether we have not just ground to be surprized, when we see a stop put, by an order in your Majesty's name, without our knowledge, to the operations of the Confederate army, the finest and strongest which perhaps has been in the field, during the whole course of the war, and provided with all necessaries to act with vigour; and this, after they had marched, according to the resolution taken in concert with your Majesty's General, almost up to the enemy, with a great superiority, both as to the number and goodness of troops, and animated with a noble courage and zeal to acquit themselves bravely; so that, in all human appearance, and with the Divine Assistance, which we have experienced so visibly on so many other occasions, we should have been able, either by battle or sieges, to gain great advantages over the enemy, to have bettered the Affairs of the Allies, and to facilitate the Negotiations of Peace.

We flatter ourselves indeed with the hopes, which the Duke of *Ormond* has given us, That in a few days he expects other orders; but in the mean time, we are sorry to see one of the finest opportunities lost, being uncertain whether we shall have another so favourable, since the enemy have time given them to fortify themselves, and take their precautions, while the army of the Allies lies still without action; and, consuming the forage all round, deprive themselves of the means of subsisting for time to come, in those places where, by concert, the operations of the campaign were designed; which may make such enterprizes impossible hereafter, as were practicable now, and consequently ren-

der the whole campaign unsuccessful, to the inestimable prejudice of the common cause of the High Allies.

Certainly when we consider the army as it really is, composed of the troops of your Majesty and the other Allies, joined together by common concert, to act for the greatest advantage and furtherance of the Common Cause, and the assurances which your Majesty had given us by your Letters, by your Ministers, and last of all, by your General the Duke of *Ormond*, of 'your intentions that your troops should be ordered to act with their usual vigour,' as well as the engagements into which your Majesty is entered, not only with respect to us, but also separately and jointly with us, in respect to the other Allies; it is very difficult for us to conjecture and conceive, how an order so prejudicial to the common cause, given so suddenly, without our knowledge, and undoubtedly too without the knowledge of the other Allies, can agree and consist with the nature of an Alliance, and with those assurances and engagements just now mentioned. For though, according to the declaration of the Bishop of *Bristol*, your Majesty holds yourself to be disengaged from every obligation with regard to us, it is plain, that the matter now in question is not our particular interest or advantage, but that of all the Allies, who will suffer by the prejudice, which an order so little expected must needs bring to the Common Cause.

But, Madam, we cannot forbear telling your Majesty, that the declaration made by the Bishop of *Bristol*, at *Utrecht*, has no less surprized us, than that of the Duke of *Ormond* in the army. It appears to us so extraordinary, that we know not how to reconcile it with the great goodness and kindness which your Majesty has always honoured us with; and not being able to conceive how such a sudden change could happen, with respect to us, we are not only surprized, but afflicted at it. We have carefully examined our conduct, and find nothing in it, that can have given ground to that dissatisfaction which your Majesty expresses with us, by this declaration.

From the very first day that your Majesty ascended the Throne, we testified all the deference that you could desire from a State in friendship and alliance with you. We carefully sought after your amity and affection, and considering the happy effects which a good intelligence, harmony, and union between your Majesty and us, and the two Nations, might produce, and have really produced, and the advantage which resulted from thence to both, as well as to the common cause of all the Allies, we made it our business heartily to cultivate them, and more and more to gain your Majesty's confidence, and to conform ourselves to your sentiments as much as possibly we could.

We think that we gave a signal proof of this, particularly with regard to the Negotiations of peace; since not only after we were informed of the Conferences formerly held in *England* upon this subject, we did expect that your Majesty would give us an account of them; having this firm confidence in your friendship for our Republic, and in your zeal for the Good of the Common Cause, that nothing would be done to prejudice us, nor the other Allies: But also when your Majesty communicated to us the preliminary

nary articles signed by M. *Mefnager* in *England*, and when you propofed to us the calling and holding a Congress for a general peace, and required of us to grant for this end necessary paffports for the enemies Minifters, we confented to it, though we had many reasons, which to us feemed very well grounded, not to enter into fuch a treaty without a better foundation, or at leaft without the concurrence of the other Allies; but we preferred your Majesty's sentiments to our own, in order to give you a new proof of our deference.

We did no lefs, with refpect to the difficulties which were started on the fubject of the treaty of mutual guaranty for the Succeffion of the Proteftant line to your Majesty's Kingdoms, and for our Barrier; a treaty of fuch importance to the two Nations, that we look upon it as the ftrongeft tie that could be thought on to unite for ever the hearts and interefts of both, concluded after the matureft deliberation, and ratified on both fides in the moft authentic form: For though we might have flood to the treaty as it was, yet we entered into a Negotiation upon thofe difficulties, and particularly on the point of the *Affiento*, concerning which, we gave our Plenipotentiaries fuch inftructions, that we no longer doubted but all the difficulties would have been adjusted to mutual content, and that we fhould thereby have entirely regained your Majesty's confidence; and the rather, becaufe, in the firft place, when the meeting of a Congress for a general peace was in hand, your Majesty declared to us by your Ambaffador, 'That you defired no more than our concurrence in that fingle point, and this only mark of our confidence, and that then you would give us ftrong and real proofs of your affection towards us, and of your upright intentions, with refpect to the common caufe of all the Allies;' and that afterwards, when the difficulties about the Succeffion and the Barrier were raifed, your Majesty did likewife affure us, that if we would remit fomething upon the moft effential points, and particularly about the affair of the *Affiento*, it would be the true way to re-eftablifh a mutual confidence; which being once reftored, your Majesty would take particularly to heart the interefts of this State, and act in conjunction with us in the whole Negotiation, to obtain an honourable, good, and fure peace.

But we find ourfelves very much out in our expectation, fince, at the very fame time, when we made the greateft advances towards your Majesty, and that we did verily believe we fhould come to an agreement about the points in difference, we fee the Earl of *Strafford* gone, without finifhing that affair; we fee the army ftopped in the beginning of its career; and we hear a declaration, by which your Majesty looks upon yourfelf to be difengaged from all obligations with us; for which the reasons alledged are, 'That we have not answered as we ought, the advances which your Majesty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your Minifters about the peace.'

If your Majesty will be pleafed to look with a favourable and equitable eye upon our conduct, we flatter ourfelves, and have a firm confidence, that you will find nothing in it which can give you fuch difadvantageous ideas and thoughts of us; but that you will rather find, that we have

performed and do, ftill perform all that we are bound to, as good and faithful Allies; and particularly to your Majesty.

What we have faid already, might perhaps be fufficient to perfuade you of it; but we mult add, that having always efteemed your Majesty's affection, and a good harmony betwixt the two Nations, as one of the ftrongeft fupports of our State, and of the Proteftant Religion, and as one of the moft effectual methods to maintain and advance our common interefts, and thofe of the whole Confederacy; and this fincere opinion being firmly imprinted on our hearts, we were never backward to communicate and confult in all confidence with your Majesty and your Minifters, upon the affairs of peace, according to the foundations laid down in the Grand Alliance and other Treaties. We declare, that we have always been inclinable and ready to do it; and are fo ftill, as far as we can, without prejudice to the other Allies, and without departing from, or acting againft, the Engagements, Treaties, and Alliances which we have entered into.

But, Madam, all the propofals hitherto made to us upon that fubject, were couched in very general terms, without communicating to us the refult of the Negotiations betwixt your Majesty's Minifters and thofe of *France*, nor even your Majesty's thoughts about the fubject, which we ought to have concerted together. It is true, that in fome of the laft Conferences, your Majesty's Minifters demanded to know whether ours were furnifhed with a full power, and authorized to draw up a plan for the peace; but it had been juft, before fuch a thing was demanded of us, That they fhould have communicated the refult of the Negotiations, fo long treated of betwixt your Majesty's Minifters and thofe of the enemy; or, at leaft, they fhould have told us your Majesty's thoughts.

Had that plan related only to your Majesty's intereft and ours, we fhould perhaps have been in the wrong not to have forthwith come into it, though even in that cafe the affair would not have been without its difficulties, fince the leaft notice of it which fhould have come to the enemy, muft have been very prejudicial: But as the plan in queftion concerned the intereft of all the Allies, and almoft all *Europe*, we had very ftrong apprehenfions, That as the particular Negotiations betwixt your Majesty's Minifters and thofe of *France*, and the readinefs with which we confented to the Congress at *Utrecht*, and to the giving of paffports to the enemy's Minifters, had already occafioned abundance of fufpicions, and much uneafinefs to his Imperial Majesty, and the other Allies: We fay, we apprehended, that his Imperial Majesty, and the other Allies coming to know (which would have been very difficult to conceal from them) the concert betwixt your Majesty's Minifters and ours, for a plan of peace, and that before the Minifters of *France* had given a fpecific answer to the demands of the Allies, their fufpicions and uneafinefs would have increafed, and that way of proceeding might have given them ground to entertain prejudicial thoughts, as if it had been the intention of your Majesty and us, to abandon the Grand Alliance and the Common Caufe, or at leaft that we alone took upon us to determine the fate of all the other Allies; by which his Imperial Majesty and the other Confederates

might have been pushed on to separate measures, and to take such steps as would be no ways agreeable to your Majesty's interest.

We thought these reasons strong enough to justify our conduct to your Majesty on this head; and if we did not enter with all the readiness which you might have wished for, into the concert proposed, we hope, that at most, your Majesty will look upon our backwardness, only as an excess of prudence, or of scruple, and not in the least as a want of confidence in your Majesty; while the Allies might have considered it as a departing from the treaties, and particularly from the eighth article of the Grand Alliance. We also hope that your Majesty, for the reasons here alleged, will lay aside those hard thoughts of us, as if we had not answered as we ought, the advances which your Majesty made towards us, and that we would not act in concert with your Ministers, upon the subject of the peace. But, Madam, though your Majesty should not acquiesce in our reasons (of which however we cannot doubt) we pray your Majesty to consider, Whether that be sufficient for your Majesty to think, that you are disengaged from all obligations with respect to us?

Had we acted against, and contravened the engagements and treaties which we had the honour to conclude with your Majesty, we might have expected from your goodness and justice, that you would have represented those Contraventions to us, and not have looked upon yourself to be disengaged, till such time as we had refused to give all necessary redress. But, as we did no ways engage to enter with your Majesty into a concert to draw up a plan of peace, without the participation of the other Members of the Grand Alliance, the backwardness we have shewn upon that head, cannot be looked upon as a contravention of our engagements, and therefore cannot serve to disengage your Majesty from your's, with respect to us, since we are verily persuaded, that we have fully answered all our treaties, and all our Alliances, both with your Majesty, and with the High Allies in general; and that we have done more in this present war, than could in justice and equity have been expected from us. All the difference betwixt your Majesty and us in this point, is no more, if rightly considered, than a disparity of sentiments.

In truth, Madam, if for such a cause betwixt Potentates, allied and united together by the strongest and strictest ties of Alliance, Interest,

and Religion, any one of those Potentates could quit all their engagements, and disengage themselves from all their obligations, there is no tie so strong, which may not be broke at any time; and we know of no engagements that could be relied on, in time to come.

We assure ourselves, that when your Majesty considers the consequences, you will not persist in the declaration which the Bishop of *Bristol* has made: We beseech you, with all the respect, and all the earnestness of which we are capable, that you would not; and also that you would be pleased to revoke the order given to the Duke of *Ormond*, if it be not revoked already; and that you would authorize him to act according to occurrences, and as the exigency of the war, and the advancement of the Common Cause shall require.

We also request you, Madam, to communicate to us the result of the Conferences betwixt your Ministers and those of the enemy, or at least your thoughts upon the peace, and we will endeavour to give your Majesty all imaginable proofs of our deference for your sentiments, and of our sincere desire to preserve your valuable friendship as much as we can, without acting contrary to the faith of the engagements into which we have entered, by Treaties and Alliances with your Majesty, and other Potentates.

We are firmly persuaded, that it is not your Majesty's intention in any manner to break them, since you have always been of the same opinion with us and the other Allies. That a good union betwixt the Allies, not only during the present war, but also after the peace shall be concluded, is, and always will be the most solid, and even the only method to preserve the liberty and independency of all together, and of every one in particular, against the great power of *France*.

We expect also, that after having given such great and signal proofs of your wisdom, of your firmness, and of your zeal for the support of the Common Cause, your Majesty will not now take such resolutions as may be prejudicial to us and to the other Allies; but that, in order to obtain an honourable, sure, and general peace, you will pursue the same methods, and keep to the same maxims which you formerly held, and which Almighty God hath blessed in so remarkable a manner, by victories and great events, which will render the glory of your Majesty's Reign immortal (1).

(1) To these papers it may be proper to add extracts of the Treaties of *Utrecht*.

I. Between Great-Britain and France.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendship.

II. Cessation of all hostilities.

III. All offences, damages, &c. shall be buried in oblivion.

IV. The most Christian King acknowledges the limitation of the Succession to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, in the Protestant Line, and on the faith, word, and honour of a King, declares, He and his Heirs shall accept and approve the same for ever; and promises, that no one besides the Queen and her Successors, according to the said limitation, shall ever, by Him or his Successors, be acknowledged King or Queen of *Great-Britain*; and that he and his Heirs will take

all possible care, that the Person, who, since the decease of King *James*, did take upon him the title of King of *Great-Britain*, shall not, at any time hereafter, return into the Kingdom of *France*, or any the Dominions thereof.

V. The most Christian King promises, for Himself and Heirs, that they will at no time disturb the Queen of *Great-Britain*, her Heirs and Successors of the Protestant line, nor give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, in money, arms, ammunition, stores, ships, soldiers, or any other way, to any person who should oppose the Protestant Succession.

VI. The Union of *France* and *Spain* being the chief foundation of the war, it is provided and settled by renunciations, that these Kingdoms shall never be joined in one*. The most Christian King engages, that

* In this article are included, I. The *French King's* letters patents, which admit the renunciations of the King of *Spain*, and those of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*. II. The King of *Spain's* renunciation. III. The Duke of *Berry's* renunciation. IV. The Duke of *Orleans's* renunciation. V. The *French King's* letters patent of December 1700.

that he will not endeavour to obtain any usage of navigation and trade to Spain and the Spanish Indies, than what was practised in the Reign of Charles II. of Spain, or than what shall be granted to other Nations.

VII. Free Navigation and Commerce, as before the war, and as agreed by the treaty of Commerce this day made between the two Nations.

VIII. That the ordinary distribution of justice be opened, so that the subjects of both sides may sue for, and obtain their rights, according to the laws of each Kingdom.

IX. The most Christian King shall take care, that the fortifications of *Dunkirk*, towards the sea, be razed within two months; and those towards the land within three months, and the harbour be filled up, and the sluices or moles levelled at the King's expence; and that the fortifications, harbours, and moles be never repaired again. All which, however, shall not begin to be ruined, till every thing is put into his hands which is to be given him instead thereof, or an equivalent.

X. *Hudon's Bay* shall be restored to the Queen of Great-Britain.

XI. All damages to the *Hudon's Bay* Company, by depredations of the French in time of peace, shall be satisfied, according to the estimates of Commissaries to be named at the requisition of each party. The same concerning the damages last year in the Island of *Montserrat*, and concerning the things complained of by the French, relating to *Nevis*, and *Castle of Gambia*.

XII. The Island of *St Christopher*, all *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, *Port Royal* or *Annapolis*, shall be delivered to the English, and the French excluded from all kind of fishing in the seas, bays, or other places on the coasts of *Nova Scotia*; that is, on those lying towards the East, within thirty leagues, beginning from *Sable-Island*, and thence stretching along towards the South-west.

XIII. *Newfoundland*, and the adjacent Islands shall belong wholly to Britain; and the town and fortresses of *Placentia* shall be delivered up within seven months. Only it shall be allowed to the French to catch fish, and dry them on land from *Cape Bonaville*, round northward to *Point Riche*. But the Island of *Cape Breton*, as also all others, both in the mouth of the river, and gulph of *St Lawrence*, shall belong to the French.

XIV. A year shall be allowed to the French to remove and carry off their effects, from the places to be yielded up by this treaty, and the free exercise of their Religion, to those that are willing to remain there.

XV. The French of *Canada* shall give no molestation to the five Nations of *Indians*, subject to Britain; and the English shall behave peaceably to the *Americans*, friends of France, and on both sides they shall enjoy full liberty of going and coming on account of trade.

XVI. All letters of reprisal and *marque* shall be recalled, and none granted hereafter, but upon plain proof of a denial, or wrongful delay of justice; and unless the petition of him, who desires the letters of reprisal, be shown to the Minister of that Prince, against whose subjects the letters are demanded, that he, within four months or sooner, may make inquiry, or, procure satisfaction. But in case of no Minister, the letters are not to be granted till after four months, from the day the petition was exhibited to the Prince, against whose subjects the letters are desired, or to his Privy-Council.

XVII. The conditions of the suspension of arms, made the 11th day of *August* last, relating to ships, merchandizes, and other effects, taken on either side, shall be truly executed.

XVIII. But in case through inadvertency or imprudence, any thing should be committed by any subject, whereby any article of this treaty hath not its effect, this peace shall not be interrupted or broken; but that subject alone shall be answerable for his own fact.

XIX. In case of a future war, six months from the day of the rupture shall be allowed to the subjects of each Nation, to remove all their effects, and retire themselves where they please.

XX. Just and reasonable satisfaction shall be given

to all the Queen's Allies, in those matters which they have a right to demand from France.

XXI. The most Christian King will, in friendship to the Queen, grant, in his treaty with the Empire, all things concerning Religion, to be settled according to the treaties of *Westphalia*.

XXII. Justice shall be done to the family of *Hamilton*, concerning the Dukedom of *Chateleraut*, to the Duke of *Richmond*, concerning such requests as he has to make in France, and to *Charles Douglas*, concerning certain lands, and to others.

XXIII. All prisoners taken during the war, shall be set at liberty without distinction or ransom.

XXIV. All the conditions of the peace made this day, between the Kings of France and Portugal, are confirmed by this treaty, and the Queen of Great-Britain takes upon herself to be Guarantee.

XXV. The peace made this day between France and Savoy, is particularly included in this treaty, her Majesty of Great-Britain expressly declaring, she will be bound by the stipulations of security and guarantee promised therein, as well as by those, she has formerly taken upon herself.

XXVI. Sweden, Tuscany, Genoa, and Parma, are in the best manner included in this treaty.

XXVII. Their Majesties have also been pleased to comprehend in this treaty the *Hans-Towns*, namely, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and *Hamburg*, and the City of *Dantzick*, with this effect, that as soon as the general peace shall be concluded, the *Hans-Towns*, and the City of *Dantzick*, may for the future, as common friends, enjoy the antient advantages which they have heretofore had in the business of trade, either by treaties, or by old custom.

XXVIII. Those shall be comprehended in this present treaty of peace, who shall be named by common consent, on the one part, and on the other, before the exchange of the ratifications, or within six months after.

XXIX. Lastly, solemn ratifications for this present treaty, and made in due form, shall be exhibited on both sides at *Utrecht*, and mutually and duly exchanged within the space of four weeks, to be computed from the day of the signing, or sooner if possible.

XXX. In witness whereof, We, the underwritten Ambassador Extraordinary, and Plenipotentiaries of the Queen of Great-Britain, and of the most Christian King, have put our Seals to these present Instruments, subscribed with our own hands, at *Utrecht* the 31 day of March ^{March} 1713.

(L. S.) *Job. Bristol*. C. P. S.

(L. S.) *Strafford*.

(L. S.) *Huxelles*.

(L. S.) *Mejnager*.

II. Between Great-Britain and Spain.

I. Perpetual peace and true friendship.

II. Against the Union of the Kingdoms of Spain and France, as in the VIth article of the treaty with France.

III. A general amnesty on both sides.

IV. All prisoners to be freed without ransom.

V. and VI. Concerning the acknowledging and promising not to disturb the Protestant Succession, as in the IVth and Vth articles of the treaty with France.

VII. That the ordinary distribution of justice be restored.

VIII. That there be a free use of Navigation and Commerce, as it was in the Reign of Charles II. of Spain, and also according to the treaties of Commerce which are now, or will forthwith be made at *Madrid*. And whereas it is, by common consent, established as a fundamental rule, that the exercise of Navigation and Commerce to the Spanish West-Indies, shall be as in the time of the said Charles II., that therefore this rule may be observed inviolably, it is especially agreed, that no licence shall at any time be given to the French, or any other Nation, to introduce Negroes, Goods, Merchandizes, or any things whatsoever into the Spanish American Dominions, except what may be agreed by the treaty of Commerce aforesaid, and the privileges granted

granted in the *Affiento de Negros*, mentioned in the XIIth article, except also what the Catholic King or his Successors shall promise by any contract, after the *Affiento de Negros* is determined. It is further agreed, that none of the *Spanish* Dominions in *America* shall ever be alienated from the Crown of *Spain*, to the *French* or other Nation. On the contrary, the Queen of *Great-Britain* will endeavour and assist the *Spaniards*, that the ancient limits of their *American* Dominions be settled, as in the time of *Charles II.*

IX. The subjects of each Kingdom shall, in all countries, have at least the same privileges as to duties, or customs, and shall have the like favour in all things, as the subjects of *France*, or any Nation they favoured, do or shall hereafter enjoy.

X. *Gibraltar* is given up to the Crown of *Great-Britain*: But (to prevent abuses by importing any goods) without any territorial jurisdiction, and without any open communication by land with the country round about. Provisions, however, and other necessities in times of scarcity, may be bought with money for the use of the garrison and ships in the harbour. No leave shall be given to *Jews* or *Moor*s to reside there, nor shelter to any *Moorish* ships of war, whereby the communication between *Spain* and *Ceuta* may be obstructed, or the coasts of *Spain* infested. The free exercise of their Religion shall be granted to the Catholic inhabitants; and in case the town of *Gibraltar* shall hereafter be granted or sold, *Spain* shall have the preference of having the same.

XI. The Island of *Minorca*, with all its towns and castles, particularly *Port-Mahon*, is also yielded to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. No refuge to be given to *Moorish* ships, but only on account of traffic. In case of alienation, the Crown of *Spain* to have the preference. The inhabitants to enjoy their religion, estates, and honours; and those that retire, to sell their estates.

XII. The Catholic King grants to the *South-Sea* Company, with exclusion of all others, the contract for introducing *Negroes* into his *American* Dominions, commonly called *el Pado del Affiento de Negros*, for the space of thirty years, beginning from the 1st of *May* 1713, with the same conditions enjoyed by the *French*, together with tracks of land on the river of *Plata*, sufficient for the subsistence of those who are in the service of the Company, and of their *Negroes*. The ships of the Company may also come close to land; but a *Spanish* Officer shall be appointed to take care that nothing be done, contrary to his Master's interests, and all belonging to the Company shall be subject to the inspection of the Officer, as to matters relating to the tracks of land, and disputes to be referred to the Governor of *Buenos Ayres*. The contract of the *Affiento* concluded at *Madrid*, the 26th of *March* 1713, with all its conditions, not contrary to this article, is deemed as part of this treaty.

XIII. At the earnest desire of the Queen of *Great-Britain*, that the *Catalonians* should not only obtain a full and perpetual oblivion of all that was done in the late war, and enjoy all their estates and honours, the Catholic King hereby grants the desired amnesty, and all the privileges which the *Castilians* enjoy, or may hereafter enjoy.

XIV. As *Sicily* is by this treaty yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Queen of *Great-Britain* will take care, that in default of heirs-male, the possession of *Sicily*

shall revert to the Crown of *Spain*, and not be alienated on any pretence whatsoever, unless to the Catholic King.

XV. All treaties heretofore concluded between the two Crowns are hereby confirmed, as far as they are not contrary to those treaties lately made and signed. And as the *Gaspusoans* pretend to certain rights of fishing at *Newfoundland*, it is agreed, that all such privileges as they and other people of *Spain* are able to claim by right, shall be allowed them.

XVI, XVII, and XVIII. The same as XVIIIth, XVIIth, and XIXth of the treaty with *France*.

XIX. The Kings, Princes and States, mentioned in the following articles, and all others nominated on either side by common consent, before the ratifications are exchanged, or within six months after, shall be included in this treaty.

XX. Whatsoever shall be contained in a treaty between *Spain* and *Portugal*, with the approbation of *Great-Britain*, shall be deemed an essential part of this treaty.

XXI. The treaty of peace this day made between *Spain* and *Savoy*, is included in this treaty, the Queen of *Great-Britain* declaring, she will be obliged by the terms of promise and guarantee therein made.

XXII. *Sweden*, *Tulcan* and *Parma*, shall be included in this treaty.

XXIII. And also the Republic of *Venice*, for the sake of the neutrality they have observed, and the many acts of humanity performed by them.

XXIV. And the Republic of *Genoa*, on the same accounts.

XXV. The City of *Dantzick* shall also be included.

XXVI. Solemn ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged on both sides, within six weeks or sooner.

In witness whereof the Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries signed and sealed this present treaty at *Utrecht*, the 13 day of *July* 1713.

(L. S.) *Job. Bristol*. C. P. S.

(L. S.) *Strafford*.

(L. S.) *Duc de Offuna*.

(L. S.) *El Marque de Montaleone*.

Separate Articles.

I. Since his Catholic Majesty is steadfastly resolved, and does solemnly promise by these presents, that he will not consent to any further alienation of Countries, Provinces, or Lands belonging to the Crown of *Spain*, the Queen of *Great-Britain* does likewise promise, that she will persist in those measures, by which she has taken care, that none of the Parties in war shall require or obtain of his Catholic Majesty, that any farther part of the *Spanish* Monarchy be torn from it. And when it shall seem to the Queen of *Great-Britain* to be for the common benefit, the King of *Spain* does give his consent, that a new treaty be entered into between *Great-Britain*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*.

II. The Queen of *Great-Britain* obliges herself to procure forthwith the Lady *Ursini* to be put into possession of the Duchy of *Limburg*, or other countries in the *Netherlands*, which shall produce an annual clear revenue of 30,000 *l. Scudi*, according to the Diploma granted by his Catholic Majesty to that Princess, the 28th day of *September*, 1711.*

* This princess having quitted her rank and prerogatives at the Court of *Rome*, was made first Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Queen of *Spain*, whom she met at *Nice* in *Provence*, and conducted into *Spain*. Afterwards, when the Regency of *Spain* was trusted to the Queen, at the King's going to command his armies in *Italy*, the Princess *Ursini* assisted her with her care and counsel. She likewise took upon her the care of the education of the Prince of *Asturian*. These are the reasons alledged by the King, for his granting her the territory of *Limburg*, and obliging the Queen of *Great-Britain* to procure it for her.







THE
HISTORY of *ENGLAND*.

BOOK XXVII.

S E C T. I.

From the Accession of King GEORGE I, to the end of the Rebellion
in *Scotland*.

30. G E O R G E I.

1714.
*Account
and cha-
racter of
King
George I.*



THE Illustrious House of *Han-*
over entirely owe their advance-
ment to the Throne of *Great-*
Britain, to the effectual mea-
sures taken by King *William*
and Queen *Anne*, for the ex-
clusion of all Catholic Princes.

Had not the order of the Succession been changed, and supposing the doubtfulness of the Pretender's birth a sufficient reason to set him aside, the House of *Savoy* would have been in possession of the *British* Dominions, as they derive their right from the Princess *Henrietta*, Daughter of King *Charles I.* whereas the House of *Hanover* are descended from the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of King *James I.* Nor was it out of any particular regard for the Dukes of *Hanover*, that the *English* Nation agreed to alter the Succession, but out of a belief, that it was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the liberties of the State. All Catholics were therefore declared incapable of succeeding to the Crown, and consequently

Numb. LXXXIII. Vol. IV.

the Succession was established in the Protestant branches. Upon this foundation it was, that, the Duke of Gloucester being dead, the Princess Sophia was acknowledged for lawful Heir to the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain.

Though this change of the Succession has been exclaimed against by many, it is built on very strong reasons. In Catholic Countries, a Protestant King will not be endured: Why therefore should a Protestant State be obliged to suffer a Catholic King? Are there not, between Sovereign and Subjects, mutual obligations? And is not the preservation of Religion one of the greatest? If the Catholics think their Religion unsafe under a Protestant Prince, has not experience taught the Protestants, that their Religion can never be secure under a Catholic Prince? What the Nation had suffered from the zeal of King James to introduce his Religion, did it not sufficiently justify their fears and precautions? To maintain the Protestant Succession against the pretended Heir, and several others, who, after his decease, might put in their claim.

1714. the best measures were taken. Of these, the most effectual was the humbling the exorbitant power of France, by which King James and his pretended Son were protected. Lewis XIV was at last forced to abandon their defence, and acknowledge the Protestant Succession. All the other States, enemies of France, rejoiced at the Revolution, and made it their interest to support it. The Union of Scotland with England had the same end, and was so eagerly desired by King William, only that the Scots might cease to wish for a separate King, and concur with the English in the Succession they had established.

Pursuant to the act of Succession, George Lewis, Son of Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, by the Princess Sophia, Granddaughter of King James I, ascended the Throne on the death of Queen Anne. His mature age, being then fifty-four years old (1), his experience, his personal qualities, his numerous family, the general peace then in Europe, the interest his Allies had to support him, seemed to promise him a quiet and peaceable Reign; but, however, he was not without his disturbances. This Prince had great talents for a Crown, and had not failed to exert them on occasion. He was concerned in all the affairs of Germany, and always came off with advantage. The great services, he had done for the Emperor Leopold, determined the Emperor Joseph, his Successor, to use all his power to procure him admittance into the Electoral College: And the Emperor Charles, Successor of Joseph, caused him to be acknowledged Elector by Lewis XIV, and by the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, who, till the treaty of Rastadt, had refused him that title. He had waged war in person and with success. His campaign on the Rhine in 1709 was glorious, and would have been much more so, had not the too great bravery of Count Mercy disappointed his project of sending aid to the Duke of Savoy, to enable him to penetrate into la Franche Comté. This Prince had an excellent spirit and noble sentiments: He was much more sensible of services than of injuries; courageous, little capable of dissembling or hiding his thoughts; *My maxim* (said he, soon after his arrival in England) *is never to abandon my friends, to do justice to all the world, and to fear no man.* To these valuable qualities he joined a great application to business, and a sincere desire to render his subjects happy.

All these virtues together had gained him the respect and love of his German subjects, who were all submissive to his will; and their obe-

dience had nothing of constraint, because his commands were always reasonable, and dictated both by equity and goodness.

As soon as Queen Anne had resigned her last breath, the Privy-Council met, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and Resident Kriegenberg (in whose hands they were lodged) produced the Elector of Brunswick's three instruments, nominating the persons to be added, as Lords Justices, to the seven great Officers of the Realm (2).

After the opening of the instruments, a proclamation was issued, declaring, that the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, was, by the death of Queen Anne, become our lawful and rightful liege Lord, King of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland. This proclamation was signed by above a hundred Lords and Gentlemen, several of whom, in less than a year, entered into treasonable plots to deprive the King of his right, and broke out into open rebellion against him.

King George was proclaimed at the usual places, and with the usual solemnities, in the Cities of London and Westminster. The streets were crowded with multitudes of people, and no disorder was committed. The same day the Lords Justices appointed the Earl of Dorset to carry the King the news of his inauguration, and to attend him in his journey to England.

The Earl of Sta, Lord Justice-General of the North-Britain, having received notice of the Queen's death, and orders to proclaim the King, went to the lodgings of the Duke of Montrose (one of the Lords of the Regency) where he found the Marquis of Tweeddale, and several other Lords and persons of distinction, who, with the Magistrates of Edinburgh, and the Officers of the State, caused the King to be proclaimed with great ceremony.

Two days after the Lords Justices of Ireland, and in Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh and Sir Constantine Phipps, having received the like notice, proclaimed the King on the 6th of August at Dublin. At the same time, they issued a proclamation for disarming Papists, and seizing their houses.

There was not the least disturbance or interruption given in any place to the proclaiming of the King; only at Oxford, the Mayor received a letter brought by a person in a Bachelor's gown, requiring him to proclaim the Pretender (3). The Mayor communicated this letter to the Vice-Chancellor, and both of them transmitted copies of it to Mr Secretary Bromley, Representative for the University of Oxford, who

(1) He was born May 28, 1660.

(2) The great Officers were:
Dr Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury,
Lord Chancellor Harcourt,
John Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, Lord President,
Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord-Treasurer,
William Legg, Earl of Dartmouth, Lord Privy-Seal,
Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, first Commissioner of the Admiralty,
Sir Thomas Parker, Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench.

To these were added, by the Elector of Brunswick,

in the instrument under his own hand, the following persons:

Duke of Shrewsbury,	Earl of Anglesea,
Duke of Somerset,	Earl of Carlisle,
Duke of Bolton,	Earl of Nottingham,
Duke of Devonshire,	Earl of Abingdon,
Duke of Kent,	Earl of Scarborough,
Duke of Argyle,	Earl of Oxford,
Duke of Montrose,	Lord Viscount Townshend,
Duke of Roxburg,	Lord Hallifax,
Earl of Pomfret,	Lord Ossepier.

(3) In the letter were these expressions:

'This is to warn you, if you should receive an order to proclaim Hanover, not to comply with it; for

1714. who sent them letters of thanks. The Vice-Chancellor also offered a reward of a hundred pounds to the discoverer of the Author.

Precautions taken.
In the mean time, the Lords of the Regency finding the Nation much exposed by the ill condition of the army and fleet, took all possible precautions to guard against a surprize. They dispatched such Officers of the army, as they could trust, to their respective posts; gave orders to reinforce the garrison of *Portsmouth*, and sent vessels out to view the harbours of *France*. They chose Mr *Joseph Addison* to be their Secretary, and ordered all dispatches, directed to the Secretary of State, to be sent to him. This was particularly mortifying to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, who was now obliged to stand at the door of the Council-Chamber with his bag and papers, and to receive orders from those, whom, a few days before, he expected to command.

The Parliament meets.
The Parliament met at *Westminster*, the afternoon of the very day the Queen died, pursuant to the act, which regulated the Succession. The Speaker being in *Wales*, it was moved by Mr Secretary *Bromley*, that the House should adjourn to the *Wednesday* following. But this motion, though seconded, was answered by Sir *Richard Onslow*, that time was too precious for any to be lost at a critical juncture. And therefore the House adjourned only to the next day.

The Lord Chancellor's speech to both Houses.
On the 5th of *August*, the Lords-Justices came to the House of Peers, where the Lord-Chancellor, in their name, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘IT having pleased Almighty God to take to himself our late most gracious Queen of blessed memory, we hope, that nothing has been omitted, which might contribute to the safety of these Realms, and the preservation of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in this great conjuncture. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by those acts of Parliament, which have settled the Succession of these Kingdoms in the most illustrious House of *Hanover*; we have regulated our proceedings by those rules, which are therein prescribed.

‘The Privy-Council, soon after the demise of the late Queen, assembled at *St James's*, where, according to the said acts, the three instruments were produced and opened, which had been deposited in the hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident of *Brunswick*. Those, who, either by their offices, or by virtue of these instruments, had the honour of being appointed Lords-Justices, did, in conjunction with the Council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our lawful and rightful Sovereign King *George*, taking, at the same time, the necessary care to maintain the public peace.

‘In pursuance of the acts before-mentioned, this Parliament is now assembled, and we are persuaded, you all bring with you so hearty a disposition for his Majesty's service, and the

‘public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in every thing, which may promote those great ends.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

‘We find it necessary to put you in mind, that several branches of the public revenue are expired by the demise of her late Majesty; and to recommend to you the making such provisions in that respect, as may be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the Crown: And we assure ourselves, you will not be wanting in any thing, that may conduce to the establishing and advancing of the public credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘We forbear laying before you any thing, that does not require your immediate consideration, not having received his Majesty's pleasure. We shall only exhort you, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to our Sovereign's interest, as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity.’

The Commons being returned to their House, Mr Secretary *Bromley* moved for an address of condolance and congratulation, insisting much on the great loss, the Nation had sustained by the death of the late Queen. Mr *Robert Walpole* moved for something more substantial, ‘to give the King assurances of their making good all Parliamentary funds;’ and Mr *Onslow*, afterwards Lord *Onslow*, very justly observed, ‘That the strefs of the address ought not to lie upon condoling, but upon congratulating and giving the King assurances of their maintaining both his Majesty's undoubted title to the crown, and public credit.’ Accordingly, instructions were given for drawing up the following address, which was unanimously agreed to the next day:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

‘WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Great-Britain*, in Parliament assembled, having a just sense of the great loss the Nation has sustained by the death of our late Sovereign Lady Queen *Anne*, of blessed memory, humbly crave leave to condole with your Majesty on this sad occasion.

‘It would but aggravate our sorrow, particularly to enumerate the virtues of that pious and most excellent Princess; the duty we owe to your Majesty, and to our Country, oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily to congratulate your Majesty's Accession to the Throne; whose princely virtues give us a certain prospect of future happiness in the security of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, and engage us to assure your Majesty, that we will, to our utmost, support your undoubted right to the Imperial Crown of this

the hand of God is now at work to set things upon a right foot, and in a few days you will see wonderful changes; which if you are wise enough to foresee, you

will obtain grace and favour from the hands of his Sacred Majesty King *James*, &c.’

1714. ' this Realm, against the Pretender and all other persons whatsoever.

' Your faithful Commons cannot but express their impatient desire for your Majesty's safe arrival and presence in *Great-Britain*.

' In the mean time, we humbly lay before your Majesty the unanimous resolution of this House, to maintain the public credit of the Nation, and effectually to make good all funds which have been granted by Parliament, for the security of any money which has been, or shall be, advanced for the public service, and to endeavour, by every thing in our power, to make your Majesty's Reign happy and glorious.'

The same day, the House of Peers agreed upon the following address:

Most gracious Sovereign,

Address of the Lords.
Pr. H. L.

' WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, though deeply sensible of the great loss these Nations have sustained, by the demise of her late Majesty of blessed memory, think it our duty, at the same time, with thankful hearts to Almighty God, to congratulate your Majesty upon your happy and peaceable Accession to the Throne: And we do, with the utmost loyalty and duty, assure your Majesty of our zealous and firm resolutions to support your undoubtedly rightful and lawful title to the Crown, against all enemies and pretenders whatsoever.

' Our zeal and affection for your Majesty's service engage us to exert ourselves with all vigour and unanimity for securing the public safety; and we will always, to the utmost of our power, maintain the honour and dignity of your Crown. And we do, with faithful hearts, beseech your Majesty, as soon as possible, to give us your Royal presence, which we are persuaded will be attended with all other blessings to your Kingdoms.'

This address having been transmitted by the Lord-Justices to the King, he returned this answer:

GEORGE R.

The King's answer to the Lords address.

' I take this first opportunity to return you my hearty thanks for your address, and the assurances you have given me therein.

' The zeal and unanimity you have shewn, upon my Accession to the Crown, are great encouragements to me; and I shall always esteem the continuance of them as one of the greatest blessings of my Reign.

' No one can be more truly sensible than I am, of the loss sustained by the death of the late Queen, whose exemplary piety and virtue so much endeared her to her people, and for whose memory I shall always have a particular regard.

' My best endeavours shall never be wanting to repair this loss to the Nation. I will make it my constant care to preserve your Religion, Laws, and Liberties inviolable, and to advance the honour and prosperity of my Kingdoms.

' I am hastening to you, according to your desire, so affectionately expressed in your address.'

The address of the Commons being also transmitted to the King, he returned the following answer:

GEORGE R.

' Your dutiful and loyal address is very acceptable to me. The unanimity and affection my Commons have shewn, upon my Accession to the Crown, are most agreeable instances and pledges of their fidelity to me. I have a just sense of your inexpressible loss, by the death of your late Sovereign. You may be assured of my constant endeavours to secure to you the full enjoyment of your Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and that it will always be my aim to make you an happy and flourishing People; to which your resolution to maintain the public credit of the Nation will greatly contribute. I am hastening to you, according to your earnest desire, and the just expectations of my people.'

A great many persons, particularly the leading men among the party, whose designs were frustrated by the Queen's sudden death, being extremely angry with Dr Ratcliffe, for not attending the Queen, when sent for by the Duke of Ormond, their resentments were carried so far, that, on the 5th of August, Sir John Packington made a complaint against him in the House of Commons. But it being represented, that the Doctor, who had the honour of being a Member of the House, was then absent, that matter dropped.

Two days after, there was a debate about the choice of a Chairman of the Grand Committee of Subsidy; some of the Tory Members having moved and insisted on placing Sir William Wyndham in the Chair. But Mr Walpole represented, that Mr Conyers had, for so many years, so well discharged that office, that it would be inconsistent with gratitude, good manners, and prudence, to chuse another. Upon which Mr Conyers was placed in the Chair. The Tories having lost this point, some of them, on pretence of shewing extraordinary zeal for the new Government, proposed the giving the King a million sterling for the civil list, which was 300,000*l.* more than the late Queen had enjoyed. But, though no direct opposition was then made to that motion, yet it was afterwards dropped; the wisest of the King's friends knowing, that the Tories would take occasion from thence to reproach him, as oppressing the Nation by a higher revenue than the Queen, as they afterwards suggested in their libel, called *English advice*. For this reason, the proposal for the same sum as had been granted to the Queen was approved, and a bill for that purpose, being brought in, passed with great dispatch. While the bill was depending, Mr Horatio Walpole moved, that the Committee should have power to receive two clauses; one for the payment of the arrears due to the *Hanover* troops in *English* pay, being 65,000*l.* the other for 100,000*l.* to be paid by the Treasury, to any person that should apprehend the Pretender,

1714. tender, if he should land, or attempt to land in any of the King's Dominions. Sir William Wyndham seconded Mr Walpole as to the arrears; and Mr Shippen very frankly owned, he had opposed that payment in the late Reign, but that he was for it now. Mr Aldworth, Member of Parliament for New Windsor, supported likewise the motion; but, as if he designed to expose the Members, who, at this juncture, appeared so forward to pay those very troops, which, a few months before, they had treated as runaways, he said, 'That, for his part, he had formerly been against the payment, because he had been given to understand, in that very House, that those troops were deserters; but that he had since been informed, they were hired to fight, and had served well as long as there was fighting: And if, when they came in fight of the enemy, they, who hired them, would not suffer them to fight, he did not see any reason, why they should be called deserters.' As to the clause, for giving 100,000 *l.* to such, as should apprehend the Pretender, Mr C—n said, the next day, 'That he was not the day before in the House, when that clause was moved; but, if he had been present, he would have opposed it, because, in his opinion, the Protestant Succession was no longer in danger, since his Majesty's peaceable Accession to the Throne.' And he was so positive in this assertion, that he defied all the House to prove the contrary. He was seconded by Mr Shippen; but Mr Pulteny, and after him the Lord Lumley, made it clearly appear, 'That the Protestant Succession was in danger, as long as there was a Popish Pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad: That the late Queen was sensible of that danger, when she issued out her proclamation against him; and that the case was not altered by her Majesty's demise: That the Nation would be at no charge, if the Pretender did not attempt to land; and, if he did, 100,000 *l.* would be well bestowed to apprehend him.' To this Mr C—n made no reply.

A letter from the King.
Mr Craggs, who, the day before the Queen died, had been dispatched to Hanover, returned, the 13th of August, with letters from the King to the Lords-Justices: Upon which they went to the House of Peers; and the Chancellor, in their name, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Chancellor's speech to both Houses upon it, Aug. 13.
'IT is with great satisfaction we can now tell you, that we have this morning received a letter from the King, wherein his Majesty is graciously pleased to acquaint us, that his Majesty is hastening hither, to employ his utmost care for putting these Kingdoms into a happy and flourishing condition.

'He has commanded us, in the mean time, to continue our care of every thing, that may conduce to the peace and safety of his Dominions. And we are assured, that, if this had required his more immediate preference, he would, without the least delay, have repaired hither, for the support of so dutiful and faithful subjects. For his Majesty does very particularly express his great satisfaction in the loyalty and affection, which his people have universally shewn upon his Majesty's Accession to the Crown.

'At the opening this Session, we did not mention to you the apprehensions we then had, from the smallness of the sum at that time advanced, that the lottery would not be full, being desirous, in the first place, to try to make it effectual in the manner the Parliament had established it. But we are obliged now to acquaint you, that all our endeavours have failed of the desired success, though the contributions have been thereby considerably increased,

'We must therefore earnestly recommend to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to take this into your consideration, and to give such further encouragement, as you shall think proper, for raising the whole sum, which was intended, and is absolutely necessary for carrying on the service of the year.'

The Parliament had, before the Queen's death, passed an act for a lottery for 1,400,000 *l.* *The public credit was then so low, that not above sixty or seventy thousand pounds had been subscribed. This was occasioned partly by the diffidence of the monied-men in the late Administration, and partly by the low interest allowed for the blank tickets. The Lords of the Regency and Privy Council, to restore public credit, and fill the lottery, went in a body to the Bank, and subscribed large sums themselves, which was such an encouragement to others to follow their example, that above 700,000 *l.* was subscribed in two days; and the Parliament, pursuant to the King's desire, giving further encouragement by making a small addition to the interest for the blank tickets, one per cent. only, the remainder was subscribed in a few days more.*

Addresses of thanks for the King's letter were voted by both Houses, and sent to Hanover by the Lords-Justices, who, about a week after, came to the House of Peers to pass the money-bills, that were ready for the Royal assent. The Speaker, upon presenting the *Civil List* and *Lottery* bills, made a remarkable speech (1), and, the business of the Session being finished, the Lords-Justices prorogued the Parliament to the 3d of September.

Thus ended the second and last Session of the fourth Parliament of Great-Britain, and the last of Queen Anne's Reign.

The

(1) The speech was as follows:

My Lords,

'The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Great-Britain, in Parliament assembled, under the present happiness they enjoy by his Majesty's peaceable and quiet Accession to the Throne, could not enter upon any work more satisfactory and pleasing to themselves, than the providing a sufficient revenue for the occasions
No. 83. VOL. IV.

of his Majesty's civil Government, in order to make his Reign as easy and prosperous, as the beginning of it hath been secure and undisturbed.

They are sensible, that the peace of the Kingdom is not to be preserved, nor the rights and liberties of the Subjects to be protected, without supporting the just authority and dignity of the Crown; and therefore they have thought it their interest, as well as duty, to make such a provision, as may not barely suffice to the necessity
5 H

1714.
The
French
Fury
afraid of
insults.
Hist. Reg.

The French Minister, Monsieur d'Iberville, who had behaved himself with great haughtiness, was, upon the Queen's death, seized with such an apprehension of being insulted by the people in his own house, that he sent a letter to the Duke of Ormond, to desire his protection; and, the Duke acquainting the Lords-Justices with it, some of the Trained-bands were ordered to guard his house. That Minister had, before he received any orders from his Court, assured the Regency, 'That his Master would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly with relation to the settlement of the British Crown in the House of Hanover.' And the Earl of Peterborough, who arrived in London from France on the 7th of August, told some of the Regency, that the French King had given him the like assurance; Mr Prior, having likewise, by orders of the Regency, notified the Queen's death to the French King, received the same answer. Some days after, Iberville received a letter from the Marquis de Torcy, approving what he had done; and another from the French King to the British Regency with the same assurance, importing likewise, 'That having been informed, that reports had been spread, as if he designed to make alterations in the late renunciations, he thought fit to declare, as he had already done to the Earl of Peterborough, that these reports were altogether false and groundless: That, the King of Spain having sent the Cardinal del Guidice as Ambassador to France, which might create some suspicions, his most Christian Majesty had desired the King, his Grandson, to recal him: And that the Elector of Brunswick having, some time before the death of the Queen, signified to his most Christian Majesty, that, whenever his Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain should take place, he would cultivate a friendship with his most Christian Majesty, he (the King of France) on his part, assured the Lords-Justices, that he would do all that lay in his power to maintain a good intelligence and amity between the two Crowns.'

The answer, which Mr Prior received about

the Catalans, was not altogether so agreeable to England. The Regency had wrote to the Court of France, 'That, his most Christian Majesty having promised to interpose his good offices with the King of Spain in favour of the Catalans, they were surprized to find, that, instead of that, his most Christian Majesty had sent his troops to assist those of his Grandson, in the reduction of Barcelona; and that they hoped, his most Christian Majesty would make good his promises, and consider the ill consequences of his suffering his forces to act against a people, who were under the protection of the Crown of Great Britain.' To this Mr Prior received an answer, 'That the most Christian King had already made good his engagements in behalf of the Catalans: That their obstinacy was the cause of all the misfortunes, that might befall them: And that his glory would not suffer him to recal his troops from before Barcelona.' Some days before this answer was transmitted to England, the Marquis d'Almanza, one of the Deputies from the Principality of Catalonia, made application to the Lords-Justices, and communicated to them a letter he had received from the Governor of Majorca, with an account of the condition of the City of Barcelona. Upon which they ordered, that a copy of the letter, which they had written to the Court of France, should be communicated to the Marquis; and he was farther assured, that directions had been sent to Admiral Wilsbarr, not to molest the inhabitants of Barcelona, or hinder any relief to be brought to them by sea.

The Lords-Justices were sensible how little the French King's assurances, that he would not disturb the Protestant Succession, were to be relied on; and therefore, though they had sent a reinforcement to the garrison of Portsmouth, under the command of Colonel Pocock, they ordered another draught of five hundred Out-pensioners of Chelsea-Hospital to march thither, under the command of Colonel Jones; and, at the same time, ordered the Justices of the Peace of London and Westminster to take exact lists of the Popish Recusants, and to seize their arms and horses; and,

necessity of the Government, but may be suitable to the State, the honour and lustre, which the Crown of Great-Britain ought to be attended with.

Whatsoever is superfluous in that provision, and more than the ordinary services of his Majesty shall require, will but inable him to exert his highest and most valuable prerogative of doing good: And we can give no greater proof of the trust we repose in his Majesty's gracious disposition, than putting the same intire revenue into his hands, which her late Majesty died possessed of; whose virtues we all admired, and of whose affection and concern for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom, we had so long experience.

As the Crown itself descends immediately, and knows no vacancy, the Commons have taken care, that the revenue should follow it as close as possible; for they have given all the dispatch to this grant, which the forms of their proceedings would allow. So that when his Majesty shall please to answer the impatient desires of his people, by coming to take possession of his Kingdoms, he will find himself equally established in these revenues, as if he had succeeded to all by an uninterrupted right of inheritance. The only difference is this, that, if he had inherited them, he would have wanted one single proof of the duty, and affection, and unanimity of his subjects.

Our desire is, that this may be looked upon as an earnest and pledge of that zeal and fidelity, which we shall always retain, and which, upon every occasion, we shall be ready to demonstrate to his Majesty's person and Government: As such, we hope his Majesty will graciously accept it at this time; and hereafter, when he shall have had experience of this first voluntary offering of his loyal Commons, we hope he will find it to his satisfaction, as large and as ample as he could wish, might but the term of the grant be as long as we could wish, since it is to have equal continuance with his Majesty's life.

My Lords, the bill, which the Commons have passed for the purposes I have mentioned, is intitled, *An act for the better support of his Majesty's Household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain.*

They have also prepared another bill, as well for rectifying mistakes in the names of the Commissioners for the land-tax, as for raising so much as is wanting to make up the sum of fourteen hundred thousand pounds, intended to be raised by a lottery, for the public service, in the year 1714. This having been recommended to their care, and appearing to them to be necessary for his Majesty's and the public service, they have reason to think they have now abundantly supplied the defects in the former provision; and in this assurance they humbly present this bill also for the Royal assent.

(1) An

1714 and, upon the landing of the seven *British* battalions from *Osband*, a battalion of the Earl of *Orkney's* Royal regiment of Fusiliers was commanded to march to *Portsmouth*, which made a strength sufficient for the defence of that important place.

On the 17th of *August*, the Earl of *Berkley*, Commander of the Squadron of men of war and yachts, appointed to attend the King and Prince, arrived on the coast of *Holland*. Monsieur *Klingraef*, the King's resident at the *Hague*, immediately dispatched an express to *Hanover*, to acquaint him with it.

Com-plaints of the Merchants against the King of Spain. Hist. Reg.
The ill conduct of the late Ministry with relation to the treaty of commerce with *Spain* soon appeared. For, on the 19th of *August*, the Merchants, trading to that Kingdom, laid before the Regency the difficulties under which they laboured, by means of a large donative which King *Philip* was about to extort from the *British* and other Merchants (1). This increased the general indignation against the Managers of the *Spanish* treaty, who had settled our trade to *Spain* in so precarious a manner, as made it subject to the will and pleasure of the King of *Spain*, whose Ministers believed themselves so secure of ours in *England*, that they thought they might put any hardships on our Merchants. But upon the news of the Queen's sudden death, and of the vigorous proceedings of the Regency, they entertained other sentiments, and recalled the orders they had given for exacting the donative.

Gaultier leaves England.
The latter end of *August*, the Abbot *Gaultier*, who had been the Agent of *France* and the Pretender, set out for that Kingdom, as many others had done upon the Queen's death, who had come hither on very ill designs.

Lord Bolingbroke removed.
About the same time, Mr *Murray* arrived express from *Hanover*, with an account, that the King had deferred his departure for some days; and brought several orders for the Regency and Council, particularly for the preparing a patent to create the Prince Royal, Prince of *Wales*; and for removing the Lord *Bolingbroke* from his office of Secretary of State; which was done on the last of *August*, with particular marks of displeasure; three of the Lords of the Regency, the Dukes of *Sbreulbury* and *Somerset*, and the Lord *Cowper*, having taken the Seals from him, and locked and sealed up all the doors of his office.

The union between *England* and *Holland* was so necessary for their mutual preservation, that it was one of the first cares of the Lords of the Regency to notify to the *States* the Queen's death, and his Majesty's peaceable Accession to the Throne. This was done on the 4th of *August* by the Earl of *Strafford*, the *British* Ambassador in *Holland*, who made a speech on the occasion, wherein he observed, that, by the act of Succession, all officers were to continue in employment six months after the demise of the Queen, unless the Successor otherwise disposed of the offices; and that consequently he remained still Ambassador of the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Upon the arrival of Baron *Boisbarré's* Secretary with the news of the Queen's death, Monsieur *Klingraef*, the Resident of *Hanover*, presented to the *States* a memorial, with a letter from the King, which was lodged in his hands, to be in readiness, if there should be occasion, by which the King required of the *States* the performance of their guaranty of his Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The *States* assembled that very night, upon *Klingraef's* delivering the King's letter; and, the next day, Aug. 15. came to a resolution to return this answer, N. 3.

‘That, as soon as they were informed of the sickness and death of the Queen, they immediately bethought themselves of their engagements for the guaranty of the Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Protestant line, as it was settled by acts of Parliament. That, at the same time, they considered with themselves, not only how much it concerns the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain*, that the Settlement of the Succession in the Protestant line should have intire effect, but also how deeply the Protestant Religion, the safety of their State, and the liberty of all *Europe*, were interested therein. That therefore they unanimously resolved to perform their engagements, and to execute all that by Treaty of mutual guaranty they had promised. That as they received the account of the Queen's death with grief, so it was very acceptable news to them, that his Electoral Highness, as the next Heir in the Protestant line, was instantly proclaimed King by the unanimous advice of the Council, and with the acclamations of the People. That they most heartily congratulate him thereupon, and wish him all further happy successes in a prosperous Reign. That from this good

(1) An account of this affair was published in the two following letters from *Cadiz*:

Cadiz, July 29.

‘The King of *Spain* has demanded a donative in this place, and in other parts of *Spain*, and particularly of the *British* Merchants and other Foreigners inhabiting here; and their proportion of the donative is settled by a note left at each of their houses, regulating what each person is to pay, which the Merchants have refused to comply with, as being contrary to treaties in force, and have represented the same to the King of *Spain*: But, instead of finding redress, they have had soldiers quartered upon them, and expect the number to be doubled every day, during the time they shall refuse to pay the donative. However, they have resolved to let their effects be seized, rather than comply with a demand so unjust in itself, and so dishonourable to the *British* Nation, of which there is no precedent.’

Cadiz, July 29.

‘Our factory is insulted the most that ever was yet experienced from this Government; a donative (or free gift) being endeavoured to be extorted by violence from us. To which effect our Governor has put guards of Soldiers in our houses, threatening to double them at 8 rials value *per diem*, which amounts to half a dollar, until we pay the said donative, which amounts to 125 pieces of eight on some, on others more or less. Thus the principal of our articles and privileges are trampled on. This is the respect shewn to our Queen and Nation, and the honourable usage given to her subjects here. And what can be expected for the future? We hope a sudden and determined resolution will be taken at the Court of *England*, to get satisfaction for this arbitrary dragging the *British* subjects; and that a stop will be put to their ever pretending here any more to such an extortion and breach of public faith; otherwise no living, nor can we be ever secure here.’ *Hist. Reg.*

1714. good beginning they hope his Majesty will take peaceable possession of his Kingdoms without any opposition. That, nevertheless, they were willing and ready to perform their engagements, and to take all proper measures with him for that end. That, it being likely his Majesty will speedily go for *England*, they will be very glad, if he will please to take his journey thro' their Dominions. That they will endeavour to facilitate his passage with all that is in their power; and that they will at all times shew the high esteem they have for his Majesty's person and friendship; and that they have his interests as much at heart as their own.' This resolution was, with a letter to the King, delivered to the Resident of *Hanover*; and, at the same time, the *States* dispatched letters to the several Provinces, desiring them forthwith to provide the necessary funds for setting out a strong squadron of men of war; of which twelve, that were said to be designed for the *Baltic*, were almost ready to put to sea.

Treaty betw. Portugal and Great-Britain. About the middle of *August*, the Count de *Albuquerque*, Plenipotentiary of *Portugal*, in a Conference with the *States-Deputes*, notified to them the favourable declaration the *Regents of Great-Britain* had caused to be made to Monsieur de *Brucade*, the *Portuguese* Envoy at *London*, 'That *Spain* should be obliged to conclude peace immediately with the Crown of *Portugal*; or, in case of refusal, his *Portuguese* Majesty might depend upon being assisted by the Crown of *Great-Britain*, conformably to the treaty of defensive Alliance between these two Crowns.' This declaration having been reported to the *States-General*, they caused assurances to be given to the *Portuguese* Minister, 'That they would readily concur in all measures his *Britannic* Majesty might judge proper to be taken, for obliging *Spain* to agree with *Portugal* on fair and just conditions of peace.' After these declarations, there was little difficulty in concluding the treaty between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The Earl of *Strafford* having received a letter from the King, to return the *States* thanks for their resolution about the guaranty, the Earl, two days after, made a speech to the *States*, and, among other things, said, 'That they had thereby engaged the Friendship of a King, which could not but be very advantageous to them, as well in regard to the neighbourhood and powerfulness of his Kingdoms and States, as with respect to his Majesty's personal merit, who, for his many excellent qualities, would be esteemed and courted by all *Europe*, as well as loved and respected by his own subjects: And that as he was known to be a Prince, who was a religious observer of his word, they might be assured, that, in gaining his friendship, they secured to themselves a solid and lasting support.'

The Court of *France*, confounded by the Queen's sudden death, followed the best counsel, which, in the present condition of their affairs, they could take, which was, to acknowledge King *George*. Accordingly, besides the forementioned declarations, Monsieur de *Chateaufort*, their Ambassador at the *Hague*, made the Earl of *Strafford* the usual compliments of condolence upon the death of the Queen, and, at the same time, those of congratulation upon the King's Accession to the Throne. And it is ob-

servable, that the Pretender, who, by our Ministers and those of *France*, had been put in hopes of carrying his point, as appears by his own declaration*, and by what passed between* See our Ministers and the Abbot *Gaudier*, was in- P. 379- tirely disappointed. For upon the news, which he received the 14th of *August*, N. S. that the Queen was either dead, or past recovery, he posted immediately for *Verfailles*: But, the King of *France* having notice of it, the Marquis de *Torcy* sent to tell him, 'That his most Christian Majesty was surprized at his being returned into his Dominions, knowing the engagements he was under, in respect to the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the House of *Hanover*; and therefore desired him to quit his territories.' Upon this the Pretender, having made a melancholy visit to the Queen-Dowager of *England* at *Chailot*, returned to *Barleduc*, under the deepest concern for the ill success of his journey; and set out afterwards for the Court of *Lorraine* at *Luneville*, from whence he went to *Plombieres*, to drink the waters of that place.

It will not be improper to take notice of some remarkable passages at *Hanover* before the news of the Queen's death reached that Court. On the 26th of *July*, N. S. the Earl of *Clarendon*, Envoy Extraordinary from the Queen, arrived at *Hanover*; but, the Elector being then at *Herenhausen*, it was the 4th of *August*, N. S. before the Earl was conducted thither to have his first audience: One reason of the delay was, that the King of *Prussia* arrived there incognito on the 30th of *July*, N. S. The cause of this interview between these two Princes at this juncture was variously discoursed of; but, very probably, the design of it was to cultivate a good correspondence between them, which their enemies had endeavoured to interrupt. The *French* Court and ours knew, it would not be easy to defeat the Protestant Succession, while these two families, which were both included in the intail, were united in affection and interest; and therefore they attempted to divide them, by proposing to the King of *Prussia's* Minister here, that his Master should immediately succeed after the Queen, if he would fall in with the measures of the two Courts. But that King was too discerning to be caught in that snare: He knew, that their design was only to set the two families at variance, which must not only defeat the Protestant Succession, but ruin the interest of the Reformation, render the two families incapable of supporting their own or their Country's interest against the designs of *France* and *Sweden*, and facilitate the Pretender's way to the Throne of *Great-Britain*. He therefore not only rejected the proposal, but likewise assured the Elector of *Hanover*, that he would assist him with all his power to maintain his title to the *British* Crown; and, having concerted measures with him for their common interest, returned to *Berlin* the 3d of *August*, N. S.

Mr *Craggs*, who had been sent to *Hanover* with an account of the Queen's dangerous illness, arrived there on the 16th of *August*, N. S. and went directly to *Herenhausen* with the Privy-Council's letter to the King. The same night three other expresss arrived at *Hanover*; two to the King, and one to the Earl of *Clarendon*, with the news of the Queen's death; which the Earl communicated to him at two o'clock in the morning.

1714. morning. This was confirmed, four hours after, by the arrival of Monsieur *Godike*, Secretary to Baron *Bothmar*, with the further account of his Majesty's being proclaimed King of *Great-Britain* in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, without the least shew of opposition. The King received this news, so much to his glory and advantage, with a serenity of countenance and composure of mind, peculiar to him. The Baron *de Rbede*, his first Chamberlain, was immediately dispatched to *Berlin*, to desire an interview with the King of *Prussia*, before his departure for *Holland*. But, that Prince having begun his journey to *Koningberg* in *Prussia*, before the Baron's arrival at *Berlin*, the interview was prevented. However, as soon as the King of *Prussia* received from the *Hague* the news of the Queen's death, and of the proclaiming of King *George*, he immediately declared his resolution to contribute his assistance to the maintaining of that Succession, in case it should be disputed; and sent orders to his Ministers at the several Courts, particularly to Mr *Bonnet*, his Resident at *London*, to notify. 'That, as his Majesty had constantly declared himself in favour of the Succession of the House of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, so now he was affected with peculiar joy to hear, that the Settlement of that Crown had, in due time, taken effect, by the proclaiming of King *George*; the rather, because it wisely tended to the promoting the Protestant Religion, and the true interest and welfare of the *British* Nation: And that, in case of need, he was ready to employ all the power which God had put into his hands, in assisting to maintain that Succession against all, who might offer to dispute it.'

The neighbouring Princes and States likewise either went in person, or sent Envoys and Deputies to congratulate his Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown; which occasioned a great concourse of people, and retarded the King's departure; the thoughts of which so afflicted the inhabitants of *Hanover*, who had so long enjoyed the blessings of his mild Government, that they were inconsolable. The King, in order to alleviate their grief, caused intimation to be given to the Magistrates, that they might ask some favour of him; and, at their request, the excise of provisions was taken off, the debts of insolvent debtors were discharged, and their persons set at liberty.

The King, having committed the Government of his *German* Dominions to a Council, at the head of which he placed his Brother Prince *Ernest*, took into consideration what

part of the Royal Family he should carry with him, and then determined, that the Prince should go with him; that the Princess, his Consort, should follow a few weeks after, with the two eldest Princesses; and that the young Prince *Frederic George* should remain at *Hanover* with his youngest Sister. The King also named those of the household, who were to attend him to *Great-Britain* (1).

The King set out from *Herenhausen* the 31st He sets out of *August*, and in four days came to *Utrecht*, for Eng-land. from whence he went to the *Hague*. He had there several Conferences with the *States*, wherein the assurances, which had been mutually given by letters of friendship and effectual assistance, were confirmed (2). At length, on the 16th of *September*, the King and Prince embarked at *Orange-Polder*, on board the *Peregrine* and the *Mary Yacht*, which having, soon after, joined the Squadron of *English* and *Dutch* men of war, that waited for them, under the command of the Earl of *Berkeley*, they all sailed for *England* with a fair wind; and, the next day, about nine in the evening, arrived safe at the *Hope*, where the Admiral thought fit to drop anchor. There being a thick fog the *Saturday* morning, the yacht did not go up the river till the afternoon. The King and Prince went into a barge in *Long Reach*, and arrived at *Greenwich* about six o'clock in the evening. The Duke of *Northumbreland*, Captain of the Life-guard, and the Lord-Chancellor, at the head of the Lords of the Regency, received him at his landing, and complimented him on his safe arrival. The King chose to walk to his house in the Park, accompanied by most of the Nobility, and great numbers of the principal Gentry, through an infinite crowd of persons of all conditions. Before he left his yacht, he appointed the Earls of *Dorset* and *Berkeley* to be Lords of his Bed-chamber, and knighted Mr *William Sanderfon*, Captain of the *Peregrine*. After the King had undergone the fatigue of passing through the crowd, and of giving his hand to all, who approached him, he retired to his Bed-chamber, and sent for several of the Nobility, such as had most distinguished themselves by their zeal for his Succession. It was observed, that the Duke of *Ormond*, the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord *Trevor* were not of that number. The Earl of *Oxford* was not at *Greenwich* that evening, but was one of the earliest there the next morning; but had the misfortune to be undistinguished among the crowd, and, with great difficulty, had at last the bare honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, without exchanging a word with him.

Nor

(1) These were, the Baron *de Kilmenbeck*, Master of the Horse; Baron *Bersdorf*, First Minister of State; Baron *de Gortz*, President of the Finances, and Minister of State; Monsieur *de Robeton*, Privy-Counsellor to the King; Count *Platen*, Great Chamberlain; Baron *de Rbede*, Great Chamberlain; the Marquis *de la Foret*, Chamberlain; Baron *Schultz* and his two Brothers, one Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King, the other to the Prince; Monsieur *Reiche*, Privy-Counsellor, and Secretary to his Majesty; Baron *de Harteff*, Counsellor of War; Monsieur *Schraden*, Secretary of Ambassies; Monsieur *Hannmerstein*, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber; Monsieur *Kempe*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince; two Physicians, Dr *Steigertal* and Dr

No. 83, Vol. IV.

Chappuzeau; two Surgeons, and two Valets de Chamber.

(2) The Marquis *de Chateaufort*, Ambassador of *France*, had an audience, among other foreign Ministers, to compliment the King on his Accession; and the report was, that he used these, among other civil expressions, 'There are yet a few difficulties to be removed, to put the finishing hand to the treaties yet depending; but your Majesty shall be the arbiter of the peace.' To which the King answered, 'I will be the guaranty of it.' The Duke *de Ossuna*, and the Marquis *de Monteleone*, Plenipotentiaries of *Spain*, came from *Utrecht* to the *Hague*, to wait on the King and had a private audience the 9th of *September*.

1714. Nor did the Earl escape such reflections from the spectators, as his conduct had justly deserved. On the other hand, the Duke of Marlborough appeared there, justly favoured by the King, and looked upon (though not yet declared) as Captain General (1). The Dukes of *Shrewsbury*, *Somerset*, *Bolton*, *Argyle*, *Montrose*, *Rutland*, and *Montague*; the Marquis of *Dorchester*; the Earls of *Dorset*, *Bridgewater*, *Sunderland*, *Carlisle*, *Berkeley*, *Nottingham*, *Portland*, *Orford*, *Wharston*, and *Cholmondeley*; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*; the Lords *Ossulstone*, *Sommers*, and *Haitfax*; the Bishop of *Salisbury*; General *Hope*, Mr *Lechmere*, and many others, received particular marks of favour; and the Duke of *Argyle* was declared Groom of the Stole to his Royal Highness; Colonel *William Car* and Colonel *Tyrrel*, Grooms of the Bed-chamber; the Earl of *Heriford*, the Lord *Finch*, the Lord *Lumley*, and Colonel *Oughton*, Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the Prince.

The King's entry. On the 20th of September, the King and Prince of *Wales* made their entry with great pomp and magnificence. There were in the King's coach the Prince, and the Duke of *Northumberland*, Captain of the Life-guard in waiting. Above two hundred coaches of the Nobility and Gentry, all with six horses, preceded the King's. When he came to *St Margaret's Hill* in *Southwark*, he was met by the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, Sheriffs, and Officers of the City of *London*; in whose name Sir *Peter King*, Recorder, made a congratulatory speech. The Lord-Mayor delivered the sword to the King, who returned it to him, and he bore it in the procession bare-headed. The Royal pomp continued till his arrival at his palace of *St James's*, and was favoured by as fair a day as was ever known in that season of the year.

The Court was extremely numerous the next day, when, besides the *British* Nobility and

Gentry, several foreign Ministers made their appearance; particularly those of *France* (2), *Polland*, *Prussia*, and *Italy*, took that occasion to congratulate his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, and safe arrival in *England* (3).

Before we proceed to the events of this Reign, it will be proper to give a general idea of the state of affairs in *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*.

The animosity between the several parties, which even at this day divide *England*, was, at King *George's* Accession, higher than ever. The Whigs, who had been in disgrace the four last years of the Queen's Reign, were full of resentment at the usage they had received from the Tories, and hoped to have full satisfaction under the new Reign, which they looked upon as the end of their humiliation. The Tories, on their part, were extremely apprehensive of a down fall, and this apprehension had engaged several of their Leaders in practices not only dangerous, but directly contrary to the measures, the Nation had taken with the two last Sovereigns and the House of *Hanover*. To the views of these men were ascribed the late peace with *France*, and the violence offered by the Queen to her Allies, to compel them to a reconciliation with that Crown, and to the sacrifice of the fruits of their victories.

Moreover, the principles of the Revolution had been far from being universally embraced. Not only the Papists espoused the abdicated family, but also great numbers of Churchmen; and it was much to be feared, that they would join with the Catholics to dethrone a Prince, whom they looked upon as a Foreigner. The famous distinction of a King *de jure*, and a King *de facto*, was not yet forgot, nor the doctrine of passive obedience; and several refused to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

Scotland was generally dissatisfied with the Union. They were apt to consider themselves

(1) The Duke of *Marlborough*, having been detained a fortnight at *Osford* by contrary winds, happened to land at *Dever*, the day the Queen died. He knew nothing of the Queen's death, no more than the Mayor and Jurats of *Dever*, by whom he was received in their formalities with the acclamations of the people, and with a discharge of a great number of guns from the plat-form, but none from the castle, which are used only in royal salutes. The reason of his coming at that time is not known for certain. He had been invited first by the Lord-Treasurer *Harley*, and afterwards by the Lord *Bolingbroke*, and great promises were made him. The compliment went so far, that orders were said to be sent to the Commanders of the castles and forts on the coasts of *Kent*, *Essex*, and *Suffolk*, to pay the same honours, by the firing of guns wherever he landed, as was done when he returned in triumph from his glorious campaigns. But it seems this ceremony was soon after countermanded by an express. However, the Duke consented to make a kind of public entry. About two hundred inhabitants of *Southwark*, with their Member at their head, resolved to meet and attend him through the Borough. He was likewise attended as he passed through the City with the like number on horseback. His coach happened to break down at *Temple-Bar*, and he was forced to go into another. He was censured by his enemies for this conduct, as if it was a sort of insult on the Queen, who was but just dead.

(2) *Iberville* the French Envoy said on this occasion, 'That, as soon as his Majesty's leisure would permit, he would desire an audience, to repeat to him the assurances, the Marquis de *Chateaufort* had given his

Majesty at the *Hague*, on the part of his most Christian Majesty.'

(3) An accident happened this day, which interrupted a little the gay humour the Court was in. *Charles Aldworth*, Member of Parliament for *Windsor*, had imbibed, at *St Germain* in *France*, strong prejudices against the *Hanover* Succession, which, at his return to *England*, he made no scruple of publishing, and confirmed them by frequent drinking the Pretender's health. This drew upon him several quarrels, in which he met with some disgraces; and, in the latter end of the Queen's Reign, he set so great value on that merit of his, that he thought himself not sufficiently taken notice of, which made him a little intractable. He took liberties in railing at the old Ministry; and, to ingratiate himself with their Successors, charged it as a crime in Colonel *Chudleigh* of the foot-guards, that he had drank the Duke of *Marlborough's* health. Colonel *Chudleigh*, the Cousin of the other Colonel, meeting unexpectedly Mr *Aldworth* in the Presence-chamber at *St James's*, expostulated with him about it; and, some By-standers expressing their surprize, that men, who had publicly drank the Pretender's health, should dare to appear in that place, Mr *Aldworth* came to hard words with Colonel *Chudleigh*, and challenged him; upon which they both went out, and fought in *Marybone-Fields*, notwithstanding Colonel *Billet's* endeavours to prevent it. Mr *Aldworth* was killed on the spot; and the King, being told of it, expressed his indignation at people's quarrelling in his Palace; but said, that, as he came to maintain the laws, he would leave the matter wholly to their decision.

1714.

as degraded to a province of *England*. They had always been pleased with the title of an independent Kingdom, heartily lamented the loss of it, and as heartily wished to recover it. That the *Scots* should, at King *George's* Accession, be in these sentiments, is no great wonder, since it requires ages to root out of the minds of a Nation such sort of impressions, however ill-grounded. Accordingly, the *Scots* began to shew their discontent soon after the Queen's death, of which there is the following account: The Regency having issued a proclamation for a reward of 100,000 *l.* for seizing the Pretender, they were informed that the Pretender's friends in *Scotland* designed an insurrection; and that some of them had been seen to go in arms towards the *Highlands*; upon which they ordered a good number of half-pay Officers, especially of those belonging to the *Scots* regiments, to go thither immediately, that, in case of necessity, they might raise the militia of the country, under the orders of Major-General *Whetbam*, who commanded in chief there. Though this precaution was necessary, yet the *Scots* Jacobites were so confounded, that they could do nothing considerable; so that the chief of them only held some consultations, and retired to their lurking places.

Commissions in Scotland.

Some of the *Highlanders* appeared in a body near *Fort William* at *Inverlochy*, in the western *Highlands*. But, the Governor sending out a detachment against them, they marched off; so that they could do nothing at that time in *Scotland*, but only steal some cattle, and took an opportunity by night to proclaim the Pretender. The Government ordered them to be prosecuted; and, by way of prevention, the Duke of *Gordon* was confined by the Regency to the City of *Edinburgh*, on his parole; his son, the Marquis of *Huntley*, to his house in the North; and his son-in-law, the Lord *Drummond*, to his Castle of that name. The Duke of *Arbol*, Lord Privy-Seal, who had caused the King to be proclaimed at *Perth*, was ordered to continue at his Castle of *Blair* in the *Highlands*, to preserve the peace of the neighbourhood: And the Regency being informed, that the *Highlanders* had appointed huntings, when it is usual for the *Clans* to attend their Chiefs, they forbade those huntings, and ordered Sir *Donald Macdonald* of *Slait*, one of those Chiefs, suspected to be in the Pretender's interest, to be made prisoner, and sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Drummond* was also ordered to be seized, but escaped to the *Highlands*, from whence he wrote to the Lords Justices, and offered bail for his good behaviour. The Earl of *Broadalbin*, who had sufficiently declared himself for the Pretender, tho' he had abjured him when he sat as one of the sixteen *Scots* Peers, thought fit to retire to an inaccessible Castle in a lake; upon which a detachment of foot was ordered to guard the avenues; and Captain *Campbel* of *Glendoroul*, who had a Commission, by the Earl of *Oxford's* means, to raise an Independent Company in the *Highlands*, was taken at *Inverlochy*, and from thence sent prisoner to *Edinburgh*. The late Lord-Treasurer had, a little before, set up a new Chamberlain's Court in *Scotland*, the old one having been long discontinued, because arbitrary Princes had made it a grievance to the subject. The design of reviving it now was only for a cover to bestow money upon such, as were in the Court-measures,

Accordingly, the Earl of *Mar*, who managed the affairs of *Scotland*, recommended his own brother-in-law, Sir *Hugh Paterson* of *Banockburn*, and the Lord *Haddo*, eldest son of the Earl of *Aberdeen*, to be two of the Commissioners, to whom the Queen had granted a bill of 1000 *l.* each, payable by Mr *Douglas*, Receiver-General of the land-tax. The Lord Viscount *Kilgib*, one of the sixteen *Scots* Peers, and the Lord *Lyon*, King at Arms, two other relations to the Earl of *Mar*, had also grants for the like sum. Soon after the Queen's death, Sir *Hugh Paterson* demanded payment of his bill; but the Earl of *May*, Lord Justice-General of *Scotland*, interposed, and acquainted the Regents, how unreasonable a thing this was; and particularly that men, suspected of disaffection to his Majesty's Government, should have the public money distributed among them. Upon this the Lords Regents ordered the Duke of *Arbol*, Lord Privy-Seal, to put an immediate stop to all grants, that were not passed before the Queen's death; which disappointed those Gentlemen of their money, and saved 4000 *l.* to the Government.

When the King was proclaimed at *Glasgow*, forty or fifty unknown persons, while the Magistrates were busy in attending the proclamation, took an opportunity to pull down the Episcopal Meeting-House there, where one Mr *Cockburn* had set up the *English* Liturgy, by countenance of the late Government, more to disgust the Citizens, than in hopes of gaining Proselytes. As soon as the Magistrates heard of it, they sent to apprehend the actors, and to prevent the pulling down the House; but they had done their work, and made their escape, before the Magistrates came thither; so that none of them were discovered or taken. The Jacobite party took occasion from hence to reflect upon the Presbyterians, as if they had persecuted those of the Church of *England*, and inserted an account of it in the *Post-Boy*, with all the aggravating circumstances, that their malice and invention could suggest. Complaint was likewise made of it to the Regency, who ordered the Lord Advocate of *Scotland* to inquire into it. There was found good reason to suspect, that the thing was done on purpose by the disaffected party, to raise a clamour; because Mr *Cockburn*, the day before, had retired with his family and effects to *Edinburgh*, though the Magistrates of *Glasgow* had given him assurance of protection. This account being taken upon oath by the Magistrates, and sent up to the Regency, put an end to that matter. Thus stood affairs in *Scotland*, at the time of King *George's* Accession.

As for *Ireland*, the chief thing to be dreaded there, was the great number of Papists, who are ever ready to throw off the yoke of the *English*. A little more conduct in King *James II.*, and a little more assistance from *France*, would have endangered that Kingdom. And, at the time of the Queen's death, Popery was in much the same situation.

Indeed there seemed to be no danger from any foreign power. *Holland* would not fail to fulfil all engagements: The King of himself was powerful: He had on foot a good number of troops, which, without obstacle, could have been embarked in his own Dominions. But, after all, *Lewis XIV.* was still alive: it could

1714.

not

not be doubted, but that it was against his will that he had acknowledged the Protestant Succession, and promised not to disturb it. He was assuredly in the same sentiments still, and perhaps thought himself more obliged to keep his word with King James, on his death bed, never to forsake his son, than the engagements, the necessity of a peace had forced him into. It may be, what he would not do directly, he might do indirectly; With money, may not troops, arms and ships soon be had? It will be seen in the course of this history, that, without any aid, the *English* and *Scots* raised such an insurrection, as caused great disturbances: and what would they have done, had they been assisted! In vain would the King have depended on his own troops; they could not be brought over without the consent of the Parliament, and the *English* are too jealous of their liberty, to suffer any foreign forces, and it is with some sort of regret, that they bear even those of the *States*.

Such was the situation of the *British* Dominions and of *Europe*, when King George came to the Throne; and therefore it is no wonder, that, upon his arrival in *England*, his first proceedings expressed a dislike of the Tories and the late Ministry, and shewed his attachment to the Whigs. The persons, he had named for the Regency, were a plain proof what the friends of the late Ministry were to expect. He had, even before his arrival, removed the Lord *Bolingbroke* (1), and appointed the Lord *Townshend* Secretary of State in his room. The day after his landing at *Greenwich*, he sent the new Secretary to, acquaint the Duke of *Ormond*, that he had no longer occasion for his service as Captain-General, but would be glad to see him at Court.

These changes were followed by many others: The Duke of *Marlborough* was made Captain-General of the land-forces, Colonel of the first regiment of Foot-guards, and Master of the Ordnance. The Lord *Cowper* was made Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Warren* Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Sunderland* Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Devonshire* was appointed Steward of the Household in the room of Earl *Paulet*, and Mr *James Stanhope* Secretary of State in the room of Mr *Bromley*, and the Duke of *Montrose* in the room of the Earl of *Mar*. The Duke of *Somerset* was made Master of the Horse, the Duke of *St Albans* Captain of the

Band of Pensioners, and the Duke of *Argyle* 1714. Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, Mr *William Pulteney* was made Secretary of War, and Mr *Robert Walpole* Receiver and Pay-master-General of all the guards and garrisons, and all other forces of *Great-Britain*, and Pay-master to *Chelsea* Hospital, in the room of Mr *How* and Mr *Moore*. The Privy-Council was dissolved, and a new one declared, of which the Earl of *Nottingham* was President (2). Out of the Privy-Counsellors a Cabinet Council was formed, consisting chiefly of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Marlborough*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Sunderland*, The Lords *Hallifax*, *Townshend*, *Sommers*, and General *Stanhope*. All these had distinguished themselves by their professed opposition to the late measures, and the peace.

The Governors of places were also most of them changed. General *Erle* was made Governor of *Portsmouth*. There were as many alterations in *Ireland* as in *England*. Before the King's arrival, the behaviour of Sir *Constantine Phipps* had been such, that the Regency had removed him, as well as the Archbishop of *Armagh*, from being Lords-Justices of that Kingdom, and in their room appointed the Archbishop of *Dublin* and the Earl of *Kildare*, for which they had the King's letter of approbation and thanks (3). *Alan Broderick* was made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and *William Walsby* Chief Justice. The Privy-Council was also dissolved, and another named, of which the Duke of *Ormond* was one (4).

All these changes were made before the Coronation, which was fixed to the 20th of *October*. The King is by some blamed, for not having joined to the great number of Whigs a few more of the Tories, which they suppose would have prevented the general discontent of that party. But it was very difficult for the King not to do as he did. The inclination which the Pretender had indiscreetly asserted, the Queen had for him in the latter years of her life * could be ascribed only to those who had the management of affairs. The Ministry, resolutely bent to end the war, notwithstanding the complaints of all the Allies (who placed their safety in the humbling of *France*) and particularly, notwithstanding the repeated opposition of the Duke of *Hanover*, they could not but be sensible, that, if he one day became their Master,

* See p. 379.

(1) Shortly after the King's arrival, a message having been sent to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, in the Country, for his coming to town, to be present at the taking off the Seals that had been put on his Office; he excused himself, saying, 'The same might as well be done by one of his Secretaries; but, if he could be so happy as to have the honour to kiss the King's hand, he would fly to throw himself at his Majesty's feet.'

(2) The rest were: The Prince of *Wales*, Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, Lord Chancellor *Cowper*, the Dukes of *Strevinsbury*, *Devonshire*, *Somerset*, *Bilton*, *Marlborough*, *Argyle*, *Montrose*, *Roxburgh*, *Kent*, Marquis of *Lindsey* Lord Great-Chamberlain, the Earls of *Warren* Privy-Seal, *Pembroke*, *Suffolk*, *Sunderland*, *Anglesea*, *Carlisle*, *Abington*, *Scarborough*, *Orford*, Viscount *Townshend*, Bishop of *London*, the Lords *Sommers* and *Hallifax*, *Thomas Coke* Vice-Chamberlain, *James Stanhope* Secretary of State, Sir *Thomas Parker* Chief-Justice, *Thomas Erle* Lieutenant-

General of the Ordnance, and *Robert Walpole* Pay-master General.

(3) On the 14th of *Sept.* the Regency had advice from *Dublin*, that, upon the removal of Sir *Constantine Phipps* and the Archbishop of *Armagh*, from being Lords-Justices of *Ireland*, there was an universal joy among all the friends of his Majesty's Succession; and that some of the populace, who were filled with resentment against Sir *Constantine*, went to his house, in order to insult him; but he had beforehand retired to the Castle.

(4) Some time after the following creations were made in *Ireland*.

George Cholmondeley, Esq; Baron *Newburgh*.
Alan Broderick, Esq; Baron *Broderick*.
Sir *George St George*, Baron *St George*.
Sir *Arthur Cole*, Baron *Ranelagh*.
Sir *John Percival*, Baron *Percival*.
Richard Fitz-Patrick, Esq; Baron *Gerran*.
George Evans, Esq; Baron *Carbery*.

(1) The

1714. Master, he would not fail to sacrifice them to his own, and the resentment of the Allies, whose projects they had disappointed, and whose hopes they had confounded. It was therefore natural to think, they had taken measures to prevent any danger from him. A thousand circumstances supported these conjectures: The dowry paid to King James's Queen: The small reward offered for taking the Pretender: The conniving at the lifting of men in his service: The suffering the Revolution to be publicly talked and preached against, and doctrines to be vented, destructive of the principles on which it was built: The little care to have an eye to Scotland, to redress the grievances complained of by that Nation, and which were capable of driving them to extremities: England unprovided of troops, as well as Scotland and Ireland, whilst under frivolous pretences several regiments were kept in Flanders: All this amounted to a sort of demonstration, that the Queen's death alone had prevented the defeating of the Protestant Succession, and the destroying all that had been done for above twenty years to secure and justify the exclusion of King James and his pretended Heir. Now can there be to a Prince attacked in so important a point, any room for pardon or dissimulation?

Besides, there was a kind of necessity to espouse one of the two parties, who had by turns prevailed under King William and Queen Anne. By that means he would be freed from the continual trouble of managing and keeping the balance even between them, and perhaps from the danger of having both turn against him. The Whigs were really enemies of France and the Pretender, and could not be otherwise; they had constantly declared for the Protestant Succession, and though, in some of their proceedings, the spirit of party no less appeared than a

true zeal, yet they might be depended upon. To the Whigs the Court of Hanover was indebted, for obliging the French King and the Duke of Lorraine not to suffer the Pretender in their Dominions, and for the advices of what was contriving against the interests of the Protestant Successor. This being the case, there was no room to deliberate which party to chuse. King William, accustomed from his youth to dissimulation, might have deliberated, or seemed to have done so: But the Elector of Hanover, absolute Master in his German Dominions, and consequently unused to faction and party, was hardly capable of that dissimulation, so requisite in a Government like that of England.

Notwithstanding all the changes and the disgrace of so many persons, no ill effects followed. Addresses from the Universities, the Counties, Cities, Boroughs, and Corporations, expressed the public joy and satisfaction at the King's Accession, though in a very different stile; for some insinuated that the Protestant Succession had not been in danger, whilst others spoke of the late Ministry in very severe terms, and mentioned the utmost dread of their measures (1).

The first time the King was present at the Privy-Council, after he had taken the oath relating to the security of the Church of Scotland, he made the following declaration:

'Having, in my answers to addresses of both Houses of Parliament, fully expressed my resolution to defend the religious and civil rights of all my subjects, there remains very little for me to say upon this occasion.

Yet having been willing to omit no opportunity of giving all possible assurances to a people, who have already deserved so well of me; I take this occasion also to express to you my firm purpose, to do all that is in my power for

The King's declaration in Council. Sept. 22.

(1) The address of the University of Cambridge, after condoling the Queen's death, and congratulating the King's Accession, proceeds as follows:

'It would be unpardonable folly and downright insatiation, if any of your Majesty's Protestant subjects should turn their eyes to a Popish Pretender, who can never reign over us but to the certain loss of every thing, that ought to be dear to us, either as we are Britons or Protestants. But then your Majesty's most loyal University must be utterly incapable of a thought, so destructive to our most holy Faith, so opposite to our happy Constitution both in Church and State, so full of ingratitude to God, and of injustice to your Majesty, who, by the death of our late Sovereign, hath now alone the rightful and undoubted title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, which receives a new lustre by your Majesty's happy Accession to it.

Out of a deep sense of these things, and in obedience to the just and wholesome laws of the Realm, and in a conscientious regard to our repeated oaths, we most humbly presume to assure your Majesty, that as our own studies and endeavours shall always be employed in the defence of your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and your just and rightful title to our allegiance against the Pretender, and all other your Majesty's enemies and opposers whatsoever; so shall it be likewise our especial care, that all those, who are educated amongst us, be instructed in the same true principles of loyalty and duty to your Majesty.'

The address of the University of Oxford was in a different stile:

'The inexpressible loss, we have sustained by the death of our late Sovereign of blessed memory, would No. 83. VOL. IV.

have been insupportable, had not God, in his great goodness to this Nation, supplied it to us by your Majesty's happy and quiet Accession to the Throne. With the prospect of this blessing we comforted ourselves, as often as we apprehended that precious life to be in danger; for, knowing the sincerity of our hearts, we never suspected, that any persons would be so regardless of their duty and of their interest, as not to support, with the utmost zeal, that Succession, to which they were bound by the most solemn oaths, and on which the preservation of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, did next, under God, so manifestly depend. Our expectations, our wishes, and our prayers, have been answered by that unanimity, with which your subjects have recognized your Majesty's undoubted right, that impatience they have expressed to see your Royal person in the actual possession of your Throne, and themselves happy under the influence of your Government.'

The addresses of Oxford and Gloucester were very remarkable. In the Oxford address was this passage:

'We hope, that the universal approbation, with which your Majesty entered your Reign, will be an happy omen of unanimity among us: All the insinuations, as if the Protestant Succession was in danger, must now appear (as they were) groundless, and only a contrivance of designing men to divide us. We can now have no strife, but who shall shew the greatest zeal for your sacred Majesty, for our admirable Church and happy Constitution, in opposition to your Majesty's enemies, to Popery and Schism, and to all Anti-monarchical and Republican principles.'

1714. for the supporting and maintaining the Churches of England and Scotland, as they are severally by law established; which I am of opinion may be effectually done, without the least impairing the Toleration allowed by law to Protestant Dissenters, so agreeable to Christian charity, and so necessary to the trade and riches of this Kingdom. The good effects of making property secure are no where so clearly seen, and to so great a degree, as in this happy Kingdom; and I assure you, that there is not any among you shall more earnestly endeavour the prefer-
*The Treas-
 ury and
 the Com-
 missioners*
 vation of it than myself.

At the same time the Prince Royal was declared Prince of Wales, and took his seat at the upper end of the Board, at the King's right-hand. Soon after the Treasury was put in Commission, and also the Admiralty. The Commissioners of the Treasury were the Lord Halifax, Sir Richard Onslow Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir William St Quintin, Edward Wortley Montague, and Paul Meibum. Those of the Admiralty were the Earl of Orford, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Sir John Jennings, Sir Charles Turner, Abraham Stanyan, and George Baile. John Aislabie was made Treasurer of the Navy, and the Earl of Cholmondeley was appointed Treasurer, Hugh Boscawen Comptroller, and Edmund Dunch Master of the King's Household. Dr Samuel Garth was knighted, who had lately published a Latin Dedication, which he intended to prefix to an edition of Lucretius three years before; but it was not then thought seasonable.

On the 9th of October N. S. the two eldest Princesses of Great-Britain, Anne and Amelia, set out from Hanover, to go, by easy journeys, to the Hague; the youngest Princess Caroline being left at Hanover, on account of a late indisposition. Three days after, the Princess of Wales set out for Holland, attended by the Countess of Pickenburgh; and, on the 17th, arrived at the Hague, with the two eldest Princesses her Daughters. The next morning she received the

compliments of the *States-General*, by Deputies nominated for that purpose; and, the weather being fair, she appeared in the afternoon in the *Voorhout*, attended by a very numerous train of coaches; and, in the evening, kept a drawing-room, at which all the Ladies and Persons of distinction of that place were present. The next day she received visits from the French Ambassador, and other foreign Ministers. The Earl of Berkeley and Sir John Walter of the Green Cloth were come thither five days before, having left the squadron of men of war at *Helvoet-Sluis*, with orders for the yachts to come up to Rotterdam. The Princess being informed by the Earl, that the wind was easterly, on the 20th of October, N. S. she went on board a yacht of the *States of Holland*, accompanied by the Earl of Albemarle, and the rest of the Deputies of that Province; by the Count of Hannau, and the Counts, her Sister, Prince William of Hesse, and the Prince of Anhalt. The Earl of Strafford accompanied her also part of her way to Rotterdam, where being arrived, she embarked on board the *Mary* yacht, and with the two Princesses and their retinue, landed at Margate, October 11, O. S. and the next evening arrived at Rochester. The Prince of Wales, having early that day received the news of her arrival, set out about seven o'clock in the morning, accompanied by the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, and the Earl of Bridgewater, Lord Chamberlain to their Royal Highnesses. The Prince met the Princess beyond Rochester, where she was attended by the Countesses of Dorset and Berkeley, who had been named two of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber. Their Royal Highnesses passed through the City of London in a chariot with six horses, followed by another, in which were the two young Princesses, and came to St James's on the 13th of October (1).

The day appointed for the Coronation drawing near, the King, as usual on such occasions, advanced some of the Peers to higher titles, and created some new ones (2). Five days after, the Coronation, Oct. 20.

In that of Gloucester were these words:

'Her late Majesty at last by a happy peace (which God continue to us and our children) secured your Majesty's quiet Succession, which she had always at heart, and was careful of through her whole Reign. Your Majesty succeeds in our hearts: No time, no accident, can make us otherwise than truly loyal. It is our principle to obey your Majesty without reserve, for we think you accountable to none upon earth: And the same principles will embolden us unanimously to resist your Majesty's enemies, and, with all that is dear to us, to defend your Majesty's just title to the Crown you wear, against all persons whatsoever. And these our inclinations and principles we owe to our steady adherence to the Established Church of England, the glory of the Reformation, truly Ancient, truly Apostolical, for her submission and obedience to Kings and Governors, for her mild behaviour to those, who have formerly torn out her very bowels. No Church upon earth can then so antient a Charter, so unlimited Obedience, so universal Charity: No Church can boast so great a Defender. May your love to each other find no bounds. May it please your Majesty, we here speak the sense of all your people, who are truly loyal, and are assured they are vastly more numerous than those, who are but occasionally so; and therefore doubt not to send your Majesty Members of Parliament, who are not of those, whose principles are to obey no longer than they are pleased.'

On the contrary, in the address from Nottingham, presented by their Member Mr Plumtree, it is said:

'With pleasure we now look back upon our past dangers, with joy we see those intrigues and stratagems disappointed, which were so artfully contrived by some ill designing men to effect our ruin, and from that dreadful storm which lately threatened us, and which, by divine Providence, and the wise conduct of your Majesty, is blown over, we cannot but address ourselves to your sacred Person, as our second Great Deliverer, from a slavish yoke, and a Popish Impostor.'

In the address from the County of Hereford is this paragraph:

'We are the more sensible of the inestimable blessing of your Majesty's Accession to the Throne, because we had very lately so much reason to apprehend, we were in danger of being deprived of it, by the designs of ambitious men, who, if God had not prevented them, to raise themselves to power and riches, had sacrificed their country to tyranny and superstition.'

(1) The Princesses Carolina, who was left behind, did not come to England till the 24th of May.

(2) Letters patents, Oct. 15, passed the Great Seal, creating

James, Lord Chandos, Earl of Caernarvon.
 Lewis, Lord Rockingham, Baron of Throsley in the County of Kent, Viscount Sandes of Lees Court

1714. the Coronation was performed at *Westminster* with great magnificence (1). There never was so great an appearance of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as on this occasion, no less than seventeen Archbishops and Bishops, though two Sees were then vacant; all the Dukes in or about *London*, except the Duke of *Buckingham*; seventy Earls and Viscounts, and amongst them the Earl of *Oxford* and Viscount *Bolingbroke*; and as many Barons. The demonstrations of joy throughout the Kingdom on the Coronation-day seemed to be general, and were in proportion as splendid as at *London*, some few places

excepted, where the rabble shewed their hatred to the Protestant Succession, by riots and outrages (2). The University of *Oxford* (who, the day before, had presented to the King by Dr *Gardiner*, their Vice-Chancellor, a book of verses on the death of *Queen Anne*, and the Accession of his Majesty to the Throne) on the Coronation-day, conferred unanimously, in a full Convocation, the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on Sir *Constantine Phipps*, with all imaginable marks of honour and esteem.

The first, affair the King turned his thoughts to, was the execution of an article of the treaty of *Union*.

1714.

Phipps made Dr of Laws at Oxford.

The affair of Dan-kirk.

Court in the same County, and Earl of *Rockingham*.

Charles, Lord *Ossulston*, Earl of *Tankerville*.

Charles, Lord *Hallifax*, Viscount *Sunbury* in the County of *Middlesex*, and Earl of *Hallifax*.

Heneage, Lord *Gurnsey*, Earl of *Aylesford* in the County of *Kent*.

John, Lord *Harvey*, Earl of *Bristol*.

Thomas, Lord *Pelham*, Viscount *Houghton* in the County of *Nottingham*, and Earl of *Clare*.

Henry, Earl of *Thomond* in *Ireland*, Viscount *Tadcaster* in the County of *York*.

James, Viscount *Castleton* in *Ireland*, Baron *Sanderston* of *Seely* in the County of *Lincoln*.

Bennet, Lord *Sherrard* in *Ireland*, Baron of *Harborough* in the County of *Leicester*.

Gervaise, Lord *Pierrepont* in *Ireland*, Baron *Pierrepont* of *Hanlop* in the County of *Bucks*.

Henry *Boyle*, Baron of *Carleton* in the County of *York*.

Sir *Richard Temple*, Baron of *Cobham* in the County of *Kent*.

Henry, Lord *Paget*, Earl of *Uxbridge*.

The same day the King appointed Lieutenant-General *Cadogan* to be Colonel of the second regiment of Foot-guards, in the room of General *Churchill*. The Dukes of *Bolton* and *Rutland*, and the Earls of *Dorset* and *Hallifax*, were made Knights of the Garter. The Lord *Cobham* was appointed Envoy to the Court of *Vienna*, and the Earl of *Stair* Ambassador to the Court of *France*. The Dukes of *Richmond*, *Grafton*, and *Kent*, the Earls of *Lincoln*, *Dorset*, *Manchester*, *Berkeley*, *Selkirk*, *Stair*, and *Orkney*, and the Lord *Cartaret*, were appointed Lords of the Bed-Chamber; and Mr *Howard*, Brigadier *Dormer*, Brigadier *Breton*, Colonel *Ker*, Colonel *Tyrrel*, Colonel *Fielding*, and Colonel *Cornwall*, Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

(1) The forms were much the same as in former Coronations; what was particular in this was as follows:

The procession of the Officers, and then the Peers, from *Westminster-Hall* to the Abbey-Church, being closed by two persons representing the Dukes of *Aquitain* and *Normandy*, the Lords, who bore the *Regalia*, came in turn. The Earl of *Salisbury*, with St *Edward's* staff; the Lord Viscount *Longueville*, with the spurs; the Earl of *Dorset*, with the scepter and cross; the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Pembroke*, and *Lincoln*, with the three swords. Then *Garter's* Deputy, with his coronet between the Usher of the Black-Rod, and the Lord-Mayor of *London*; then the Lord Great-Chamberlain single; then the Prince of *Wales* in his robes of State of crimson velvet furred with ermin; his coronet, with precious stones, and cap borne by the Earl of *Hertford* on a crimson velvet-cushion, and wearing a cap of crimson velvet turned up with ermin, by his Majesty's permission; his train supported by *Adolphus Oughton*, and another Groom of his Bed-chamber, assisted by *Henry Killigrew*, Gentleman of his Royal Highness's Robes. Then the Earl of *Derby*, with the sword of State, between the Duke of *Mountrague*, Lord High-Constable for that day, and the Earl of *Suffolk* and *Bindon*, as Earl-Marshal of *England*; the Duke of *Grafton*, Lord High-Steward on that

occasion, with the Crown, between the Duke of *Argyle*, bearing the scepter with the Dove, and the Duke of *Somerfet* with the orb; the Bishop of *Salisbury* with the bible, and the Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* with the patten, and the Bishop of *Bangor* with the chalice. Then the KING in his Royal robes of crimson velvet, furred with ermin, and bordered with a rich broad gold lace, wearing the collar of the order of St *George*, and on his head a cap of State of crimson velvet, turned up with ermin, adorned with a circle of gold, enriched with diamonds, supported by the Bishops of *Durham* and *Bath* and *Wells*, under a canopy borne by the Barons of the *Cinque-Ports*. The Litany was sung by the Bishops of *Litchfield* and *Coventry* and *Norwich*, and the Sermon preached by Dr *William Talbot*, Bishop of *Oxford*, Father to the late Lord Chancellor. The Bishop observes in his Sermon, 'Queen *Anne* not only passed laws for the further establishment of the Protestant Succession, but by her Arms, and those of her Allies, had, in human appearance, placed it almost out of danger, having, in eight campaigns, so glorious in the conduct, and so astonishing in the success of them, as not to be paralleled in history, so far reduced the only power, that could interrupt it, that there was little more wanting to have completed our security. But whether it was to correct us for some sins, whereby we had provoked God to anger, or to chastise our confidence, which, it may be, we placed too much in the arm of flesh; or to convince us, that his Providence, which alone began, should alone have the glory of finishing this great work; he was pleased to suffer us to fall into a condition, from which nothing else could have relieved us. Our enemy, who had set up a Pretender to this Throne, raised from a state of asking Peace, to a condition of giving Peace and Princes too to *Europe*; our Allies, some divided from us, others miserably disjoined; and we ourselves not only unguarded, but wretchedly broken into parties and factions at home. The friends of the Pretender thought these circumstances so encouraging, that they openly avowed his title in writing and discourse, and his Agents as boldly enlisted soldiers to assert it with the sword. And he must have been very sanguine, who, in this view of things, could have thought, that the Pretender, whom our Queen's repeated instances could not remove from a situation, which her Parliament thought too near us, would not, upon her Majesty's demise, have brought a foreign army to join his friends here, before the Protestant Heir, who was at a much greater distance, could have arrived, to have maintained his own just right, or defended his faithful subjects. But when that day was come, that was to put a period to that Royal life, on the continuance of which alone, this threatening danger seemed suspended; then was God pleased to mix so much mercy with the stroke, as by his Providence to order it, that the unsettled posture of affairs abroad would not permit the Pretender's foreign friends to send any forces to encourage an insurrection; and the unreadiness of his surprized abettors here would not permit them to appear in such a manner, as to invite an invasion; but our King was peaceably proclaimed, to the universal joy of his people.'

(2) Dr *Sachverell* was at that time at *Sutton*, near *Birmingham* in *Warwickshire*, where he preached on the

1714. of *Utrecht*, the demolition of *Dunkirk*; from whence the trade of *England* and *Holland* had been greatly incommoded during the late wars. Instead of executing this article, the *French* King had entirely evaded it; and therefore Mr *Prior*, who was still Resident at *Paris*, was ordered to present a memorial to him, pressing the performance of the 9th article of the treaty of *Utrecht* (1). The *French* King, who had used the distinction of the letter and spirit of treaties to justify his non-compliance with the treaty of Partition, adhered to the letter of this, and pretended he had fulfilled it in the utmost extent (2). His answer was not satisfactory; *Prior* was recalled, and the Earl of *Stair* sent in his room, who prosecuted the affair with great vigour. The Court of *France* would not yield, and declared in express terms, *Mardyke* was not *Dunkirk*, and that the treaty of *Utrecht* did not deprive the King of the natural right of a Sovereign, to make what works he should judge proper for the preservation of his subjects. The truth is, the Plenipotentiaries of *Great-Britain* had been too negligent in the affair. In stipulating the demolition of *Dunkirk*, it was doubtless their intention that another and better harbour should not be made on that coast;

but then it should have been so expressed; otherwise, in such articles all advantages will be taken by those on whom they are imposed.

The same fault had been committed in the treaty of Commerce with *Spain*. The advantages obtained in the body of the treaty were all explained away by the separate articles, and the result was, that the *British* goods and merchandizes paid seven per cent. more than had been paid before. King *George* applied himself also to redress this grievance. *Spain*, in imitation of *France*, adhered to the letter of the treaty, and would not agree that the terms should be explained according to the intentions of the Queen's Plenipotentiaries; and it was not till after much time and pains that this, and several other difficulties relating to the *Assiento* contract, were adjusted. So true is it, that a good Negotiator is as rare and as useful as a great General.

The Barrier Treaty, which was negotiating at *Antwerp* between the Emperor and the *States-General*, and which was of great consequence to the trade of *England*, drew also the attention of the new King. General *Cadogan*, intimate friend of the Duke of *Marlborough*, was sent as Plenipotentiary.

In

the *Sunday* before the Coronation; and above two hundred of the *Birmingham* people came so far to attend upon him, and the consequence of it appeared a day or two after. Several of the principal inhabitants of *Birmingham* having resolved in a suitable manner to express their joy on the day of the Coronation, an entertainment was prepared for them at the *Coffee-Tavern*. When the night came on, a tumultuous rabble got together, broke the windows of the house, and forced the company to remove: all the cry was *Sacheverell for ever; and down with the Whigs*. If any one in the street cried, *God bless King George*, he was in danger of his life. At *Bristol* also the mob broke the windows of Mr *Whiting*, the Under-Sheriff, who had offended them by prosecuting one guilty of perjury. They did the same at Mr *Jeffrey's* house; but fell in a still more furious manner on Mr *Stevens's* which they assaulted, entered, and plundered. One Mr *Thomas*, who persuaded them to withdraw, was murdered; and several Gentlemen insulted, hurt, and abused. At *Chippenham* in *Wiltshire*, the rabble armed with guns, pistols, and clubs, marched with beat of drum, and abused the Justices, Gentlemen, and Freemen, who were shewing their loyalty in solemnizing the King's Coronation. The same kind of disorders were committed at *Norwich* and *Reading*.

(1) The memorial was as follows:

The under-written Plenipotentiary, Minister of the King of *Great-Britain*, has orders from the King his Master to represent to your Majesty, that, having heard the report of the commissaries and engineers sent to view the state of the fortifications and port of *Dunkirk*, his Majesty is very much surprized to hear, that notwithstanding the instances and representations made on the part of *Great-Britain*, to press the execution of the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, the said port is so little filled up, that there can still to this day as great ships as formerly pass by the old canal up to the hornwork of the town. So long as that canal remains, it cannot be denied, that there is still at *Dunkirk* a port of one thousand rods long, and consequently able to receive many hundred ships. The words of the treaty are, *Portus Compleatur* (that the haven shall be filled up) *Aggeres aut moles diruantur* (that the dykes which form the canal and the moles be destroyed). We appeal even to your Majesty's engineers, if the haven be filled up, and if the dykes be destroyed? The King his Master is very much persuaded that your Majesty, being fully informed of this fact,

will give your strict orders, that at last that shall be accomplished, which, according to the words of the treaty, ought to have been done above a year ago. The same Minister has orders to represent to your Majesty, that the surprize of the King his Master has been still greater, when he was told, that notwithstanding the said 9th article, which says expressly, *Ne dicta Munimenta, Portus, Moles, aut Aggeres denovo unquam reficiantur* (that the said fortifications, port, or the dykes of *Dunkirk* shall never be rebuilt) that they are actually at work in making a new port, much larger than the old canal; which, as well as the old haven, goes up to the town of *Dunkirk*; and that the foundation of a sluice much greater than the former, which served to clean the old haven, is laid.

It cannot be imagined, that your Majesty will make use of the word *Dicta*, which is in that article, to maintain, that, since the same canal is not restored, the same materials are not made use of, and the same bastions and courtrains are not rebuilt, that your Majesty is at liberty to raise new works, and to make a new port better than the former. The *Bona Fides*, which ought to reign in all treaties, and which will be religiously observed by the King my Master, will not admit of such a supposition.

When ships can go into *Dunkirk* by the old canal, which is in the North, or by the new, which is on the West, *Dunkirk* will, in the same manner, be a port, and be equally incommodious and dangerous to the commerce of *Great-Britain*.

In either of these two cases the treaty will be equally violated. The King of *Great-Britain* is resolved, on his side, religiously to observe the treaty of *Utrecht*, and to maintain with your Majesty an amity so sincere, that he desires, above all things, to prevent all incidents, that may disturb that goodintelligence. And, as the hopes of seeing the entire execution of that 9th article has been to *Great-Britain* the principal motive for accepting the peace of *Utrecht*, he has ordered the under-written Minister to make the most pressing instances with your Majesty, that you will please to give order for the filling up the said canals, &c.

(2) His answer was as follows:

Pursuant to the 9th article of the treaty of peace concluded at *Utrecht*, the harbour of *Dunkirk*, between the town and the citadel, is entirely filled up. Nevertheless, men are still at work, carrying into it the earth, that is produced by the demolishing of the Cavaliers of the citadel.

The

1714.

Seditious
Libels.The Pre-
tender's
manifesto.

In the mean time, the behaviour of the Jacobite and High-Church party occasioned the publishing a proclamation for suppressing of riots and tumults. Seditious libels were with great industry dispersed, jealousies infused into weak minds, and the groundless clamour of the danger of the Church revived (1). In November, the Dukes of Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and Argyle, the Earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the Lord Townshend, the Marquis de Monteleone the Spanish Ambassador, the Count de Nostitz, and several other persons of distinction, received, by the mail from France, copies of a paper, printed in English, French, and Latin, signed at the top James R, and dated at Plombieres the 29th of August, 1714, N. S. being a kind of manifesto or declaration of the Preten-

der, asserting his claim to the Crown of Great-Britain. He says, 'The Revolution ruined the English Monarchy, laid the foundation of a Republican Government, and devolved the Sovereign power on the people.' He observes, 'That when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he published, in April 1712, his protestation against it.' He then gives the reason of his sitting still for some time past, in these remarkable words: 'Yet, contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the Princess our Sister (of whose good intentions towards us, we could not for some time past well doubt: And this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof; which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death) we found, that

The words *Portus completur* can never be applied to the old canal, which is very different from the harbour; neither, to be sure, would the King ever have engaged entirely to destroy a canal of a thousand toises in length.

That would have been a work immoderately great, for the only time, men could have been employed therein, would have been at low water.

On the other hand, it would have been altogether needless, for the sea will soon carry away what remains of the dykes, that were made.

These dykes and jetties sink daily, and are washed away by the sea. But it having been lately demanded, on the part of the King of Great-Britain, that, to the end they might be carried off the sooner, the King would cause four coupures or outlets to be made therein, his Majesty gave orders accordingly; and, by means of this new work, the old canal will be so choaked up in a few days, that it will be level with the strand, and no shipping will be able to enter it. Nay, they will not be able to go up thither, even at high water, but as they do at all other places along the coast, quite from Newport to Calais.

The King has several times complained of the dilatoriness on the part of England, in point of executing the 9th article of the peace of Utrecht. It ought not therefore to be charged upon his Majesty. This is notorious.

It is well known too, that the fortifications of Dunkirk are demolished; and that the harbour is so filled up, that it would be impossible for the King to make it good again, did not his Majesty design (as he fully does) punctually to perform the treaty.

He has already several times answered the complaints, which for some time past he has received, about the work he was forced to make, to hinder a great track of land from being laid under water, which the ruining of the sluices of Dunkirk would have effected. However, he is willing to repeat once more the reasons he has given for that proceeding.

The waters of the canals of Furnes, La Moere, Wynoxberg, and Bourbourg, were discharged by the sluices of Dunkirk. This outlet was necessary to keep the castellanies of Bourbourg, Wynoxberg, and even some part of that of Furnes, from being overflowed, which, without it, they must infallibly have been. But the King, having promised utterly to destroy the sluices of Dunkirk, gave his orders for executing the treaty; and, in the mean while, caused a representation to be made to the Queen of Great-Britain, of the inconveniences, that would ensue upon this rigorous performance; desiring, at the same time, that she would suffer one of the three sluices, which were to be destroyed, to stand as it did.

This was denied by that Princess. So it became necessary to find out some other method for discharging the water of those four canals.

The English Commissioners and Engineers were witnesses of the several projects, that were formed for that purpose. They were full well acquainted with the de-

sign of the canal of Mardyke, and were of opinion, it was impossible to be executed. It is true, it was a very expensive one; and the King would gladly have saved that money, had it pleased the Queen of Great-Britain to leave one of the sluices of Dunkirk standing, only to discharge the waters from the country. But, upon her refusal, it was absolutely necessary to open this canal, to receive the waters of the four other canals.

These four old canals are navigable, and are together forty-eight toises broad; and consequently the new canal must needs have a sufficient breadth to receive all these waters, and discharge them into the sea.

The sluice also must necessarily be proportionable to the breadth of the canal, and to the quantity of waters it retains; for the point is, to hinder the tides getting into the country, and to keep in the waters of the four old canals at high tides.

The season pressed the finishing of that work; and, if the same had not been carried on with great diligence, what would not men have apprehended from the disorder, which the autumn-rains might occasion?

These are the motives, which obliged the King to cause the new canal of Mardyke to be opened, and to hasten the accomplishment of that work. His Majesty has no design, no intention to make a new harbour at Mardyke, to build a place there. He has already declared, and once more repeats it, that he is only willing to save a country, which would be laid under water, if this was not discharged into the sea.

For the rest, the King has given good proofs of his *Bona Fides* in the execution of the treaties. His Majesty has given particular marks thereof to the King of Great-Britain. He sees, with pleasure, the assurances which that Prince renews to him, that he will religiously observe the treaty of Utrecht, and maintain a sincere friendship with him.

In case of those happy dispositions, all incidents capable of disturbing this good understanding, may be easily avoided.

The King does not doubt but it will be perfect, when all suspicions on both sides shall be sincerely cleared up, and all suppositions vanished. It is for this end that his Majesty is pleased to repeat the reasons contained in this memorial, and that he again orders the Sieur d'Idreville, his Envoy Extraordinary, to give an account thereof to the King of Great-Britain. The 2d of November, 1714.

(1) Some of these libels were, *Stand fast to the Church; Where are our Bishops now? The Religion of King George. No Presbyterian Government. The State-Gamster: Or, The Church of England's sorrowful Lamentation. Alop in Mourning. The Duke of Ormond's Vindication. The Lord Bolingbroke's Vindication. No Lord Protector: Or, The Duke of Marlborough's Design defeated.* The Hawkers that cried these libels, and sung seditious ballads, were, by Sir William Humphreys, Lord-Mayor of London, taken up and sent to the House of Correction, for which he had the King's approbation, in a letter from Lord Townshend, Secretary of State.

5 L

(1) Matthew

1714.

that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true interest of their Country, by doing us and themselves justice, had immediately proclaimed for their King a foreign Prince, to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of Settlement can never abrogate (1). The persons, who received this declaration, thought it their duty to deliver it into the hands of the Secretaries of State; upon which the Marquis de Lambert, the Duke of Lorraine's Minister, was forbid the Court, because such a thing could not be done at *Plombieres* without the countenance of his Master; and the following message was delivered to him by the Lord Townshend: 'That it was inconsistent with his Majesty's honour and dignity, as well as interest, to admit to audience the Minister of a Prince, who, at that very juncture, gave shelter and protection to a Pretender, and an open enemy to his Dominions.' The Marquis transmitted this message to the Duke of Lorraine, left London, and went to Oxford, to wait his Master's answer. This gave just cause of suspicion, that the Pretender and his Friends had formed a party in that University to advance his interest, as it afterwards appeared. The Marquis having received the Duke of Lorraine's answer, dated at Nancy, December the 6th, 1714, N. S. communicated it to the Lord Townshend. It was to this effect:

'I believe, Sir, you no ways doubt of my being extremely surprized to hear by the Courier, which came from you, that, when you applied to my Lord Townshend to obtain an audience, that Minister made answer, that, since the Chevalier de St George remained still in my Dominions, the King thought fit to forbid you the Court: In case his Majesty should continue

in this disagreeable resolution with respect to me, I must submit to his pleasure, and you have nothing else to do, but to return hither as soon as you are able. However, you are first to apply to the Duke of Marlborough, and to the King's Ministers, desiring them to lay before his Majesty the unfortunate situation I am in, if, after having been so ready to let the King know the part I take in his accession to the Crown of England, and after having been one of the first to make my compliments, and show my zeal on this occasion, all Europe should be acquainted, that his Majesty had some reason to be dissatisfied with me. That I cannot conceive, whence this should proceed, since, as to the Chevalier de St George, the world knows, by what means he came into this County: That every one is informed of the situation of my territories, which are surrounded and cut through on all sides by France: That it is known how I had no share in his coming into my Country: That I neither invited him to come thither, nor could I force him to go away: That lately, upon the death of Queen Anne, I knew nothing of his leaving Bar, till twelve hours after he was gone from thence; and I knew nothing of his return to Bar, till after he was come back, as a traveller, that goes backwards and forwards in an open country, and intermixed with other Territories as mine is: As to the manifesto or declaration dated at *Plombieres*, which the Chevalier de St George had got printed, I knew nothing more of it, than that he gave me one after it had been published; but that really I am much concerned to hear from you, that it has been reported, that the same manifestoes have been spread abroad by you, or those of your retinue. I own to you, that I am extremely concerned at this, and that in some sort it seems to be a design to make me uneasy, to give out, that either

(1) Matthew Tindal, Doctor of Laws, published at London, 1715, in 8vo, *Remarks on this Declaration*, of both which it will be proper to give the following abstract:

The Pretender maintains, *That the Revolution ruined the English Monarchy, laid the foundation of a Republican Government, and devolved the Sovereign power on the People; and that we are exposed to arbitrary power, and become a prey to Foreigners.* This the Pretender, out of his hereditary courage and goodness, would have prevented, and therefore says, *We parted from our ordinary residence, to put ourselves at the head of such of our loyal subjects, as were disposed to defend us and themselves from all foreign Invasion.*

In answer to this, the Author of the *Remarks* observes, that the European Monarchies, founded on the Gothic Constitutions, were all at first *Elective*.

The Pretender, after having put the Nation in mind how he invaded Scotland, and boasted, that the miscarriage of that expedition could not be imputed to him, says, 'That, when he found the treaty of peace was upon the point of being concluded, without any regard to him, he published, April 1712, his protestation against it.'

Though the Princes of Europe have so often rejected all his pretensions, yet he thinks to cajole them, by saying, 'We hope, that all Christian Princes and Potentates, who are now in peace together, will reflect on the dangerous example here given them, and the formidable effects they are threatened with from such an united force, as that of England and Hanover; and that they will seriously consider, whether the exorbitant power, that now accrues to the House of Brunswick, be consistent with the balance of power they have been

fighting for all this last war; and therefore we call on them for their assistance for the recovery of our Dominions, which their interest, as well as honour, engages them to grant us, as far as they are able.' Can any thing be more impolitic, than for this Popish Pretender, in the same declaration, in which he expects, that the Protestants of Great-Britain should rely on his word for the preservation of their Religion, to call on all Christian Princes to have no regard to their most solemn engagements, but to violate their faith, by breaking that peace, which they have so lately concluded? And nothing can be more ridiculous than his supposing, that France, as well as the rest of Europe, are in such immediate danger, by the exorbitant power of the House of Brunswick, that they are obliged, if they will preserve themselves, to fall upon it with their united forces. The Pretender, even while he is persuading the people of Great-Britain to take up arms against the King, cannot forbear telling them, that, by the Union of England and Hanover, they have got that balance of power, which all Europe has been so long fighting for; and representing their taking up arms as a most desperate attempt, by reason of that most exorbitant power, which, he says, is now in the House of Brunswick; and, as if he had a mind wholly to intimidate them, he affirms, that the Elector is a powerful Prince, supported by a good army of his own people, besides the assistance, which a neighbouring State (and he might have added the King of Prussia) is obliged to grant him upon demand; and many thousand of Aliens refused in England these thirty years past, who, having their dependence wholly upon him, will be ready to stand by him upon all occasions.

The Pretender labours to draw his loving subjects, as he

1714. either I or my servants meddled in such an affair.

These are the reasons which I have to offer, and which I would have you desire those Gentlemen to lay before the King, in hopes they will convince his Majesty of my most respectful adherence to him, and that his Majesty will be pleased to admit you to an audience.

But if, contrary to my expectation, the King will not grant you an audience, you are to come away, having desired the Ministers to let the King know the concern I am under; and that I hope his Majesty will please to accept of my good intentions, and the early care I took to shew him the inviolable zeal I have for him.

When the Marquis communicated this letter to the King's Ministers, he, at the same time, expressed his Master's 'deep concern at this unlucky affair, which obstructed the friendship and good understanding he had so early fought with his *Britannic* Majesty, for whom he ever entertained the highest esteem and veneration.' And he likewise expressed his own particular concern, and the great mortification it was to him, not to be admitted to a Court, which he had so great a desire to be made known to. He was answered, 'That it was not out of any prejudice to his person, nor even to the person of his Master, for whom the King had a great esteem. But that, as affairs stood at present, though his excuses were, in some measure, allowable, yet his Majesty was the best Judge of what was consistent with his own honour and dignity; and, as his Majesty was likewise sensible of the Duke's readiness to seek and cultivate a friendship with his Majesty, so the King wished, that the causes which obstructed the same

at present, might be speedily removed.' The Marquis finding by this answer, that his Majesty insisted on the removal of the Pretender from the Dominions of *Lorrain*, before he would admit him to an audience, took his leave of the Lord *Townshend*, and, on the 13th of *December*, set out on his return home. In answer to that part of the Duke of *Lorrain's* letter, wherein he alledges, 'That his territories are surrounded and cut through on all sides by *France*; and that he neither invited the Chevalier de *St George* thither, nor could force him to go away;' a paper transmitted hither by Mr *Prior*, and delivered to him by the Marquis de *Torcy*, was said to be produced to the Marquis, whereby his most Christian Majesty declared, 'That he neither did, nor would, in any manner concern himself with the Chevalier de *St George*;' which declaration was directly contrary to the Duke of *Lorrain's* allegation.

When the Pretender's declaration came first into *England*, and was published in the foreign prints, the Jacobites and Tories insisted upon its being a contrivance of the Whigs, to reflect on the memory of the Queen, and to fix an odium upon the High-Church party, because in that declaration he said, *That for some time past, he could not well doubt of his Sister's good intentions towards him.* But they were much confounded by the Duke of *Lorrain's* letter, which owned the declaration to be genuine, and that the Pretender himself had given him one of them.

About the latter end of *November*, the King advanced the salaries of the Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench, and of the Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, to the same sum, as was allowed the Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, being 2000*l.* a year,

he calls them, into a civil war, by shewing them the mischief of such wars; and therefore says, *What can our Subjects expect but endless wars and divisions, from subverting so sacred and fundamental a Constitution as that of hereditary right? Which has still prevailed against all usurpations, how successful, and how long time forever continued; the Government finding still no rest, till it returned again to its true center.* But if what he calls successful usurpations have continued for a long time, and we may add, a much longer than his hereditary right, How can that be the true center of Government? Especially, if, of the nineteen successive Kings since the Conquest, thirteen of them did not come to the Crown by proximity of blood; and there have been more of those few, that did so succeed, deposed, than of the many, who did not, who were all of them not only looked on to have a competent authority during their lives, but their proceedings (upon the validity of which most of the titles to our estates depend) have been esteemed good in all ages.

He threatens us with other Popish Pretenders, and says, *How can our Subjects be ignorant of the just pretence of so many other Princes, that are before the House of Hanover, whose right, after us, will be as undoubted as our own; who want neither will nor power to assert it in their turns; and to entail a perpetual war upon our Kingdoms, with a civil war in our own bowels, which their divisions will make unavoidable?* The late Ministry must have reduced the Nation to a low condition indeed, if they dare not stand by their own settlement of the Crown, lest it offend the Popish House of *Savoy*, or any other Popish Pretender. But have not all these Popish Pretenders owned the right and title, not only of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, but of his Majesty, and consequently acknowledged, that the Parliament has a right to dispose of the Crown?

The Pretender says, *We shall not think ourselves answerable before God and Man for the pernicious consequences, which this new usurpation of our Crowns may draw on our Subjects and all Christendom.* Which is in effect saying, We have regard to nothing but our own private interest; and, for the sake of that, we care not what pernicious consequences we draw on these Nations and all Christendom. If it be lawful, after the Succession of four Kings or Queens, on pretence of a former indefeasible title, to disturb the peace of a Kingdom; it must be lawful (since no time can destroy such a title) after the Succession of four thousand; and then what Kingdom can promise itself the least peace or quiet?

Though the Pretender threatens a fatal war, yet he would have those, whom he calls his *loving Subjects*, think he has an unspeakable kindness for them; and, therefore tells them, *It is not our interest alone we are concerned for; our natural and unalterable love for our People is such, that as we could not see without grief their blood and treasure lavished in the last war, in opposition to our undoubted right; so we cannot now with less sorrow see them exposed to be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to Foreigners.* If indeed he had a natural and unalterable love for these Nations, he would, since he slipped the opportunity of making use of the good intentions of the Princess his Sister, rather quit his pretensions, than disturb the peace, and involve them in endless wars: Or, if he had any sense of honour, he would never endeavour to impose upon them by notorious falsehoods: And what can be more so, than this part of his declaration, which, though dated before the King came over, or had done any one act of Government, yet most maliciously charges him with designing to enslave the people, and make them become a prey to foreigners, who, by the laws, of which our

1714. a year, and the salaries of the other nine Judges to 1500*l.* a year (1).

Addresses
to dissolve
the Union.

About this time addresses were set on foot in Scotland, for dissolving the Union; and it was also proposed, that none should be elected Members of Parliament there, but such as would promise to use their endeavours for that purpose. Many well-meaning people seemed at first inclinable to fall in with those measures; but when they found, that the Jacobites were the most zealous in pushing this affair, in order to raise confusion and discord betwixt the two Nations, they refused to concur, and referred their grievances by the Union to be considered, when the Nation should be better settled. But there was a quite different spirit among the High-Church party in England, who excited riots and tumults in many parts of the Kingdom, to which they had been encouraged by the Pretender's declaration. To prevent these

disorders, a proclamation was published on the 6th of December. 1714.

Religious disputes were at this time also at a great height. Dr Samuel Clarke having, before the Queen's death, published his Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity, the Lower-House of Convocation had complained of his book, as containing assertions contrary to the Catholic Faith. This complaint being laid before the Bishops, they desired an extract to be made of such passages, as gave greatest offence, and were most liable to censure. Accordingly, the Lower-House made an extract, and having sent it up to the Bishops, Dr Clarke, whilst it was under consideration, wrote a reply to it, which was presented to some of the Bishops, but was not laid before the House. After this, there appeared in almost the whole Upper-House a great disposition to prevent dissensions and divisions, by coming to a temper in this matter, and Dr Clarke

June 23.

our King has shewn himself a most religious observer, are excluded from all places of trust and profit?

Did not the Pretender, bred up in the politics of France, think every one, that could enslave a nation, would certainly do it, he would not talk at this rate, nor think to terrify us by saying, *The Elector is a powerful Prince, and absolute in his own country, where he has never met with the least contradiction from his own subjects.* It is so far true, the Elector never met with the least contradiction from his subjects; but then it is as true, he never required any thing of them, but what was for their good; and subjects will never think a Prince's power too great, when he is always contriving how to employ it most for their service; and thinks his greatest happiness consists in making them happy.

The Pretender says, *The Elector is a foreigner, ignorant of our laws, customs, manners, and language; but for himself, We are the only born Englishman left of the Royal Family.* Though the Pretender was born in England, yet, since he was carried into France in his cradle, this could not qualify him to understand our laws, customs, and manners; and he, who seems to understand nothing but the ridiculous trumperies of the Romish Church, must be an utter stranger to the laws and customs of the Nation; nor can he have a notion of any Constitution, but one as arbitrary as that of France. Merely being born in a country cannot create in a man the least kindness for it: The place indeed, where one is bred (usually the same where he is born) and the persons with whom he is bred, generally prejudice a man in their favour; and consequently the Pretender ought to be accounted by the people of Great-Britain as much a Frenchman, as if he had been born there: And 'tis all grimace and French banter to talk of his natural and unalterable love for the English.

Though he would have it thought, that King George's being a foreigner renders him unfit to govern this Nation; yet he will not allow it to be any manner of objection to himself, or any other Pretender of the Popish line.

Was not King James II. born and bred among us, and under the greatest obligations to the Church of England, and bound by the most solemn engagements to preserve our laws and religion? And yet that did not hinder him, as soon as he got into the Throne, from attempting the subversion of both. And did not we owe the preservation of both to a foreigner?

Was not the Pretender, though born here, educated among the enemies of our country and religion? Who, from the first moment he was capable of understanding any thing, could hear nothing from those disappointed persons about him, but reviling the English Nation. And has not this early aversion been daily improved by the French, who bear an hereditary hatred to the English? And can it be thought that the Italian Princes, who call herself his mother, as well as the Priests and

Jesuits (to whose interest he is entirely devoted) have not used all arts to create in him a mortal aversion to those they call heretics and rebels?

Add to this, that his morose, sullen, and revengeful temper makes him apt to receive the worst impressions: So that nature, education, religion, (not to mention want of understanding) have rendered him, of all mankind, the most unfit, notwithstanding his being born here, to govern Protestants and Free born Britons.

Could we suppose the Pretender, though a Papist, no Persecutor of Protestants, and with his French education no hater of the English; yet, as he must be wholly in the power of those foreign popish forces, with which he designs to invade the Dominions of so powerful a King; so he could not hinder them, if they got the better, from treating the people with the utmost cruelty. All Churchmen then, whether high or low, would, as at the Irish massacre, be involved in one common ruin. Then all that the Nation is worth, could not satisfy the demands of France, for what they had expended in behalf of the abdicated family. In a word, concludes the author of the Remarks, since there is no scene of cruelty, that even the reading of the Popish massacres can suggest, but what the Protestants of these Nations had reason to apprehend, if faithless and blood-thirsty men had prevailed; ought we not, every day of our lives, to pour out our thanks to the Father of all mercies, for having to wonderfully brought about this great deliverance; and to take the utmost care to avoid all such divisions, as may encourage any more attempts from this Popish Pretender? Which nothing can more effectually hinder, than the chusing such men to represent us in the next Parliament, who no ways abetted the execrable designs of the late Ministry, but are truly and heartily in the interest of their King and Country. This, and this only, can put us upon a happy and lasting establishment.

(1) Sir Peter King, Recorder of London, was appointed Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, in the room of the Lord Trevor; and Samuel Dodd was made Chief-Baron of the Exchequer; Sir James Montague, a Baron of that Court, in the room of Serjeant Banister; Serjeant Pratt, a Judge of the King's Bench, in the room of Sir Thomas Paines; Nicholas Lechmere, Solicitor-General, in the room of Sir Robert Raymond; Spencer Cowper, Attorney-General; and John Fortescue Aland, Solicitor-General to his Royal Highness. About the same time it was made public, that the Duchesses of Bolton, the Duchesses of St Alban's, the Duchesses of Mountague, the Countesses of Dorset, the Countesses of Berkeley, and the Lady Cowper, were made Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to the Princesses of Wales; and Mrs Selwyn, Mrs Pollexfen, Mrs Howard, and Mrs Clayton, Bed-chamber women to her Royal Highness.

It

1714. *Clarke* was prevailed upon to lay before them a paper, in order to put an end to the affair (1). Dr *Clarke* being apprehensive, that, if his paper should be published separately without a true account of the preceding and following circumstances, it might be liable to be misunderstood in several particulars, caused, three days after, an explanation to be delivered to the Bishop of London (2). The same day, the Upper House came to a resolution to enter the paper and explanation in the acts of the House, to communicate the same to the Lower-House, and to proceed no farther upon the extract. But the Lower-House were of a different opinion, and resolved, that the paper was no recantation of his heretical assertions, nor did give such satisfaction for the great scandal occasioned by his writings, as ought to put a stop to any further examination.

Thus stood the affair at the Queen's death, and, the disputes about the Trinity increasing, on the 11th of December were published *directions to the Archbishops and Bishops, for the preserving unity in the Church, and the purity of the Christian Faith, concerning the Holy Trinity; and also for preserving the peace and quiet of the State.*

These directions were:

I. That no Preacher whatsoever, in his Sermon or Lecture, do presume to deliver any

other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity, than what is contained in the holy Scriptures, and is agreeable to the three Creeds, and the thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

II. That, in the explication of this doctrine, they carefully avoid all new terms, and confine themselves to such ways of expression, as have been commonly used in the Church.

III. That care be taken, in this matter, especially to observe the fifty-third Canon of this Church, which forbids public opposition between Preachers, because (as that Canon expresses it) there groweth thereby much offence and disquietness unto the people: And that, above all things, they abstain from bitter invectives and scurrilous language against all persons whatsoever.

IV. That none of the Clergy, in their Sermons and Lectures, presume to intermeddle in any affairs of State or Government, or the Constitution of the Realm, save only on such special feasts and fasts, as are or shall be appointed by public authority; and then no farther than the occasion of such days shall strictly require. Provided always, that nothing in this direction shall be understood to discharge any person from preaching in defence of the Regal Supremacy established by law, as often, and in such manner, as the first Canon of the Church doth require.

V. That

It was generally reported and believed, that *Robert Price*, one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, would be laid aside upon the demise of the Queen, he having always shewn an indifference with respect to the Protestant Succession: But he was continued, and it was thought he owed his continuance to his readiness to go down to *Bristol*, with Sir *Littletton Pown* and *Robert Tracy*, two other Judges, and to try those, who had been guilty of the riot there, on the day of the King's Coronation. The cry of these rioters was *Sacheverell and Ormond: Damn all foreign Governments*. On the 27th of November, seven of the chief rioters were brought to their trials for assaulting and plundering Mr *Stephen's* house, and murdering Mr *Thomas*. During the trials Mr *Hart*, a Tobacco-Merchant, who had been made a Justice of the Peace by the last Ministry, behaved himself with such insolence, that he was ordered to quit the Bench. Another reflected so scandalously upon the Grand-Jury, that he was ordered to the bar, and bound over to answer for his offence. Six of the prisoners were found guilty of the riot; and one of them, upon whom Mr *Stephen's* wearing apparel had been found, was convicted of Felony and Burglary to the value of ten-pence only. All the criminals convicted of the riot were fined each twenty nobles only, to be imprisoned three months, and give security for twelve months for their good behaviour. As the proofs against them were plain, a house being plundered, and a man murdered by them, it was thought surprizing, that not one of them suffered capitally for these crimes. The Grand-Jury for the City and County of *Bristol* drew up an address to the King, in which they returned their unfeigned thanks for his great goodness in sending a special commission to that City, not only to protect his good subjects, but to prevent for the future such riotous assemblies, which for these four last years that before happy place had been exposed to. And they were sorry to say, that these assemblies had been encouraged and abetted by some of their own Fellow-Citizens, who had from time to time notoriously espoused their cause, and, as far as in them lay, had screened them from justice.

(1) The paper was as follows:

1. My opinion is, that the Son of God was eternal. No. 84. VOL. IV.

nally begotten by the eternal incomprehensible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit was likewise eternally derived from the Father, by or through the Son, according to the eternal incomprehensible power and will of the Father.

2. Before my book, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine*, &c. was published, I did indeed preach two or three sermons upon this subject; but, since the book was published, I have never preached upon this subject: And (because I think it not fair to propose particular opinions, where there is not liberty of answering) I am willing to promise (as indeed I intended) not to preach any more upon this subject.

3. I do not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. But if I shall fall herein, and write any thing hereafter, upon this subject, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, I do hereby willingly submit myself to any such censure, as my superiors shall think fit to pass upon me.

4. And whereas it has been confidently reported, That the *Athanasian Creed*, and the third and fourth petitions in the *Litany*, have been omitted in my church by my direction, I do hereby declare, that the third and fourth petitions in the *Litany* have never been omitted at all, as far as I know; and that the *Athanasian Creed* was never omitted at eleven o'clock prayers, but at early prayers only, for brevity sake, at the discretion of the Curate, and not by my appointment.

5. As to my private conversation, I am not conscious to myself, that I have given any just occasion for those reports which have been spread concerning me, with relation to this controversy.

I am sorry that what I sincerely intended for the honour and glory of God, and so to explain this great mystery, as to avoid the heresies in both extremes, should have given any offence to this Synod, and particularly to my Lords the Bishops. I hope my behaviour for the time to come, with relation hereunto, will be such, as to prevent any future complaints against me.

(2) The explanation was thus:

Whereas the paper laid before your Lordships, on Friday last, was, through haste and want of time, not drawn up with sufficient exactness; some things therein

1714.

V. That the foregoing directions be also observed by those, who write any thing concerning the said subjects.

VI. Whereas also we are credibly informed, that it is the manner of some in every Diocese, before their Sermon, either to use a Collect and the Lord's Prayer, or the Lord's Prayer only (which the fifty-fifth Canon prescribes as the conclusion of the Prayer, and not the whole Prayer) or at least to leave out our titles, by the said Canon required to be declared and recognized: We do further direct, that you require your Clergy, in their Prayer before Sermon, that they do keep strictly to the form in the said Canon contained, or to the full effect thereof.

VII. And whereas we also understand, that divers persons, who are not of the Clergy, have of late presumed, not only to talk and to dispute against the Christian Faith concerning the blessed Trinity, but also to write and publish books and pamphlets against the same, and industriously spread them through the Kingdom, contrary to the known laws in that behalf made and enacted, and particularly to one act of Parliament made in the ninth year of King William the Third, intitled, *An act for the more effectual suppressing of blasphemy and profaneness*; we taking all the matters abovementioned into our Royal and serious consideration, and being desirous to do what in us lies, to put a stop to these disorders, do strictly charge and command you, together with all other means suitable to your holy profession, to make use of your authority according to law, for the suppressing and restraining of all such exorbitant practices. And, for your assistance, we will give charge to our Judges, and all other Civil Officers, to do their duty herein, in executing the said act, and all other laws, against all such persons as shall, by these means, give occasion of scandal, discord, and disturbance in our Church and Kingdom.

1714-15.
The Parliament
called.

On the 5th of January, a proclamation was published for dissolving the Parliament, and, on the 15th, another was issued for calling a new one, in the following terms:

‘It having pleased Almighty God, by most remarkable steps of his Providence, to bring us safe to the Crown of this Kingdom, notwithstanding

standing the designs of evil men, who shewed themselves disaffected to our Succession, and who have since, with the utmost degree of malice, misrepresented our firm resolutions and uniform endeavours to preserve and defend our most excellent Constitution both in Church and State, and attempted, by many false suggestions, to render us suspected to our people; we cannot omit, on this occasion of first summoning our Parliament of Great-Britain, in justice to ourselves, and that the miscarriages of others may not be imputed to us, at a time, when false impressions may do the greatest and irrecoverable hurt, before they can be cleared up, to signify to our whole Kingdom, that we were very much concerned, at our Accession to the Crown, to find the public affairs of our Kingdom under the greatest difficulties, as well in respect of our trade, and interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of our Nation, which, we were surprized to observe, had been very much increased since the conclusion of the last war. We do not therefore doubt, that, if the ensuing elections should be made by our loving subjects with that safety and freedom, which by law they are intitled to, and we are firmly resolved to maintain to them, they will send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of our Kingdom, and the ease of our people for the future; and therein will have a particular regard to such as shewed a firmness to the Protestant Succession, when it was in danger.’

The late Ministry foreseeing, they should be called to an account for their conduct, had frequent consultations how to avoid the storm; and soon after a traitorous libel was published, under the title of, *English advice to the freeholders of Great-Britain*. Nothing could be more full of malice and falsehood against the King's person and family; as well as against the Whigs in general, and the present Ministry; and it was artfully contrived to raise discontents among the people against the Government, and to possess them with an opinion, that the Church was in danger by his Majesty's Administration. It was carefully dispersed through the Country, and great numbers of them were intercepted in the City

being not so fully expressed as they might have been; and others expressed in such a manner as may be liable to be misunderstood, as not explaining with sufficient clearness and distinctness my whole thoughts to your Lordships upon the subject therein contained: And whereas, if my present meaning in any part of it, should now be misunderstood, I may hereafter be thought not to have fully and sincerely opened myself to your Lordships; I do humbly and with all submission beg leave to take this immediate opportunity of representing to your Lordships, that I think myself indispensably obliged, in conscience, to lay before your Lordships the following explanations of the aforesaid paper, viz.

That whereas I declared in that paper my opinion to be, that ‘the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehensible power and will of the Father; and that the Holy Spirit, &c.’ I did not mean thereby to retract any thing I had written; but to declare that the opinion set forth at large in the book intitled, *The Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity*, and in

the Defences of it, is, that *the Son was eternally begotten, by the eternal incomprehensible power and will, &c.* Which words, *(the eternal incomprehensible power and will of the Father)* I desire may be so understood, as to signify that God the Father alone is, and is to be honoured as being, *ὁ αὐτὸς* and *παρ’ αὐτοῦ*, the original of all, himself without original.

And whereas I declared I did not intend to write any more concerning the doctrine of the Trinity: But if I should fail herein, and write any thing hereafter, &c. I desire it may be so understood, as not to preclude myself in point of conscience from a liberty of making any inoffensive corrections in my former books, if they shall come to another edition: Or from vindicating myself from any misrepresentations or aspersions, which may possibly hereafter be cast upon me on the occasion of this controversy; but only to signify, that I have no present intention of writing any new book; and that, if hereafter I shall at any time write any thing which your Lordships shall judge worthy of censure, I shall readily submit to such censure.

(1) They





In the Possession of W. Clark

1714-15. City of *Exeter* (1). Upon which the Government issued out a proclamation, promising a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery of the Author of the libel, and five hundred pounds for the discovery of the Printer; But to no purpose (2).

The same day, the mismanagement of the late Ministry, with regard to *Chelsea College*, was made public by order of the Privy-Council; upon which, the Government of that Hospital was changed, and Brigadier *Stanwick* appointed Governor (3).

The Earl of *Stratford*'s papers seized, Jan. 11.

The Earl of *Stratford* being returned to *England*, an order of Council was issued, that the Lord *Townshend* and Mr *Stanhope*, Secretaries of State, should go to him, and demand the original instructions and orders, and all letters he had received from the late Ministry, or any foreign Prince or Minister, and copies of all instructions, of which he had not the originals; and also of all letters writ by him to any person whatsoever, relating to his Negotiations, from the time of his first being at the *Hague*. The Earl delivered them two trunks, which, he said, contained what they desired; and orders were sent to seal up his papers, that were on ship-board, or at the Custom-House.

On the 20th of *January*, the day appointed for a public Thanksgiving for the King's peaceable Accession the Throne, his Majesty and their Royal Highnesses went to *St Paul's*, where an elegant Sermon was preached by Dr *Richard Willis*, Bishop of *Gloucester*.

Prior ordered home.

Mr *Prior*, who had been deep in the measures of the late Ministry, was now ordered home, the Earl of *Stair* being arrived at *Paris*, where he had several Conferences with the Marquis de *Torcy*, and presented memorials about the canal and intended port at *Mardyke*, and signified to the Court of *France*, that he had orders not to take any character upon him, till he had a clear and positive answer to the memorials.

Elections for the new Parliament.

The elections for the new Parliament were now carrying on with great warmth by both parties, but with most success on the side of the Whigs. The Electors in some Counties and Cities drew up instructions for their Representa-

tives, the most remarkable of which were those of the City of *London*, wherein was this passage: "We desire and expect, that you will inquire by whose counsel it was, that, after God had blessed the arms of her late Majesty, and her Allies, with a train of unparalleled successes, she was prevailed upon, contrary to the Grand Alliance, and her repeated promises from the Throne to both Houses, to send to, or receive managers from *France*, to treat separately of a peace, without the knowledge and consent of our Allies."

1714-15.

In *Scotland* the Tories published a circular letter, to dissuade the *Scottish* Lords from voting for the Whigs, or, as they pretended, for the sixteen Peers, of whom the Duke of *Argyle* had brought a list from *England*. But this letter made little impression, and the following Peers were elected, the Dukes of *Roxburgh* and *Montrose*; the Marquises of *Tweeddale*, *Lothian*, and *Annamdale*; the Earls of *Sutherland*, *Rothes*, *Buchan*, *Loudon*, *Orkney*, *Stair*, *Bute*, *Deloraine*, and *Illy*; and the Lords *Ross* and *Belhaven*. All these Lords were distinguished by their attachment to the Revolution, and had contributed to the Union to the utmost of their power. The Marquis of *Annamdale*, of the ancient family of *Johnston*, had openly declared for King *William*, though, shortly after indeed, he declared for King *James*. But he repented of that step, and for his faithful services was employed in places of trust. The Marquis of *Lothian* was a great promoter of the Revolution. He had in the reign of King *James II.* married a daughter of the Earl of *Argyle*, beheaded by that Prince, purely out of a principle of honour, and to shew his regard for a family unjustly persecuted, a certain proof that he would not favour the designs of the Pretender. The Earl of *Sutherland*, known at the time of the Revolution by the name of the Lord *Strathnaver*, was constantly attached to King *William*, and had followed him in all his Campaigns in *Flanders*, at the head of a Regiment. He had appeared very zealous for the privileges of the *Scots*; and did not think the Union detrimental thereto. The Earl of *Stair* was already employed by the new Government as well

(1) They were directed to Sir *John Coriton*, Sir *Nicholas Morrice*, *Jonathan Elford*, *Philip Rushleigh*, *Francis Seabell*, *John Williams*, Esquires; Mr *Granville Piper*, Mr *Welchman*, Mr *William Cary*, Mr *Praufes*, Mr *Phillips*, Mr *Tonkin*, Mr *Cawcock Kendall*, in *Cornwall*, and to the Reverend Mr *Shute*, the Reverend Mr *Hughes*, the Reverend Mr *Collyer*, and the Reverend Mr *Bedford*, in the same County, and to the Mayor of *Wexler*.

(2) This libel was supposed to be penned by Bishop *Atherbury*. The substance of it may be reduced to these five heads:

I. A declamation against the pretended arts and indirect practices of the Government, in order to procure a Whig House of Commons to be elected.

II. Pressing motives to the Tories, to whom the Author gives the title of the *Church*, to exert themselves at this critical juncture to get Churchmen chosen into the ensuing Parliament.

III. Articles of impeachment, or a large charge against the Whigs, for intended criminal designs against the Constitution in Church and State; such as abolishing Episcopacy; repealing the limitations in the act of

Settlement, and act for Triennial Parliaments; renewing the war; setting up a standing army; and enslaving the Nation.

IV. Great sophistry and declamation to prove, that the Church was in danger.

V. Invectives against the Duke of *Marlborough* and his family; calumnies against the Ministry, and all the Nobility and Gentry in the King's interest; with treasonable reflections on his Majesty and his Royal Family.

This libel was answered in a pamphlet, intitled, *Treason detected*; and another, called, *A Reply to a traitorous libel*, intitled, *English advice*, &c.

(3) A new Commission passed the Great Seal, appointing Commissioners for the Government of that Hospital, the Lord-President of the Privy-Council, the Captain-General of his Majesty's forces, the first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, the two Principal Secretaries of State for the time being, Lieutenant-General *Earle*, Lieutenant-General *Lumley*, the Secretary of War, the Comptroller of the Army, and the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of the said Hospital for the time being.

(1) The

1711-15. well as the Dukes of *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, and their attachment to it was not doubted. The only one that seemed exceptionable in the list was the Lord *Belhaven*. No man had so strenuously opposed the Union, and had his advice been followed, it would never have taken place. But, finding at length all opposition in vain, he gave way to the torrent. There was one thing capable of making amends for all his non-compliances, and that was his singly opposing, in the presence of the Duke of *Tork*, the Act of Succession passed by a majority of voices in favour of that Prince. He was also a good Speaker, which will be always a great recommendation.

The elections for the House of Commons were made with almost equal success, and the Whigs had the majority. Thus all seemed quiet in *Scotland*, though a storm was then gathering there, which broke out in less than a year. The design was conducted more regularly than in *England*, and was better concealed. It was begun with endeavours for a remonstrance against the Union; and the advice of the most famous Lawyers was asked upon it, who declared the Act of Union contained several nullities, and to be very defective. The opposite party, to prevent a remonstrance so disagreeable to the Court, were forced to consent there should be no address of congratulation: And that, presented by the Kirk, had suffered great debates about the manner, in which King *William* was mentioned, and had passed with much difficulty. The *Highlanders* were silent, and declared not themselves. It was only known, that they were making provision of powder and ball (1).

The Parliament met at *Westminster*; and, the Commons proceeding to the choice of a Speaker, the Earl of *Hersford*, son to the Duke of *Somerset*, said, 'That, according to his Majesty's pleasure, they were immediately to proceed to the choice of a Speaker: That, in order thereto, they ought, in the first place, to consider, that scarce any Parliament ever met in a more critical juncture than this, when matters of the highest importance were like to be laid before the House: That therefore they ought to fix their choice upon a person of known parts and abilities; and that, in his opinion, none was ever better qualified for so great an office than Mr *Spencer Compton*.' He was seconded by the Lord *Finch*, eldest son of the Earl of *Nottingham*, who enlarged on Mr *Compton*'s abilities; upon which Mr *Compton* stood up, and modestly excused himself; but, his excuses not being admitted, he was led to the Chair by the Earl of *Hersford* and Lord *Finch*. The King approved him on the 21st of *March*, and then declared from the Throne, he had ordered the Lord-Chancellor to shew the causes of calling this Parliament. Accordingly, the Lord-Chancellor read to both Houses the following speech, delivered into his hands by the King:

Mr Compton chosen Speaker.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'THIS being the first opportunity, that I have had of meeting my people in Parliament, since it pleased Almighty God of his good Providence to call me to the Throne of my Ancestors, I most gladly make use of it, to thank my faithful and loving subjects for that zeal and firmness, that hath been shewn in defence of the Protestant Succession, against all the open and secret practices, that have been used to defeat it: And I shall never forget the obligations I have to those, who have distinguished themselves upon this occasion.

'It were to be wished, that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this Nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion. But it is with concern I must tell you, that some conditions, even of this peace, essential to the security and trade of *Great-Britain*, are not yet duly executed; and the performance of the whole may be looked upon as precarious, until we shall have formed defensive Alliances to guarantee the present treaties.

'The Pretender, who still resides in *Lorraine*, threatens to disturb us, and boasts of the assistance, which he still expects here to repair his former disappointments.

'A great part of our trade is rendered impracticable. This, if not retrieved, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation.

'The public debts are very great, and surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms. My first care was to prevent a further increase of those debts, by paying off forthwith a great number of ships, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'I rely upon you for such Supplies, as the present circumstances of our affairs require for this year's service, and for the support of the public faith. The estimates shall be laid before you, that you may consider of them; and what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think sufficient for mine.

'I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that nothing can contribute more to the support of the credit of the Nation, than a strict observance of all Parliamentary engagements.

'The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the support of the civil Government, are so far incumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds, which remain and have been granted to me, will fall much short of what was at first designed, for maintaining the honour and dignity of the Crown. And

(1) The King having given orders for a new Commission of *Chancery*, as they call it in *Scotland*, the following persons were appointed to be of it: The Marquis of *Tweeddale*, Lord President; the Earls of

Sutherland, *Buchan*, *Marbmont*, *Bute*, and *Deloraine*; Mr *Charles Arskine*, Mr *Kennedy*, and Mr *Hadden*. Some time after *Charles Warrander*, of *Lechend*, Provost of *Edinburgh*, was created a Baronet.

1714-15. ' And since it is my happiness (as I am confident you think it yours) to see a Prince of Wales, who may, in due time, succeed me on the Throne, and to see him blessed with many children, the best and most valuable pledges of our care and concern for your posterity; this must occasion an expence, to which the Nation has not of many years been accustomed, but such, as surely no man will grudge; and therefore I do not doubt, but you will think of it with that affection, which I have reason to hope from you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

' The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue of this first Session. Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your Country. Let no wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of my subjects. The established Constitution in Church and State shall be the rule of my Government; the happiness, ease, and prosperity of my people shall be the chief care of my life. Those, who assist me in carrying on these measures, I shall always esteem my best friends; and I doubt not but that I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those, who would deprive me of that blessing, which I most value, the affection of my people.'

The Lords address.

The addresses of the two Houses were agreeable to the King's speech. The Lords thanked him for his very affectionate expressions towards his people, for his assurances, that the established Constitution in Church and State should be the rule of his Government, and for his just concern for their not having obtained all the advantages promised by so successful a war; they expressed their wonder, that the Pretender should be yet permitted to reside so near his Dominions; and owning themselves sensible, that trade in its most valuable branches was rendered impracticable, they added:

' These and other difficulties your Majesty hath met with on your Accession to the Crown (and which we must observe, in justice to your wisdom and foresight, would have been prevented, had your opinion been followed) we must confess, are very great and discouraging. However, we do not doubt, but that your Majesty, assisted by this Parliament, zealous for your Government, and the safety and honour of their Country, may be able to take such further measures, as will secure what is due to us by treaties, ease our debts, preserve the public credit, restore our trade, extinguish the very hopes of the Pretender, and recover the reputation of this Kingdom in foreign parts; the loss of which, we hope to convince the world by our actions, is by no means to be imputed to the Nation in general.'

Debate about the address.

When the address was read, there arose a great debate in the House, chiefly about the last expressions in the foregoing paragraph. The Lord Trevor, the Lord Bolingbroke, the Duke of Bucks, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Anglesey, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London and Bristol, and some other Peers, excepted against that clause, alledging, among other things, ' That it was injurious to the late Queen's memory, and clashed with that part of

his Majesty's speech, which recommended to both Houses the avoiding the unhappy divisions of parties: And that it was unjust to condemn persons, without first hearing them.' The Lord Bolingbroke in particular was very warm on the subject, and moved, that the words *recover*, &c. might be softened into *maintain the reputation of this Kingdom*; and that the rest of the paragraph might be left out. The Earl of Strafford likewise excepted against the clause, because it would expose the honour of the Nation abroad, which he was sure had suffered no diminution during his Negotiations. These and other arguments, urged on that side, were answered by the Marquis of Wharton, the Lord-Chancellor; the Earl of Nottingham, the Earl of Aylesford, the Duke of Devonshire, and other Peers. The Lord-Chancellor particularly confuted the objections raised by the Lord Bolingbroke, saying, ' That the address did not condemn any particular persons, but only the peace in general, because they felt the ill consequences of it. That they, who advised and made such a peace, deserved indeed to be censured; but that, the words in the address being general, no private person was affected by them: And that the alteration of the word *recover* into that of *maintain* would signify no more towards the justification of the guilty, than the word *recovered* towards the condemnation of the innocent.' After this debate, the address was approved and presented by the Lords in a body to the King.

The Commons address.

The Commons in their address, after having thanked the King for his assurances, and expressed their sense of the reproach brought upon the Nation by the unsuitable conclusion of the war, added: ' We are under astonishment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, essential to the security and trade of Great-Britain, should not yet be duly executed; and that care was not taken to form such Alliances, as might have rendered that peace not precarious. And as no care shall be wanting in your loyal Commons to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; so we intirely rely on your Majesty's wisdom, to enter into such Alliances, as you shall judge necessary to preserve the peace of Europe; and we faithfully promise to inable your Majesty to make good all such engagements.

It is with just resentment we observe, that the Pretender still resides in Lorrain; and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your Majesty's subjects to Rebellion. But that, which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons, is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures, that had been taken for some time past in Great-Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures, whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the Authors of them to condign punishment. Then, taking notice of the ill situation of trade, they concluded with assuring, that they would inable his Majesty to support the dignity of the Crown, and make an honourable provision for the Royal Family.'

When this address was reported to the House, it occasioned a warm debate, like that in the House of Lords on the same occasion. Mr. Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, General Ross, Mr. Cesar, Mr. Ward, Sir William Whitelocke, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Shippen, and some others, raised several objections to it, which were answered

1714-15. answered by Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Secretary Stanhope, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, and Mr Pulleyn. General Rejs insisted, 'That the condemning the Peace, and censuring the late Ministers, was a reflection on the late Queen, whose act the Peace was; and that the reflecting on the late Queen could not be agreeable to his present Majesty.' He was answered by Mr Walpole and Mr Stanhope, 'That nothing was further from their intentions than to asperse the late Queen: That they rather designed to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil Counsellors, who had deluded her into pernicious measures; whereas the opposite party endeavoured to screen and justify those Counsellors, by throwing on the memory of her late Majesty all the odium of their evil counsels.' As to what was objected, that the censuring the late Ministers without a hearing, and condemning the Peace without examining into particulars, was unjust and unprecedented, it was answered, 'That they must distinguish between censuring Ministers, and condemning the peace in general, and condemning particular persons. That they might, in equity and justice, do the first, because the whole Nation is sensible, that their honour and true interest were given up by the late peace. That, in due time, they would call them to an account, who made and advised such a peace; but God forbid they should ever condemn any person unheard.' On this occasion Mr Stanhope took notice of a report industriously spread about, 'That the present Ministers never designed to call the late Managers to an account, but only to censure them in general terms. But he assured the House, that notwithstanding all the endeavours, which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the Secretaries Offices; yet the Government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late Ministry the most corrupt, that ever set at the Helm. That those matters would soon be laid before the House; and that it would appear, that a certain English General had acted in concert with, if not received orders from Marshal de Villars.' Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to prove, that the peace had been very beneficial to this Kingdom, and offered to produce a list of goods, by which it appeared, that the customs had increased near 100,000 l. per annum. But he was answered by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who readily owned, that Sir William might indeed produce a list of vast imports from France; but desired him to shew, that our exports thither, particularly of our woollen manufactures, had increased since the peace. He added, that imports, being only our consumption, rather prove our loss than our gain; and that the Nation gets only by exports, which keep up our manufactures, employ our poor, and bring in returns of money. Sir William Wyndham made no reply; but Sir William Whitelocke having suggested, that the Whigs designed to involve the Nation in a new war, and lay six shillings in the pound, he was answered by Mr Walpole, that none in the present Ministry were for a war, if the same could any ways be avoided; and that he doubted not but two shillings in the pound would be sufficient towards this year's service.

After these and some other speeches, the address was carried by a majority of two hundred

and forty-four votes against a hundred and thirty-eight.

The conduct of the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Bolingbroke, the two chiefs of the late Ministry, was at this time very remarkable. The Earl skulked about sometimes in town, and sometimes in the country; affecting to appear very unconcerned, professing his innocence, and boasting what great things he had done for securing the Hanover Succession. The other affected to act a more open part, appeared every where, and spoke in Parliament with such boldness, as if he had not the least sense of guilt, or dread of punishment. This was said to be owing to the advice of the Lord Trevor, who represented to him, 'how much their cause would suffer, if he, whose chief interest it was to support it to the last, should meanly throw it up, by absenting himself. He assured him, no hold could be taken of his person till he was impeached; which he could not be, till the papers relating to the part of the Administration, in which he was concerned, were examined.' However, it was observed, that the Earl of Oxford sold out all the stock he had in his own name in the South-Sea Company; and the Lord Bolingbroke's heart began to fail him, as soon as he heard, that Mr Prior was landed at Dover, and had promised to reveal all he knew; which however he did not make good, though he was favourably received by the King, to whom he was introduced by the Earl of Dorset; and, the same day, was entertained at dinner by the Lord Townshend, together with the Duke of Roxburgh, Mr Secretary Stanhope, the Earl of Dorset, and the Lord Lamley. That evening the Lord Bolingbroke, who had the night before appeared at the Play-house in Drury-Lane, and bespoke another play for the next night, and subscribed to a new Opera, that was to be acted some time after, went off to Dover in disguise, as a servant to La Vigne, one of the French King's Messengers; and there William Morgan, who had been a Captain in Major-General Holo's regiment of Marines, hired a vessel and carried him over to Calais, where the Governor attended him in a coach, and carried him to his house, as appeared by Morgan's examination. The next day after it was publicly known, that he was gone to France, there was handed about in writings, and afterwards in print, the following letter, laid to be writ by him:

'My Lord,

Dover, March 27.

'I left the town so abruptly, that I had not time to take leave of you, or any of my friends. You will excuse me, when you know, that I had certain and repeated informations from some, who are in the secret of affairs, that a resolution was taken by those, who have power to execute it, to pursue me to the scaffold. My blood was to have been the cement of a new Alliance; nor could my innocence be any security, after it had been once demanded from abroad, and resolved on at home, that it was necessary to cut me off. Had there been the least reason to hope for a fair and open trial, after having been already prejudged, unheard by the two Houses of Parliament, I should not have declined the strictest examination. I challenge the most inveterate of my enemies to produce any one in-

stance

The behaviour of the Earl of Oxford and the Lord Bolingbroke. Annals.

Mar. 26.

The Lord Bolingbroke. Mar. 31.

1715. stance of criminal correspondence, or the least corruption in any part of the Administration, in which I was concerned. If my zeal for the honour and dignity of my Royal Mistress, and the true interest of my Country, has any where transported me to let slip a warm or unguarded expression, I hope the most favourable interpretation will be put upon it. It is a comfort, that will remain with me in all misfortunes, that I served her Majesty faithfully and dutifully, in that especially, which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war; and that I have always been too much an *Englishman*, to sacrifice the interest of my Country to any foreign Ally whatsoever. And it is for this crime only, that I am now driven from thence.

You will hear more at large from me shortly.

Yours, &c.

Some maintained this letter to be supposititious, but the generality of the Tories owned it to be true. And it plainly appeared afterwards that he had just reasons to leave the Kingdom.

*Addresses
in favour
of the late
Ministry.*

Notwithstanding all the demonstrations of the ill conduct of the late Ministry, many of their friends ventured to justify them; of which the address from the Corporation of *Wigan*, in *Lancashire*, presented by Sir Roger Bradshaigh, was a remarkable instance; in which, after stiling the peace of *Utrecht* a general, solid, and beneficial peace for the people, they proceed thus: 'We take this opportunity to return our thanks for your Majesty's gracious assurance of protecting the Episcopal Church of *England*. This, with your being in full communion with that Church, must make you dear to all the members thereof. We cannot but please ourselves with the hopes, that, by the establishment of your family amongst us, the favourable conjuncture (which has been so long wished for) is now come, to extend the Episcopal Government to the Reformed Churches abroad; which, as we believe, is the only foundation possible to unite the Christian World upon (if ever it must be so happy) so it must render you, above all things, glorious to the whole Reformation, by being the happy instrument of so universal a benefit.'

About this time died Dr Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of *Salisbury*, in the 72d year of his age. He was taken ill of a violent cold, which soon turned to a pleuritic fever. He was attended by his friend and relation Dr Cbeysne. But the distemper growing to a height, which seemed to baffle all remedies, the assistance of Sir Hans Sloane and Dr Mead was called for, who quickly found his case desperate. He bore the notice of the danger his life was in, with that calm resignation which had always supported him under the severest trials. As he perceived his senses to the last, he employed the remnant of life in acts of devotion, and in giving the best advice to his family; of whom he took leave, in a manner, that shewed the utmost tenderness, accompanied with the firmest constancy of mind. And whilst he was so little sensible of the terrors of death, as to embrace its approach with joy; he could not but express a concern, for the grief he saw it caused in others (1). He was succeeded by Dr Talbot, Bishop of *Oxford*, whose successor was Dr John Potter, Regius Professor, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

1715.
Death of

Mar. 17.

What precaution soever had been taken, about a third part of the Commons were Tories. This appeared as soon as the Parliament met. Sir William Whitelock, Member for the University of *Oxford*, upon a motion in the House of Commons, to take into consideration the King's proclamation of the 15th of *January*, for calling a new Parliament, made exceptions to the proclamation as unprecedented and unwarrantable; and was called upon by some Members to explain himself; upon which he made an excuse for what he had said. Notwithstanding this, Sir William Wyndham rose up and said, that the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments. He was called upon to justify his charge, which he declined, but said, 'That, as he thought some expressions in the proclamation of dangerous consequence, so he believed every Member was free to speak his thoughts.' He was answered by Lord Finch, 'That no doubt every Member had that liberty, freedom of speech being one of their

*The King's
proclamation
objected
against,
Sept. 10.
Pr. H. C.*

(1) His character was thus drawn by the Marquis of Halifax:

'Dr Burnet is like all men, who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoke of in a mean, he must either be railled at or admired; he has a swiftness of imagination, that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of any thing, without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a vessel, that is brim-full, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter, that he ever carries about him, may throw out more, than an unkind critic would allow. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well, to see small faults; or, if they do, think that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse; he may in some things require grains of allowance, which those only

can deny him, who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discerning other men's faults, than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries have had no other effect, than the setting his good-nature in so much a better light; since his anger never yet went farther than to pity them. That heat, which in most other men raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes, in discerning the smaller faults of those, that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes; and, being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall upon the errors, which arise out of his abundance; and by a mistake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams, that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy a thing to him, that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured by it: The soil is not forced, every thing grows, and brings forth without pangs; which distinguishes as much what he does, from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between

their essential privileges. But that the House, at the same time, had both liberty and power to censure and punish such Members, as transgress the rules of decency, trespass upon the respect due to the Crown, and so abuse the privilege of the House within doors, as to render it contemptible without.' Sir William being again called upon to explain himself, and still refusing, some members cried, *The Tower, the Tower*. But Mr Robert Walpole spoke to this effect: 'Mr Speaker, I am not for gratifying the desire, which the Member, who occasions this debate, shews, of being sent to the *Tower*. It would make him too considerable. But as he is one, who sets up for a warm champion of the late Ministry, and was in all their secrets, I would have him be in the House, when we come to inquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witness of the fairness, with which we shall proceed against those Gentlemen; and that it may not be said, that we take advantage against them.' After several other speeches, which prolonged this debate above four hours, a motion was made, and the question proposed, 'That Sir William Wyndham, having reflected upon his Majesty's proclamation, and having refused to justify his charge, altho' often called upon so to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his Majesty, and of a breach of the privilege of this House.' This motion occasioned a fresh debate. The House still insisted, that Sir William should justify his charge; and he as obstinately declined to do it, saying, 'He was ready to undergo whatever a majority would inflict upon him.' At last, the question being put, that he should withdraw, it was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and eight voices against one hundred and twenty-nine: Whereupon he withdrew, as did all the hundred and twenty-nine Members, who had been for the negative. Then the House unanimously resolved, That Sir William should be reprimanded by the Speaker. This was done by the Speaker in the following manner:

'Sir William Wyndham,

I am to acquaint you, that the House has come to this resolution, that you be reprimanded in your place by me.

You have presumed to reflect on his Majesty's proclamation, and made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his Majesty.

This House has made their moderation appear, and shewn their lenity, by laying the mildest censure your offence was capable of. I am ordered to reprimand you, and do reprimand you accordingly.¹

between fruit, which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains, that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of living, which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of splendor, but of all unnecessary plenty, his degrading himself into the lowest and most painful duties of his calling; are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be ever so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a Dissenter. Virtues of such a stamp are so many heresies, in the opinion of those Divines, who have softened the primitive

To which Sir William replied:

S I R,

'I return you my thanks for what you have done by the duty of your office in so candid and so Gentleman-like a manner. As I am a member of this House, I very well know I must acquiesce in the determination of this House. But I am not conscious of any indignity to his Majesty, or any breach of the privilege of this House; and therefore I have no thanks to give those Gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, have brought this censure upon me (1).²

Three days after the Commons entered upon what they said in their address of thanks should be their business, the inquiry into the conduct of the late Ministry. General Stanhope presented to the House, in fourteen volumes, all the papers relating to the late Negotiations of peace and commerce, and to the cessation of arms, telling them, 'That nothing had been omitted, that might either answer the desire they had expressed of being thoroughly informed of what had passed in those important Negotiations, or satisfy the whole world, that the present Ministry acted with the utmost fairness and candour, and designed to take no manner of advantage over the late Managers in the intended inquiries. That indeed the papers now laid before the House were only copies; but that the originals would be produced, if occasion required: Concluding, that, those papers being too many and too voluminous to be perused and examined by all the Members, he therefore moved, that they might be referred to a select Committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report the same, with their observations, to the House.'³

The Earl of Oxford being come to town the night before, his brother Mr Edward Harley, a Member of the House, said, 'That it was easy to see, that one of his nearest relations was principally aimed at in these intended inquiries; but he might assure the House, that the said person, notwithstanding the various reports, which had been spread concerning him, would neither fly his country, nor conceal himself, but be forth-coming whenever he should be called upon to justify his conduct. That he hoped he would be able, upon the severest trial, to make his innocence appear to all the world; but, if he should be so unhappy, as to have been guilty of the crimes, that were laid to his charge, he would think all his blood too small a satisfaction to atone for them.' No body opposed Mr Stanhope's motion; only Mr Hungerford excepted against the number of twenty, and

injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind. No wonder then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence, or that from a principle of self-preservation they should endeavour to suppress a man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them.⁴

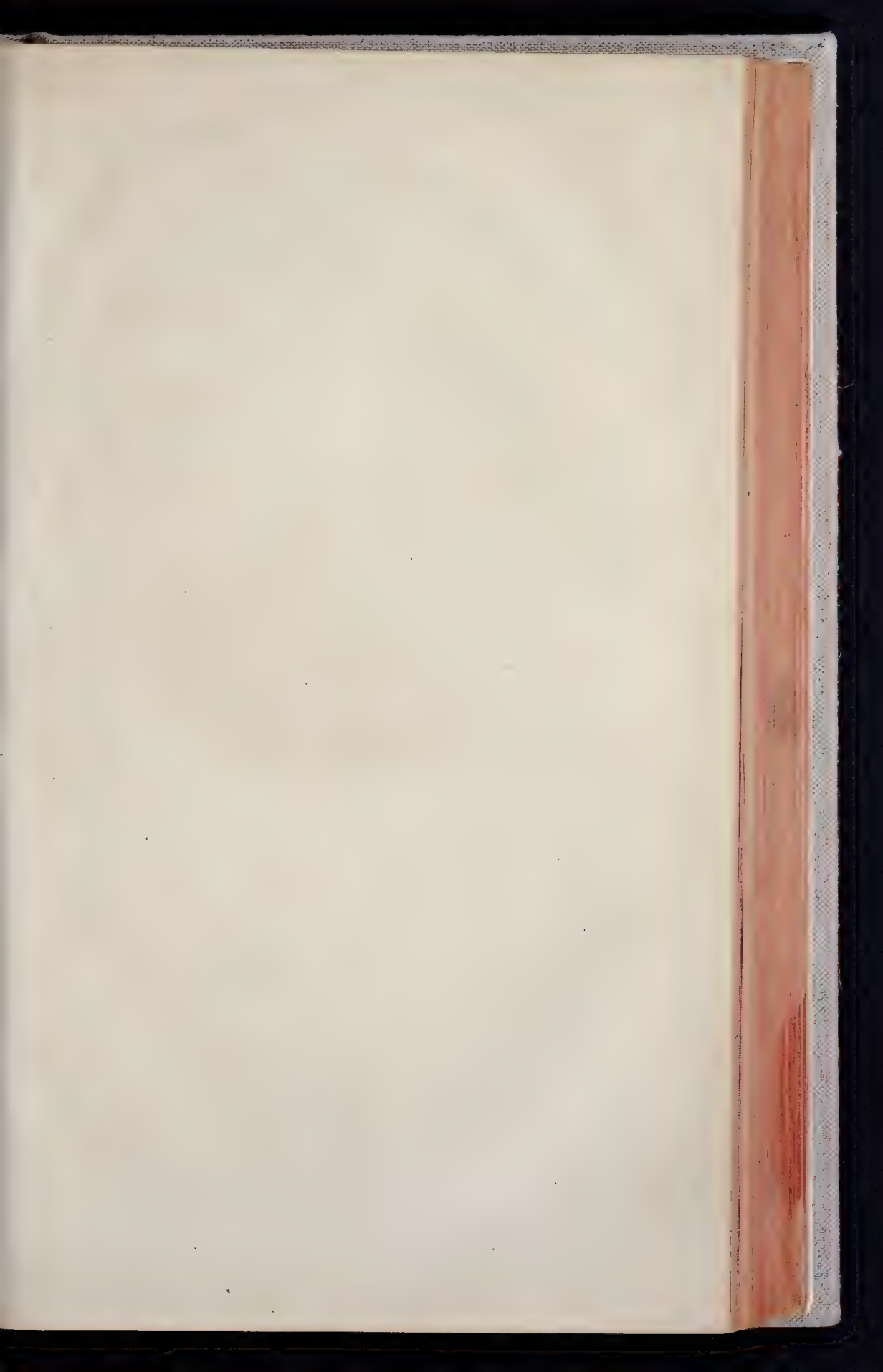
(1) The Tories took advantage of this moderation, and some of their Writers secretly dispersed, not many days after, a libel intitled, *The honour and partiality of the House of Commons, set forth in the case of Sir William Wyndham*; containing bitter invectives against the well-affected. *Annals*.

(1) Sir

1715.

Papers relating to the Peace, laid before the House, April. 9. Pt. II C

Committee of Secrs.





G. Kneller pin.

In the Temple on a pedestal &c. &c.

1715. and moved, that one more might be added ; which being readily agreed to, it was resolved, That the books and papers should be referred to a Committee of Secrecy, the number to be twenty-one, who were chosen by ballot (1).

The Committee of Secrecy met that evening; and chose Mr *Robert Walpole* for their Chairman. But, he being the next day taken ill, the Committee chose Mr *Stanhope* to supply his place; and, for dispatch, subdivided themselves into three Committees, to each of which a certain number of books and papers were allotted. They made such dispatch, that their report was ready in two months.

The Earl of Oxford takes his seat in the House. On the 11th of *April* the Earl of *Oxford* went to the Parliament, and took his seat in the House of Peers.

About this time the Earl of *Peterborough* suddenly returned from his late travels to *Italy* and *France*, having met with Lord *Boltingbroke* on the road between *Paris* and *Calais*; but it was said, he did not speak to him. The next day after his arrival, the Earl appeared at *St James's*, but, whatever was the occasion, two days after the Lord *Townshend* signified to him an order forbidding him the Court.

Death of Lord Wharton. On the 12th of *April* the Marquis of *Wharton*, Lord Privy-Seal, died at his House in *Dover-Street*, after an indisposition of twelve days, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His name will be ever endeared to the friends of liberty, and to all who have a true concern for the Protestant interest.

His character. Could the services, which he performed for this Nation and the present Royal Family be duly enumerated, they would appear beyond the best skill and abilities of any single man.

King *Charles II.* admitted him to great familiarities, and had him for a companion in many of his debauches, with a design to make him wholly his own. With regard to private vices, the success was notorious; but, in what related to the Public and Court, he absolutely disappointed the King. He saw and heard the designs of a Prince, to whose indolence and luxury the Nation was obliged for its preservation. This gave him a just contempt for such a Governor, and an abhorrence of all his views. King *William* was duly sensible of his services before and at the Revolution. In that Reign he attained to no higher a station than being Comptroller of the Household; which must be ascribed to the unhappy influence of those, who hated him, and his Royal Master. He received however the utmost proofs of confidence and respect, and had the King's most intimate designs communicated to him. His probity and good affection in what concerned the Government was so well assured, that it gave him great and constant interest. Many important measures were ascribed to his secret advice. His great vigour and happy address in serving the good cause, which he had ever in view, cannot fully

be described. His labours were infinite with men of all ranks, and on all proper occasions. He knew how to accommodate himself to every temper and inclination. What to others would have been great pain and trouble, afforded him great pleasure and satisfaction. The merit of his conduct in the Country, at Court, and in the Senate, was equally admirable. His enemies, who were only so on the account of his public zeal and usefulness, have greatly aggravated his immoralities, and loaded him with crimes, from which he was wholly free. But, did he not learn the rudiments of vice under their favourite King *Charles*? Have not the private lives of most of their leaders been equally faulty? Are they excusable for pretending to the name and noise of Religion? Lord *Wharton's* defects oblige us the more to admire his excellencies. In a life spent in a libertine manner, useful knowledge and learning were neglected. But an infinite fund of good sense and great natural abilities supplied whatever was wanting. On every emergency he discovered what was proper; and was never at a loss how to act. There was not only a readiness, and propriety in his speeches, but they were weighty and important. Nothing can be imagined more excellent than his skill and sagacity in the management of a debate. In these public appearances he was greatly assisted, by never engaging in the support of what he did not believe to have truth and justice on its side. He lived to see the success of a cause, for which he had laboured with zeal and integrity. But his enjoyment of the blessing of the Succession was very short. A misfortune in his family is supposed to have produced the fatal effect. His son possessed some of his parts and abilities; but his very different use and application of them are well known.

On the 22d of *April* was the famous eclipse of the sun, to observe which the Chevalier *de Louville* and Monsieur *de Montmaur*, two French Mathematicians, came from *Paris*, by the direction of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and were civilly entertained by the Members of the Royal Society, with whom they joined in making their observations.

The day following, being the Anniversary of the late Queen's Coronation, great disorders were committed in the City of *London*, by the lower sort of people; as was likewise done on the 29th of *April*, being the Duke of *Ormond's* birth-day.

The General assembly of the Church of *Scotland* met on the 4th of *May*; the Earl of *Rothes*, Lord High-Admiral of that Kingdom, being the King's Commissioner; and the most remarkable of their acts was the confirming the suspension of two Ministers, Mr *James Maitland*, of *Inverkeithing*, and Mr *John Maitland*, of *Fergus*, his Brother, who had been suspended by the

(1) The Committee consisted of the following Members:

Sir *Richard Onslow*,
Robert *Walpole*,
Spencer *Crowper*,
James *Stanhope*,
Hugh *Boscawen*,

William *Pulteney*,
Nicholas *Lechmere*,
Daniel Lord *Finch*,
John *Aylmer*,
Thomas *Vernon*,

Algernon, Earl of *Hertford*,
Edward *Wortley Montagu*,
Sir *David Dalrymple*,
George *Baillie*,
Sir *Joseph Jekyll*,

Thomas *Eyre*,
Richard *Hampden*,
Sir Robert *Marshall*,
Alexander *Denton*,
Thomas *Pitt*, Senr.
Thomas Lord *Cuninghame*.

1715. the Synod of *Aberdeen*, for not observing the 20th of *January*, the thanksgiving-day for his Majesty's accession to the Crowns, and not praying for King *George* by name. These Ministers refusing to answer any questions for removing the suspicion, which they lay under, of disaffection to the King, the Assembly, by another vote, deposed them from the office of the Ministry, and appointed their Churches to be declared vacant.

The Assembly had a difficult part to act in this nice juncture; for several of the Presbyterians had given injunctions to their Deputies, to move for an address to the King, that he would be pleased to use his endeavours, that the Church of *Scotland* might be delivered from the hardships brought upon her in the late Reign, by the unlimited Toleration granted to the Episcopal Preachers, and the act for restoring Lay Patronages, which were both contrary to the treaty of Union. They had also some difficulty to avoid Remonstrances against the Union's being continued. But they managed their affairs with so much prudence, as to prevent any heats about those matters in the Assembly, and used their endeavours with success to keep the honest part of the Nation from pushing those things, so that they were willing to refer the redress of those grievances to a more proper season, when the King and the Parliament might do it without interrupting the great affairs, which then lay before them. Thus the General Assembly of the Church of *Scotland* ended quietly, and another was appointed to meet the first *Thursday* of *May*, 1716, according to custom. This was a great mortification to the Jacobite party in both Nations, who flattered themselves with creating divisions in the Church of *Scotland*, by those popular topics; but the Presbyterians refused to give into their measures.

The Committee of the House taking the Civil List into consideration, several papers relating to former establishments were read; and then the question was offered, 'That it appears to this Committee, that the sum of 700,000 *l. per Ann.* was settled upon King *William* during his life, for the support of his Household, and other his necessary occasions; and at the time of his demise, after the deduction of 3700 *l. a week*, which was applied to the public uses, was the produce of the Civil List Revenues, that were continued and settled upon Queen *Anne*, during her life.' Those, who proposed this question, had two things principally in view; to vindicate the present Ministry from the aspersions cast upon them, and industriously spread about, by the emissaries of the late Managers, that the Whigs designed to give the King a larger revenue than his Predecessors had enjoyed: And to make good the branches of the Civil List Revenue, which had been alienated or abridged; so that the whole neat produce might amount to 700,000 *l. per Ann.* The leading men among the Tories being sensible of the first, and pretending to be ignorant of the consequence of this preliminary question, insisted a long while, 'That it was ensnaring. That what had been done by former Parliaments, ought not to be a standing rule for the subsequent: That, supposing the Parliament had given King *William* a Revenue of 700,000 *l. per Ann.* for the Civil List, they ought to consider, that he was to pay out of it

50,000 *l. per Ann.* to the late Queen, then 1715. Princess of *Denmark*; 15 or 20,000 *l. per Ann.* for the late Duke of *Glocester*; and 40,000 *l.* for the dowry of King *James's* Queen. That, after the late Queen's Accession to the Throne, the Parliament taking notice, that the produce of the Civil List Revenues exceeded what they had been given for, the sum of 3700 *l. per week* (that is, 192,400 *l. per Annum*) was taken out of them, and applied to other uses; notwithstanding which deduction, the late Queen had honourably maintained her Family, and supported the dignity of the Crown: However, if the present Revenues of the Civil List were not sufficient, they were ready to consent to an addition.' It was answered, 'That the question before them was founded upon facts, which, if denied, they were ready to prove by the records of the House.' But Sir *William Wyndham* still urging, that the question was ensnaring, Mr Secretary *Stanhope* answered, 'That he would be very plain with them, and own, that, as it was notorious, that great endeavours had been used to alienate the affection of the people from the King and his Government, by false suggestions, that they designed to plunge the Nation into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly necessary to clear his Majesty and his Ministers from that malicious aspersions.' To this Lord *Guersey* replied, 'That the disaffection of the people, if any, did not proceed from his Majesty, but from the hardships his Ministers put on the Tory party.' To this it was returned, 'That, as soon as it would be made known to the world, how the late Ministry had used, not only the Whigs, but the whole Nation, nothing, that could be done against them, would then be thought a hardship; but, however, that neither that noble Member, nor any of his Family, had reason to complain of hardships.' After some other speeches, the Tories endeavoured to drop the question, by moving, that the Speaker might resume the Chair; which being rejected, the question was carried in the affirmative, and a motion made that 700,000 *l.* clear should be granted yearly for the Civil List. The question being put upon this motion, occasioned another great debate. Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Mr *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr *Ceslar*, Mr *Hungerford*, and some other leading Tories, did not at first directly oppose the Question, but insinuated, 'That, before they came to that resolution, it would be proper, that a particular of the King's expence should be laid before the House.' Mr *Walpole*, Mr Secretary *Stanhope*, Mr *Lechmere*, and others, having exploded that proposal, as altogether inconsistent with the King's honour, to have all the private expences of his Family and Household looked into, as if he had need of a Guardian; the Tories then moved, that the sum of 600,000 *l. per Annum*, be given to his Majesty, and 100,000 *l. per Annum* settled on the Prince of *Wales*. The Court-party perceiving, that the proposal of giving the Prince of *Wales* a separate Revenue was only a design to divide the Royal Family, by lessening the dependance of the next Heir, opposed it, and, the question being put on that motion, it was carried in the negative by a great majority. The Tories having lost these two points, some of that party more openly opposed the main question. Among the rest,

1715. Sir William Wyndham said, he had the honour to serve her late Majesty, and had the opportunity to look both into her revenue and her expence; and he could assure the House, that about 500,000 *l.* per Annum was sufficient for the support of her Family and Civil List; tho' she relieved about 50,000 *l.* a year for the late King James's Consort. The Court-party were glad of this confession; and Mr Secretary Stanhope desired the Committee to take notice of what that Gentleman had advanced, because it would serve to confirm some matters, which the Committee of Secrecy had found in the papers, that were laid before them. The question being put, it was carried without dividing, that 700,000 *l.* a year clear should be granted for the Civil List during the King's life.

There was another warm debate a few days after, upon a motion for an address against pensions. The leading Tories and others exclaimed against the pensions given by the Crown to several persons of quality (some of whom they named) who had no occasion for them. Mr Robert Walpole urged, 'That they ought not to stint the King's beneficence, nor debar him from the exercise of the most glorious branch of his prerogative, which is to bestow his favours on such, as distinguish themselves in his service.' He was seconded by Mr Hampden, who observed, That all the pensions, about which so much noise was made, did not amount to above 25,000 *l.* and then moved, *That the Chairman should leave the Chair*; which being put to the vote, passed in the affirmative by three voices only, a hundred and ninety-one against a hundred and eighty-eight.

On the 30th of May, the House of Peers, in a Grand Committee, considered of the bill for regulating the land-forces; when there arose a great debate about a clause, for confining the several regiments to those parts of his Majesty's Dominions, for which they were allotted; for instance, the twelve thousand men, that were on the Irish Establishment, to Ireland. The Duke of Bucks, the Lord Trevor, the Lord Norb and Grey, the Bishop of Rochester, and some others of that party, spoke for the clause. But the Duke of Marlborough and some other Lords shewed the fatal consequences, with which it might be attended, in case of an invasion from abroad, or an insurrection at home, by a number of enemies, foreign or domestic, superior to the number of forces actually on the spot, where either of them should happen. It was further urged, 'That his Majesty having trusted his Person and Family entirely in the hands of the Nation, and at the opening of this Session told the Parliament, *That what they should judge necessary for their safety, he should think sufficient for his own*; the least they could do for him, was to leave to his wisdom and discretion the disposal of the few troops, that were kept on foot.' Some Tory

Lords moved, that the foreign Officers might be excluded from that number: But the Duke of Marlborough spoke in their favour, and argued, 'That to exclude Officers, who, like the French Refugees, had, for above five and twenty years, served England with distinguished zeal and untainted fidelity, would be a piece of injustice unprecedented in the most barbarous Nations. After some other speeches, the question was put, whether the clause should be inserted; and it was carried in the negative by eighty-one voices against thirty-five. The next day, the Lords read the bill the third time, which, with some amendments, was approved, and sent down to the Commons (1).

On the 18th of May, Sir John Norris, with a Squadron of twenty men of war, and a fleet of Merchant-ships under his convoy, sailed from the Nore to the Baltic, in order to protect the trade of his Majesty's subjects in those seas. The violent proceedings of the King of Sweden in rejecting the treaty of Neutrality concerted by England and Holland, and other Members of the Grand Alliance, for preserving the remains of his army under General Crassau, and for the security of his German Dominions, and in causing the ships of all Nations whatsoever, without distinction, trading to the Baltic, to be seized and confiscated, even some years before King George's Accession to the Throne, obliged, at last, the King and the States-General, after having made proper instances for redress to no purpose, to use their fleets for the protection of their subjects in their navigation and commerce to those parts. The British and Dutch Ministers had jointly, or separately, made these instances in the most earnest manner, by variety of memorials delivered yearly to the King or Senate of Sweden, so long as from the year 1710, without being able to obtain the least satisfaction. The last memorial of Mr Jackson, the English Resident at the Court of Sweden, before the English Squadron was sent, was presented to the Senate at Stockholm, January 14, 1714-15, complaining, that the loss of the English Merchants from the Swedish cruisers amounted to 65,449 *l.* sterling. The Swedish Regency returned an answer on the 8th of February, N. S. by which they referred him to the King of Sweden himself, who was then at Stralsund. In short, tho' the Dutch, as well as the British Ministers, made repeated complaints of those seizures, the King of Sweden was so far from regarding them, that he issued out new orders to his men of war and privateers, to seize and confiscate all ships, that traded with any place conquered by his enemies; and these orders were so very strict, and clogged with such terms on all Merchant-ships, as in a manner rendered the trade of the Baltic impracticable, without a sufficient force to convoy the Merchant-ships, that traded thither (2).

On

(1) About this time there was a petition presented to the Lords by Mrs Mary Forrester, Maid of Honour to the late Queen, and now to the Princess of Wales, setting forth, that about thirteen years ago, when she was but twelve years of age, she had been married to Sir George Downing, then about fifteen. That, Sir George going then to travel, he did, upon his return, shew his dislike to the match, which had prevented their cohabitation: And therefore they prayed,

that they might be separated, and at liberty to marry again. Several of the Lords, and particularly the Bishops spoke against allowing a Divorce; and, the matter being put off till the third of May, it was, upon debate, carried by fifty against forty-eight, to reject the petition, the Bishops being against the Divorce, lest it should weaken the obligations of Marriage.

(2) After Steinbock and his army (See p. 309) were taken prisoners, Count Welling concluded a treaty with the

1715.
Death and
character
of the
Earl of
Hallifax.

On the 19th of *May* died *Charles* Earl of *Halifax*. He was descended from a younger branch of the *Manchester* family, and came into the world without any advantages of fortune. By useful parts, and several lucky opportunities of producing them, soon gave him a figure in life. He had the reputation of a fine taste, and of being master of polite literature. His projects and his poetry have been ascribed to others, who submissively bestowed on him their thoughts and labours. It is not worth controverting, whether he was the Author or the Adopter of schemes for the service of the Government; since his merit, in the proper application of them, is undeniable. Receiving the Money, and *Exchequer* bills, delivered the Nation from distresses, which seemed to be attended with unavoidable ruin. Many, who envied a young man the natural reputation of such performances, and many others, who were enemies to the Government, encumbered him with all imaginable difficulties.

His skill as a Speaker and Manager must be unquestionable, which enabled him to execute such great designs. But, when his and the Nation's enemies, aided by the perverseness of the times, had gained the ascendant, his vigour and spirit totally failed; and he implored in abject terms their mercy, whose rage and insolence were confirmed by his applications.

When the Staff was taken from the Duke of *Strawbury*, he was placed at the head of the Treasury, and had the garter, and an addition of title, but not the satisfaction, which might naturally have been expected from so many happy events. Not finding himself possessed of the fulness of power, and the post of High-Treasurer, which he imagined to be his due, he entered into measures with the authors of the fatal cessation of arms, and the destructive peace. And though it would have confirmed the disgusts of our Allies, and been the highest indignity to the King's affectionate and sincere friends, had he succeeded, yet he pursued his designs of removing those, who had been fellow-labourers

and fellow-sufferers with him. The perpetual enmity of his new friends to King *William*, who had raised him from the lowest to the highest station in life, the ignominy of an impeachment, and the censures and reproaches, with which they had pursued him for many years, were all forgotten. Such are the effects of boundless pride and ambition! But a violent distemper speedily put an end to his life, and all his devices.

He left behind him the fame of being an encourager of men of parts and learning; and is said to have shewn himself such in an agreeable and liberal manner. His performances in poetry have had their full praise. A poetical turn infected his prose. Far from *simplicity* and purity and strength of *Lord Sommers's* compositions, we have in many of his a perpetual affectation of figurative ornaments.

The Commissioners, appointed for building the fifty new Churches, presented an address to the King, wherein they set forth, that, several Chapels and Churches being almost ready, they found themselves under a difficulty how to proceed for want of a due maintenance for the Ministers, without which no Bishop could regularly consecrate a Church, nor any Patron be effectually treated with. The King told them he should readily comply with their desire, being resolved to embrace all opportunities of encouraging a work in which the honour of the Church of England was so much concerned.

This answer is one, among many other instances of the King's care for the Church of *England*, though the danger of it under his Administration was made a principal topic to excite the people to rebel, and to raise mobs and tumults almost on every public day ; for the prevention of which, the Justices of the Peace of *Westminster* and *Middlesex* published an excellent order, but with so little effect, that, on the King's May 28. Birth-Day, the mob insulted the Citizens, who shewed their joy by bonfires, and illuminations. The care of the Magistrates in both *London* and

the Administrator of *Holstein-Gottorp*, by which it was agreed, that the towns of *Stetin* and *Wismar* should be sequestrated into the hands of the King of *Prussia*, and the Administrator to secure them as well as the rest of the *Sveedish Pomerania*, from the Northern Allies, the *Poles* and *Muscovites*. Count *Morfeldt*, Governor of *Pomerania*, refusing to comply with this treaty, the Northern Allies marched into *Sveedish Pomerania*, took the towns of *Rügen*, and little *Stettin* in 1715; upon this *Morfeldt* accepted the sequestration, which the King of *Prussia* was prevailed upon to take upon himself. As the *Muscovites* and *Poles* demanded the expences of the siege of *Stetin*, the King of *Prussia* paid them for the King of *Sweden* 400,000 Rixdollars. The King of *Sweden*, after his return from *Turkey*, refused to comply with the treaty of Sequestration, and insisted, that *Stetin* should be forthwith restored to him without the repayment of the 400,000 Rixdollars, nor would he depart from his design of invading *Poland* and *Saxony*, but was resolved (as he said in himself) to chastise his false friends, as well as his open enemies. This was in effect a declaration of war against all who would not assist him in procuring a restitution of what he had lost, or would not enter into a war against the *States*, then engaged in war against *Sweden*. King *George*, having certain information that the King of *Sweden* would not fail, upon the first opportunity, to invade his Electorate of *Brunswick*, resolved to act in concert with the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, for

securing the peace of the Empire, and oppose the designs of the *Suedes*. To this end a treaty was concluded between the Kings of *Great-Britain* and *Denmark*, by the third article of which it was agreed, that the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Lunden* should be made over to his *Britannick* Majesty, his Heirs and Posterity, for ever, with this proviso, that he should, the moment he took possession of them, declare war against *Sweden*. This treaty was ratified and exchanged the 17th of *July*, 1715, and the Duchies were delivered up the 15th of *October* following, on which day a declaration of war was published by King *George*, in his *German* Dominions. Presently after 6000 *Hannovarian* marched into *Pomerania*, to join the *Danes* and *Prussians*, who, after having taken the Isles of *Rügen* and *Uken*, were then attacking *Wismar* and *Straßburg*. The King of *Sweden* was himself at *Straßburg*, and, finding it impossible to hinder the town from being taken, he went on board a vessel, and arrived at *Stettin*, on the 26th of *December*, after having been almost fifteen years absent from his ancient dominions. Upon his arrival, he assembled what troops he could, in order to pass the *Sound* over the ice, and attack *Copenhagen*, but was disappointed by a sudden thaw. Notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of his friends, the King of *Sweden*, he declined going to *Stockholm*, and returned to *Stettin*. Thus he died, on the 29th of *January*, 1718, after a reign of 49 years, 10 months, and 12 days. His son, King *Charles*, returned out of *Turkey*.

(1) The

1715. and *Westminster*, and the orders that had been given the *Horse-guards*, kept them in some awe on that day. But the next, being the Anniversary of the Restoration of King *Charles II.*, they made greater illuminations, and more bonfires, than were seen the day before, especially in the City of *London*, where they broke the windows of such houses, as were not illuminated, and amongst them those of the Lord-Mayor. They insulted four Life-guards, who were patrolling, and obliged them to cry out, as they did, *High-Church* and *Ormond*. In *Smithfield* they burnt a print of King *William*. This riot being unexpected, there was not force enough at hand to suppress it immediately; but, at last, some Citizens and Constables dispersed them, when they came to *Cheapside*, and about thirty of the mutineers were secured and committed to prison. The same evening one *Bournois*, a French or Irish School-master, was by Sir *Charles Peers* sent to *Newgate*, for High-Treason, having proclaimed in the street, that King *George* had no right to the Crown. He was afterwards tried for it, and whipped through the City, according to sentence; and, his constitution being destroyed by the venereal disease, he died in a few days after. It appeared, he was a Popish Priest, and taught French for a colour.

During these commotions the following accident happened, which was made use of to increase the popular ferment. On the King's Birth-Day, new clothing was delivered to the first Regiment of foot-guards; but, so particularly coarse were the shirts, that the soldiers were much offended at it. There being a great number of Irish Papists, and other disaffected persons, than in the Guards, their discontent was easily improved by the enemies of the Government; so that some of the soldiers had the insolence to throw their shirts into the King's and Duke of *Marlborough's* Gardens at *St James's*; as a detachment marched from *Whitehall*, through the City, to relieve the guard in the *Tower*, the soldiers pulled out their shirts, and shewed them to all Shopkeepers and Passengers, crying out, *These are the Hanover shirts*, &c. The Court being informed of what had passed, and foreseeing the consequences, orders were immediately sent to the guard at

Whitehall, to burn those new shirts; which was done that very evening (1).

About the middle of *May*, there was an intercepted letter returned from *Ireland*, written by Captain *Wight*, a reformed Officer of *Windsor's* regiment, to his friend in that Country, and, by a mistake, carried to a person of the same name, in which were these expressions, 'The Duke of *Ormond* has got the better of all his enemies; and I hope we shall be able, in a little time, to send *George* home to his country again.' A warrant was issued from the Secretary's Office for apprehending Captain *Wight*, who absconding, a reward of 50*l.* was offered by the Government to any, who should discover him. Not many days after, Mr *George Jeffreys* was seized at *Dublin*, upon his arrival there from *England*; and, being examined before the Lords Justices, a packet was found about him, directed to Dr *Jonathan Swift*, Dean of *St Patrick's*. This packet *Jeffreys* owned he had received from the Duke of *Ormond's* Chaplain; and, several treasonable papers being found in it, they were transmitted to *England*. *Jeffreys* was obliged to give bail for his appearance; of which Dr *Swift* having notice, and that search was made after him, he thought fit to abscond.

The bill for regulating the forces having been sent down to the Commons by the Lords, the amendments made to it were, after a debate, agreed to. Mr *Shippen*, formerly a Commissioner of public accounts, having, on this occasion, reflected on the Ministry, as if they designed to set up a *Standing Army*, and insinuated, as if, after all the clamour, that had been raised, their Secret Committee would end in smoke; Mr *Boscawen*, the late Lord *Falmouth*, replied, 'That he could not forbear taking notice of the insolence of a set of men, who, having committed the blackest crimes, had yet the assurance to dare the justice of the Nation: But he hoped those crimes would not long remain unpunished. That the Committee of Secrecy were ready to make their Report, and had directed their Chairman to move the House, that a day might be appointed for receiving it; and, in the mean time, he might venture to assure the House, that they had found sufficient matter to impeach of High-Treason several Lords, and some Commons.' Mr *Robert Walpole* likewise said,

(1) The Duke of *Marlborough's* enemies laying hold of this occasion to reflect on him, as if he were to bear the blame of the injustice done to the soldiers of his regiment, the following advertisement was made public in the news-papers: 'His Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* being informed, that the Undertakers for the first regiment of Foot-guards had delivered to the several Companies their cloathing, no way answerable to the pattern agreed for; his Grace, therefore, ordered the said cloathing to be visited, who finding the soldiers very much abused in their shirting, his Grace immediately directed the shirts to be burnt, as well to punish as to deter such Undertakers from committing the like abuses for the future; which was done accordingly, and the rest of the cloathing has been compared with the pattern, that the soldiers may have justice done in all the other particulars. In the mean time his Grace ordered two shirts to be made of good linen cloth for each soldier, in lieu of one, as likewise new waistcoats, instead of the waistcoats made by the

Undertakers of their old coats, and the old cloathing to remain to each soldier's own use.' And when the Duke reviewed the first regiment of Guards, on the 2d of *June*, he made them a speech, expressing his concern for their just complaints, and his being entirely innocent of the grievance: Adding, 'I have had the honour to serve with you a great many campaigns, and believe you will do me the justice to tell the world, that I never willingly wronged any of you; and, if I can be serviceable to any of you, you may very readily command it, and shall be glad of an opportunity for that purpose. I hope I shall now leave you good subjects to the best of Kings, and every way entirely satisfied.' Upon which, the soldiers, with great acclamation, expressed their satisfaction.

Mr *William Churchill*, the Contractor for the cloathing, laid the blame upon Mr *Breakbank*, the Woollen-draper, who threw it on Mr *Heron* the Linen-draper, by whom an advertisement was also published in his own defence.

1715.

said, 'That he wanted words to express the villainy of the last Frenchified Ministry;' and Mr Secretary Stanhope added, 'He wondered, that men, who were guilty of such enormous crimes, had still the audaciousness to appear in public.'

Debate about the Conspiracy against King William.

Pr. H. L.

The same day there was a debate in the House of Lords about a Bill for continuing the imprisonment of the Conspirators against the life of the late King William (1). A petition having been offered in their behalf, the Lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed to consider of it; and was seconded by the Lord Trevor. They were opposed by the Lord Townshend, who said, he wondered any Members of that August Assembly would speak in favour of such execrable wretches, who designed to have imbrued their hands in the blood of their Sovereign; and moved, that their petition be rejected. The Lord Delaware represented, 'That, after the death of King William, the Parliament left to the discretion of the late Queen either the continuing in prison, or enlarging of these criminals. That no body doubted her late Majesty's being a Princess of great clemency; but, at the same time, she had such a respect for the memory of King William, such a regard to the safety of crowned heads, and such an abhorrence for the crimes, with which these prisoners stood charged, that she did not think fit to release them from their confinement. That all these reasons and considerations were now enforced by the open disaffection, which some people shewed to his Majesty's Person and Government; and that they ought to be so tender of the preservation of so precious a life as his Majesty's, that, in his opinion, it were necessary to make the act in question absolute, and not leave the confinement of the criminals to his Majesty's discretion, lest his natural clemency should make him overlook his own security.' He concluded with seconding the Lord Townshend's motion for rejecting the petition, which was carried without dividing.

The Report of the Committee of Secrecy.

Pr. H. C.

The Committee of Secrecy having finished their Report which was drawn up with indelible pains by Mr Walpole, that Gentleman, as Chairman, on the 9th of June, acquainted the House, 'That he had a Report to present, according to their order, but was commanded by the Committee to make a motion before he read it. That there were in the Report matters of the highest importance. That, although the Committee had power to send for persons, papers, and records, they did not think fit to make use thereof, believing it to be necessary, in order to bring offenders to justice, that some persons should be secure, before it is possible they should know what they are to be examined to; and lest they should have notice, from what should be read, to make their escape. He was commanded, according to former precedents, to move, that a warrant may be issued by Mr Speaker to apprehend certain persons, who should be named to him by the Chairman of the Committee; and that no Members may be permitted to go out of the House.' The warrant being

ordered, and the doors locked, several persons were named to the Speaker by Mr Walpole; particularly Mr Matthew Prior and Mr Thomas Harley, who were taken into custody of the Sergeant at Arms. Then Mr Walpole read the Report, which lasted from one o'clock till about six in the afternoon, when, a motion being made by the friends of the late Ministry, that the further consideration of it should be adjourned till the next morning, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty-two voices against one hundred and seventy-one; and ordered, that the Report be now read: Upon which, the Clerk of the House having read till half an hour past eight, the further consideration of it was adjourned to the next day. The Report consisted of,

1715.

1. The clandestine Negotiations with Monsieur Mesinger, which produced two sets of Preliminary Articles; the one private and special for Great-Britain only; the other general for all the Allies.
2. The extraordinary measures pursued to form the Congress at Utrecht.
3. The Trifling, and amusements of the French Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, by the connivance of the British Ministers.
4. The Negotiations about the renunciation of the Spanish Monarchy.
5. The fatal Suspension of Arms.
6. The seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the Allies, and favour the French.
7. The Duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French General.
8. The Lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace.
9. Mr Prior's and the Duke of Shrewsbury's Negotiations in France.
10. The precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

The Committee also offered to the House what they found material in the papers referred to them concerning the Catalans and the Pretender, and a letter from the Earl of Oxford to the Queen, with an account of public affairs from August the 8th, 1710, to June the 9th, 1714; and they concluded with taking notice of several glaring inconsistencies, which are obvious by comparing the late Queen's declarations with the measures, which her Ministers presumed to take in carrying on those important Negotiations.

The reading of this Report by the Clerk of the House of Commons took up the remainder of that day, and all the next, till about four in the afternoon, when Sir Thomas Hanmer moved, That the consideration of it be adjourned till Monday se'nnight, and was seconded by the leading men among the Tories, who moved also, That the Report should be printed, in order to be perused by all the Members of the House. Upon which Mr Walpole said, 'He could not but wonder, that those Gentlemen, who had shewed so great impatience to have the Report laid before the House, should now press for adjourning the consideration of it. As for the Committee of Secrecy, as they had not yet

(1) These were Blackburn, Cassils, Bernardi, Mel-drum, and Chambers, committed in 1696 for conspiring against King William. Several acts had passed from

time to time for continuing their imprisonment, but all of them expired at the Queen's death.

1715. yet gone through all the branches of their inquiry, they could have wished, that some longer time had been allowed them to peruse and digest several important papers. In order to that, they would have deferred, three weeks or a month, the laying their *Report* before the House, but, that some Gentlemen having reflected on the pretended slowness of the Committee, since the *Report* was now before them, they must then go through with it.* Mr *Stanhope* added, 'That for his own part, he would readily agree to give those Gentlemen all the time they could desire to consider of the *Report*; but that, since themselves had precipitated this affair, he was of opinion, they ought to prosecute it with vigour, lest, by stopping on a sudden, they should fortify the notion, which the friends of the late Ministry had, with great industry, propagated among the people, that the *Report* of the Committee of Secrecy would vanish into smoke; the rather, because these malicious insinuations had raised the spirits and insolence of the dissatisfied, and were the principal cause of the present ferment among the giddy multitude. That he agreed with the Member, who had moved the printing of the *Report*, that not only the House, but the whole world might be convinced of the fairness and impartiality of their proceedings. But that the crimes of some persons named in the *Report* were so obvious to every body, that they ought, in his opinion, immediately to proceed to the impeaching of them.' The Tories still endeavoured to put it off, and some proposed the adjourning of the debate till that day se'nnight; and others would have been contented to defer it for three days only. But the Whigs were firm against all delays; and the question being put about seven o'clock in the evening on the motion made by Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, it was carried in the negative by two hundred and eighty against one hundred and sixty. This point being gained, Mr *Walpole* said, 'That he made no question, that, after the *Report* had been twice read, the whole House was fully convinced, that *Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* was guilty of *High-Treason*, and other *High Crimes* and *Misdemeanors*. That therefore he impeached him of those crimes. But, if any Member had any thing to say in his behalf, he doubted not but the House was ready to hear him.' After a silence of some minutes, Mr *Hungerford* rose up and said, 'That, in his opinion, nothing was mentioned in the *Report* in relation to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, that amounted to *High-Treason*.' And General *Rofs* added, 'He wondered no body spoke in favour of my Lord *Bolingbroke*: That, for his own part, he had nothing to say at present, but reserved to himself to speak in a proper time.' The resolution for the impeachment then passed; and, candles being brought in, according to order, the Lord *Coningsby* stood up, and said, 'The worthy Chairman of this Committee has impeached the *Hand*, but I impeach the *Head*: He has impeached the *Clerk*, and I the *Justice*: He has impeached the *Scholar*, and I the *Master*. * I impeach *Robert Earl of Oxford* and *Earl Mortimer* of *High-Treason*, and other *High Crimes* and *Misdemeanors*.' Mr Auditor *Harley*, Brother to the Earl, made a long speech, wherein he endeavoured to justify his Brother, as having done nothing but by the immediate commands of the late Queen; urging, that the

peace was a good one, and approved as such by two Parliaments; concluding, that the facts mentioned in the *Report*, and which were charged on the Earl, could not be construed to amount to *High-Treason*, but only, in strict rigour, to *Misdemeanors*.^{1715.} He was supported by Mr Auditor *Foley*, the Earl's Brother-in-law, who complained of the hardship put upon that Nobleman, in charging him with *High-Treason*, before they had examined the *Report*. But what was yet more favourable for the Earl, was spoke by Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, one of the Committee of Secrecy, who said, 'That as to the Lord *Bolingbroke*, they had more than sufficient evidence to convict him of *High-Treason*. But, as to the Earl of *Oxford*, he doubted whether they had either sufficient matter or evidence to impeach him of *Treason*.' But another Member of the Committee of Secrecy having assured the House, That, besides what had appeared before them, and was mentioned in the *Report*, they had other evidence, *viva voce*, it was likewise resolved to impeach him without a division. After which the further consideration of the *Report* was adjourned to that day se'nnight; and the *Report* with the *Appendix* were ordered to be printed, and copies to be sent to the Sheriffs and returning Officers of every City and Borough.

The next morning the Earl of *Oxford* went to the House of Peers, and at first appeared undisturbed; but, finding that most Members avoided sitting near him, and that even Earl *Poulet* was shy of exchanging a few words with him, he retired out of the House.

It was moved by Mr *Walpole*, from the Committee, that the persons taken into custody *Harley* should be examined in the most solemn manner. Accordingly, Mr *Prior* and Mr *Harley* were ordered to be examined by such of the Committee as were Justices of the Peace for *Middlesex*; and, two days after, Mr *Walpole* told the House, that, during a long examination, there appeared matters of such importance, that he was directed to move the House for Mr *Prior*'s being closely confined, and no person suffered to come to him; which was agreed to.

This order occasioned various reports: Some affirmed, that the Earl of *Oxford*, or some of his friends, had been in close conference with Mr *Prior*, and so effectually tampered with him, that he was more reserved in answering questions than he had been before. However that be, it is certain, Mr *Prior* did prevaricate.

After these impeachments, that of the Duke of *Ormond* became the principal subject of discourse. The High-Church party made his name the signal for their tumults, threatening the Government and Parliament too, if they proceeded against him. His zeal for the Church was their chief topic to excite the mobs to appear for him; and his noble birth, and the services of his ancestors, and of himself in *Flanders* during King *William*'s Reign, were insisted upon. Nor was his generosity, or rather profuse way of living, omitted, to prepossess the people in his favour; but all signified nothing; for though the King, at his first arrival, shewed more lenity and respect to him, than his conduct deserved, and seemed willing to pass by his miscarriages, while General, as far as possible, the behaviour of the Duke and his Friends was such, as made it impracticable; for instead of discouraging the mobs,

The Lord Bolingbroke impeached.

Debate on it.

and also the Earl of Oxford.

Behaviour of the Duke of Ormond.

1715. mobs, who were taught to cry out, *An Ormond*, in opposition to King *George*, he plainly countenanced them, and took a great deal of pride to be the idol of the rabble. He affected to have people of Quality appear at his levee, and frequent his house; and, instead of behaving himself submissively, had the vanity to justify his conduct in a printed piece, which in reality exposed him more to censure. About the middle of *June*, the following advertisement was dispersed with great industry: 'On *Tuesday*, the 7th of this month, her Grace the Duchess of *Ormond*, in her return from *Richmond*, was stopped in her coach by three persons, well mounted, and well armed, in disguise, who inquired, if the Duke was in the coach, and seemed to have a design upon his life, if he had been there. It has been observed, that many persons, armed and disguised in like manner, have been watching by day and by night upon that road, on each side of the water, and it is not to be doubted, with a design to assassinate him.'

He is impeached.
Fr. H. C.

This being evidently calculated to excite the fury of the populace against the Duke's supposed enemies, the rest of his conduct could not but alarm the Government, and perhaps provoked the House of Commons to proceed against him sooner, and with more vigour, than they would otherwise have done. On the 21st of *June*, the day appointed for the further consideration of the *Report*, Mr Secretary *Stanhope* stood up, and said, 'He wished he were not obliged to break silence on that occasion; but, as a Member of the Secret Committee, and of that great Assembly, which ought to do the Nation justice, he thought it his duty to impeach *James Duke of Ormond* of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors.' He was seconded by Mr *Boswell*, but Mr *Archibald Hutchinson*, one of the Commissioners of Trade, made a long speech in behalf of the Duke, wherein he set forth his noble birth and qualifications, and the great services, which both he and his ancestors had performed to the Crown and Nation; urged, that in the whole course of his late conduct he had but obeyed the late Queen's commands; and concluded, that, if all, that was alledged against him in the *Report*, could be made out, it would, in the rigour of the law, amount to no more than High Misdemeanors. This speech made a great impression on the House; and Mr *Hutchinson* was seconded by General *Lumley*, who said, among other things, 'that the Duke of *Ormond* had, on all occasions, given signal proofs both of his affection and love for his Country, and of his personal bravery and courage, particularly at the battle of *Landen*, where he was wounded and taken prisoner; and that the late King *William* was extremely satisfied with his gallant behaviour. That he had generously expended the best part of his estate in the wars, living in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his Country. That therefore, in consideration both of his great services, and his illustrious relations, if he had of late been so unfortunate, as to fail in any part of his conduct, they ought not to proceed against him with the utmost rigour of the law; the rather, because he ever meant well, and was drawn into ill measures by crafty Ministers.' Sir *Joseph Jekyll* spoke likewise in his favour: He said, 'That if there

was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous Peer, who, for many years, had exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his Country. That, if of late he had the misfortune to deviate from his former conduct, the blame ought not, in justice and equity, to be laid to him, but to them principally, who, abusing his affection, loyalty, and zeal for the service of his Royal Mistress, had drawn him into pernicious counsels. That therefore, as the statute of 25 *Edw. III.* on which the charge of High-Treason against him was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the House ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the Duke, but only impeach him of High Crimes and Misdemeanors.' Sir *Joseph* added, in the course of this debate, 'That some persons endeavoured to aggravate the Duke of *Ormond*'s faults, by charging upon him the riots and tumults, which the populace committed daily in many places: But that he durst aver, that he did no ways countenance those disorders; and if the disaffected made use of his name, unknown to him, he ought not to suffer for it.' General *Rofs* laid great stress upon Sir *Joseph Jekyll*'s opinion, and said all he could in his commendation, and the Duke's defence. Sir *William Wyndham*, Mr *Onslow*, Mr *Ward*, Mr *Hungerford*, and some other Members of both parties, spoke also on the same side. But Mr *Lydall*, Mr *Hampden*, and Mr *Thompson*, Recorder of *London*, strongly supported Mr *Stanhope*'s motion; answered all that had been said in the Duke's favour; and, among other things, represented, 'That his Grace ever affected popularity: That he could not be ignorant of the tumults and riots, of which his name was the signal; and that since he did not publicly disown them, who made use of his name, his silence was a tacit approbation of their proceedings, and seemed to summon the people to a general insurrection.' Sir *Edward Northey*, Attorney-General, did not disown, but that in the *Report* of the Committee of Secrecy there were some matters, on which an impeachment of High-Treason might be grounded against the Duke of *Ormond*; but did not think it proper to explain himself further on that occasion.

Mr *Lechmere*, Solicitor-General, spoke plainer, and mentioned a case parallel to the Duke's, which had been adjudged Treason. The debate lasted till about half an hour after ten, when the question was put, and resolved by a majority of two hundred and thirty-four voices against one hundred and eighty-seven, 'That this House will impeach *James Duke of Ormond* of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors.'

It was the general opinion, that the rash unadvised behaviour of the Duke's pretended friends, of whom Bishop *Atterbury* was chief, greatly promoted this vote. It was said upon very good grounds, that a relation of the Duke's had prevailed upon him at that time to write a submissive letter to the King, desiring a favourable interpretation of his former actions, and imploring his Majesty's clemency; which had so good an effect, that he was to have been privately admitted to the King in his closet, to confirm what he had written. But, before *The Duke* the time came, Bishop *Atterbury* had been with *James* out of *England*, and the consequence was, that he left *England*.

England

1715. England abruptly, and never returned to it more.

The Earl of Strafford impeached, June 22. Pr. H. C.

The Commons refusing the consideration of the Report, Mr Aislaby took notice 'of the general concern, that had appeared the day before in the House, for the noble person, who was impeached, because they were persuaded, it was rather through weakness than malice, that he had followed pernicious counsels. But that, in his opinion, few, if any, would speak in favour of another Lord, whom he was to impeach. That the person he meant was Thomas Earl of Strafford, one of the Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain at the Congress at Utrecht, whose conduct had been vastly different from that of his Colleague, the present Bishop of London. That this good and pious Prelate seemed to have been put at the head of that Negotiation, only to palliate the iniquity of it under the sacredness of his character; but was little more than a cypher in the absence of the Earl of Strafford. That the Bishop, not being in the secret, had acted with reserve and caution, and would do nothing without the Queen's special commands; whereas the Earl of Strafford not only was forward to venture and undertake any thing (as he expresses himself in one of his letters) to be the tool of a Frenchified Ministry, but in many instances had gone beyond his instructions, and advised the most pernicious measures. That, having impartially weighed the different conduct of these two Ministers, he was glad, that nothing could be charged upon the Bishop, which gave them an opportunity to convince the world, that the Church is not in danger; but moved, that Thomas Earl of Strafford be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors. Mr Aislaby enlarged upon this charge, which he reduced to three principal heads, '1. The Earl of Strafford's advising the fatal Suspension of Arms; which was soon after attended with several misfortunes, that befel the Allies, and at last forced them to the necessity of submitting to the terms of an unsafe dishonourable peace. 2. Advising the seizing of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the Allies, and favour the enemy. And, 3. The insolence and contempt, with which he had treated the most serene House of Hanover, and their Generals and Ministers.' Mr Baillie of Jerviswood having seconded Mr Aislaby, Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to justify the Earl

of Strafford, as to the first head, by saying, 'That the peace, which was but the sequel and necessary consequence of the Suspension of Arms, had been approved as such by two successive Parliaments, and declared advantageous, safe, and honourable.' Mr Shippen, Mr Ward, and Mr Snell spoke also in favour of the Earl of Strafford, as did likewise Mr Hungerford, who, among other things, said, 'That, though the Bishop of London had an equal share with the Earl of Strafford in the Negotiation of peace, he was, it seems, to have the benefit of the Clergy.' General Ross having likewise said something to excuse the suspension of arms, General Cadogan answered him, and shewed, 'That, considering the situation of both armies, the Confederates lost the fairest opportunity they ever had in Flanders to destroy the enemy's army, and to penetrate into the very heart of France.' But added, 'That nothing less could be expected from a Princess and a Ministry, who had entirely delivered themselves into the hands of France.' Sir James Campbell spoke also against the Earl of Strafford; but the Member, who distinguished himself most in this debate, was Sir James Dalrymple, who, with great clearness and solidity, summed up what had been said on both sides; and having illustrated the present case by parallel instances, and proper observations, shewed, that, both by the civil and statute laws, the Earl of Strafford was, at least, guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanors. Upon this the question was put, and, by two hundred and sixty-eight against a hundred, it was resolved, 'That Thomas Earl of Strafford be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors'

The articles of impeachment against the Earl of Oxford being prepared by the Committee of Secrecy, they were read, on the 8th of July, before the House of Commons, and the first ten were upon the question severally agreed to (1). The eleventh article, which was voted High-Treason, was to this effect:

Whereas the States-General were, in September or October 1712, in possession of Tournay, and the French King had (during the private, separate, and traitorous Negotiation between the Earl of Oxford and others, and the Ministers of France) signified his consent that Tournay should remain to the States as part of their Barrier: And whereas the Queen, in her instructions of Dec. 23, 1711, to her

(1) The substance of the articles was: 1. He had entered into a Negotiation with France without the Allies, and agreed it should be kept secret. 2. He had advised the Queen to permit the coming of Mesnager, treated with him, and assumed, without authority, the Royal power. 3. He had prepared Preliminaries signed by Mesnager, and sent them to Holland, when a private treaty was by his advice concluded with France. 4. He had not regarded the representations of Buix, the Dutch Minister, but declared the Queen had made no such treaty, nor would do so without the consent of the States. 5. He had ordered the Bishop of London to insist upon Spain, though, by the Preliminaries, the Duke of Anjou was acknowledged as King, and though he had persuaded the Queen not to insist upon the restitution of Spain. 6. He had not procured satisfaction for the Allies, but acted in concert with France. 7. He had advised the Queen to accept the Duke of Anjou's renunciation, though Torci had declared it to be null and void by the fundamental laws of France. 8. He had with others advised, that the

Duke of Ormond should be ordered to engage in no battle or siege to the ruin of the affairs of the Allies, and afterwards sent an order to the Bishop of London, to declare, that the Queen looked upon herself to be then under no obligations whatsoever to the States. 9. He had advised that the Duke of Ormond, with all the troops in the Queen's pay, should separate themselves from the army of the Allies, and not to pay the arrears due to those that refused. 10. He had advised the fatal Suspension of Arms, and the sending of Lord Bolingbroke to France to settle the terms. 11. He had treacherously advised the enemy how to gain Tournay. 12. He had advised and assisted in giving up Spain and the West-Indies to the Duke of Anjou. 13. He had treacherously advised the 9th article of the treaty of Commerce with France, and the giving to the French the liberty of fishing, and drying fish on Newfoundland. 14. He had taken Sicily from the House of Austria, and given it the Duke of Savoy, without any application from the Duke. 15. He had caused the Queen to make several speeches and declarations to the Parlia-

1715. her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, had expressly directed them to insist with those of *France*, that, towards forming a sufficient Barrier, *Tournay* shall remain to the *States*, and did afterwards declare herself conformably thereto, in her speech to both Houses on the 6th of *June* 1712: And whereas for several years before, and till the months of *September* and *October*, in 1711, there was open war between the late Queen and the *French* King, the Earl of *Oxford*, then High-Treasurer, did, during the war, falsely, maliciously, wickedly, and traitorously assist and adhere to the *French* King, and did counsel and advise him in what manner *Tournay* might be gained from the *States*, contrary to his allegiance, and the laws of the Realm.

Debate on
the 11th
article.

A great debate arose upon the question, Whether this article was High-Treason? Sir *Robert Raymond*, formerly Solicitor-General, Mr *Bromley*, Sir *William Wyndham*, the Auditors *Harley* and *Foley*, Mr *Ward* and Mr *Hungerford* (who had already spoke in favour of the Earl of *Oxford*) maintained the negative, and were strongly supported by Sir *Joseph Jekyll*. Sir *Joseph* said, among other things: 'That it was ever his principle to do justice to every body from the highest to the lowest, being persuaded, that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party. That he hoped he might pretend to have some knowledge of the laws of the Kingdom; and as, in the *Committee of Secrecy*, he had taken the liberty to differ from his Colleagues, he would not scruple to declare now to the whole House, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to High-Treason.' Most of the other Members of the *Committee of Secrecy* were offended at this speech, which both revealed and censured their proceedings; and Mr *Walpole* answered with some warmth, 'That there were both in and out of the *Committee of Secrecy* several persons, who did not in the least yield to the Member, that spoke last, in point of honesty; and who, without derogating from his merit, were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws; but who, at the same time, were satisfied, that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to Treason.' Mr *Walpole* was seconded by Mr *Stanhope*, the Lord *Coningsby*, General *Cadogan*, Mr *Boscawen*, and Mr *Aylshy*: And, the article being amended, was agreed to by a majority of two hundred and forty-seven votes against one hundred and twenty-seven. Mr Auditor *Harley* endeavoured to justify his Brother, first, by urging, that he ever acted by the late Queen's positive commands; to prove which he offered to produce two letters from her: And, secondly, the necessity of making a peace; and he having upon this occasion advanced, that the *Dutch* prolonged the war, and that their Deputies in the army had

often prevented the giving the enemy a decisive blow; General *Cadogan* answered him with great force, and shewed, 'that the *Dutch* were more concerned than any Prince or State in the Grand Alliance to put an end to the war; and undertook to prove, that there had not been any campaign in *Flanders*, except that, in which the Duke of *Ormond* commanded, that was not marked and famous to all posterity for some signal and glorious event, to the advantage of the common cause.' The rest of the articles being agreed to, the Lord *Coningsby*, attended by most of the Members who voted for the impeachment, went up to the Lords, and at the Bar of the House impeached the Earl of *Oxford* of High-Treason, &c. The Commons, at the end of the articles, prayed and demanded, that he might be sequestered from Parliament, and committed to safe custody.

As soon as Lord *Coningsby* and the Members were withdrawn, a Tory Lord moved for adjourning the consideration of the articles, and was seconded by several of the Peers of that party, particularly by the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who urged, 'That this accusation was of so extraordinary a nature, and so very important, both in itself and its consequences, that the House ought to proceed on it with the utmost caution and deliberation.' But he was answered by the Duke of *Argyle*, who, among other things, said, 'It was well known, that the Prelate, who spoke last, had of late studied Politics more than Divinity, and was thoroughly acquainted with the subject-matter of the articles, that lay before them; and therefore he did not doubt, but his Lordship was now as ready to speak to them, as he could ever be, if he had more time to consider of them.' After a debate of about an hour and a half, the articles were voted to be read by a majority of eighty-six against fifty-four; which being done, a motion was made for consulting the Judges, whether the charge amounted to High-Treason. The Lords *Trevor* and *Harcourt*, the Dukes of *Shrewsbury* and *Leeds*, Earl *Poulet*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and some other Peers of the same side, were for consulting the Judges; but the Lord-Chancellor, the Dukes of *Argyle* and *Montrose*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Sunderland*, *Dorset*, and *Illy*; the Lord Viscount *Townshend*, and some other Lords spoke against it. The Lord *Trevor* having gone so far, as to declare his opinion, That none of the articles amounted to High-Treason, he was answered by the Lord *Cowper*, who shewed the contrary, and challenged all the Lawyers in *England* to disprove his arguments. The other side still insisting on consulting the Judges, the Earl of *Nottingham* represented to them, 'That instead of favouring thereby the noble Person

The Bi-
shop of Ro-
cheſter
reproved.

who

ment, wherein the terms of Peace and Commerce were falsely represented. 16. He had as far as in him lay destroyed the independency of the House of Lords, by causing the Queen to create twelve Peers at once to serve his ends. To these were afterwards added the six following articles. 17. He had not (as Prime Minister) advised the Queen against the destructive expedition to *Canada*. 18. He had procured a warrant for 13000*l.* for his own use. 19. He had procured a

warrant for 5560*l.* to his relation *Thomas Harley*. 20. He had paid a large sum of money to King *James's* Queen. 21. He had received *Patrick Lillo* (alias) *Lawless*, an *Irish* Papist, as a foreign Minister, and caused several sums of money to be paid him. 22. He had with others caused the *Catalans* to be exposed to the fury of an enraged, revengeful Prince, against whom the late Queen had engaged then to take arms.

1715. who had the misfortune to be impeached, as undoubtedly they meant it, they might, on the contrary, do him a great prejudice. For if, upon consulting the Judges, they declared the charge to amount to Treason, he would stand prejudged, before he was brought to his trial.⁹ After some other speeches, the negative was carried by eighty-four voices against fifty-two. And then it was moved, that the Earl of Oxford should be committed to safe custody; which occasioned another debate; and the Earl himself made a speech, wherein he took notice of 'his having had the honour to be placed at the head of the late Ministry; and must now, it seems, be made accountable for all the measures, that were then pursued. But that it was a very great comfort to him under this misfortune, that he had the honour to be a member of that august Assembly, which always squares their proceedings and judgments by the rules of honour, justice, and equity, and is not to be biased by a spirit of party. That the whole accusation might be reduced to the Negotiation and Conclusion of the peace. That the Nation wanted a peace (says he) nobody will deny; and, I hope, it will be as easily made out, that the conditions of this peace are as good, as could be expected, considering the circumstances, wherein it was made, and the backwardness and reluctance, which some of the Allies shewed to come into the Queen's measures. This is certain, that this peace, as bad as it is now represented, was approved by two successive Parliaments. It is indeed suggested against this peace, that it was a *separate one*. But I hope, my Lords, it will be made appear, that it was *general*; and that it was *France*, and not *Great-Britain*, that made the first steps towards a Negotiation. And, my Lords, I will be bold to say, that, during my whole Administration, the Sovereign upon the Throne was loved at home, and feared abroad. As to the business of *Townshay*, which is made a capital charge, I can safely aver, that I had no manner of share in it; and that the same was wholly transacted by that unfortunate Nobleman, who thought fit to step aside. But I dare say in his behalf, that, if this charge could be proved, it would not amount to Treason. For my own part, as I always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late Queen, and never offended against any known law, I am justified in my own conscience, and unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest ingratitude, be unconcerned for the best of Queens; a Queen, who heaped upon me honours and preferments, though I never asked for them; and therefore I think myself under an obligation to vindicate her memory, and the measures she pursued, to my dying breath. My Lords, if Ministers of State, acting by the immediate commands of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for their proceedings, it may one day or other be the case of all the Members of this august Assembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of regard to yourselves, your Lordships will give me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that, in the prosecution

tion of this inquiry, it will appear, that I have merited, not only the indulgence, but likewise the favour of this government. My Lords, I am now to take my leave of your Lordships, and of this honourable House, perhaps for ever! I shall lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my late dear Royal Mistress. And when I consider, that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my Peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content. And, my Lords, God's will be done.⁹

Before the question for committing him was put, the Duke of *Shrewsbury* acquainted the House, that the Earl was at present very much indisposed with the gravel; and therefore he hoped they would not immediately send him to the *Tower*, but suffer him to be two or three days in custody of the Black-Rod, at his own house; which met with no opposition.

When the Earl of Oxford went home, he was attended by a mob, that cried out, *High Church Ormond, and Oxford for ever*. However of twenty Bishops, who were in the House that day, six only were for him (1).

The Earl of Oxford being brought the next July 12th day to the Bar of the House, and having received a copy of the articles, he represented, 'That the ablest men in the Nation had been many weeks in drawing up those long articles against him; and therefore he hoped the House would allow him a proportionable time to answer them.' He took that occasion 'to thank them for their great humanity in not sending him to the *Tower*, and, as he still laboured under the same indisposition, he humbly desired them to permit him to continue some few days more at his own house, under the custody of the Black-Rod.' The Earl being withdrawn, the Lords resolved to allow him a month to answer the articles of impeachment; and Dr *Mead*, one of his Physicians, being consulted, and having made a kind of affidavit, 'That, if the Earl was sent to the *Tower*, his life would be in danger;' a motion was made, 'That he might continue in his house till the *Monday* following.' But this was opposed, and after a warm debate it was carried by eighty-one against fifty-five, that he should be sent to the *Tower* on *Saturday* the 16th of *July*.

During the course of this debate, the Earl of *Anglesey* having said, 'That it was to be feared, these violent measures would make the Scepter shake in the King's hands;' most of the Lords were offended at this suggestion, and some cried, to the *Tower*, and others only to *Order*. The Earl of *Sutherland* standing up said, 'He trembled with indignation to hear such words pronounced in that noble Assembly. That, if they had been spoke any where else, he would call the person, that spoke them, to an account. But all he could do there was to move, that he might explain himself.' The Earl of *Sutherland* was seconded by the Duke of *Roxburgh*, who, among other things, said, 'That the Scepter was so well riveted in the King's hand, that, instead of shaking, it would crush all his Majesty's enemies.' Upon these, and some other speeches, the Earl of *Anglesey* said, 'It was but

too

(1) Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York,
Dr John Robinson, Bishop of London,
Dr Francis Aterbury, Bishop of Rochester,

Dr George Smalbridge, Bishop of Bristol,
Dr Francis Gastrel Bishop of Chester,
Dr Nathaniel Crew, Bishop of Durham.

(1) The

1715. too manifest by the riots, that were daily committed in several parts of the Kingdom, that the Nation in general was against these impeachments: For his own part, he was so far from approving those tumultuous assemblies, and disorders, that he rather wished a stop might be put to them by exemplary punishments. He had, on several occasions, given sufficient proofs of his zeal and affection for the Revolution and the Protestant Succession. What he had now advanced, was the result of the same zeal for the peace and prosperity of his Majesty's Reign. However, if he had been so unhappy, as by any ungarded or passionate expression to give offence to that August assembly, he was very sorry for it. Notwithstanding this apology, some Members were inclined to have him sent to the Tower; but, the very words, he had spoken, not having been taken down in writing his explanation was admitted. It is observable, that on this occasion, besides the six Bishops, before mentioned, those of Bath and Wells, and St David's voted for the Earl of Oxford; and that the Earl was by many blamed for putting off his going to the Tower, which, they said, did not correspond with that firmness he had hitherto shewn. It is certain, as he came in his own coach to the House of Lords, he might with as much ease have been carried to the Tower, either by water, or in a sedan, and have had there the same attendance of his friends and physicians. The House having met on Friday, the 15th of July, they adjourned to the Monday following, to avoid, as it was generally surmised, any fresh motion, which the Earl of Oxford's friends might make for deferring his being sent to the Tower, where he was carried by the Black-Rod on the day appointed about eight o'clock in the evening in his chariot, attended by two hackney-coaches, in which were his Lady, his Son the Lord Harley, and some other of the Earl's relations and servants. Though these three coaches went from his house near St James's-Palace up St James's-Street, and then through Piccadilly, Gerard-Street, Monmouth-Street, and Holbourn, with design to avoid a crowd, yet were they attended by a great many of the common people, whose numbers being much increased in their return from the Tower, they raised a tumult in the streets, with their cry of *High Church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever*, upon which three or four of the mutineers were by the Constables carried to the Round-house.

The Earl of Oxford carried to the Tower, July 16.
Address of the Commons about tumults.
Pr. H. C.

These riots and tumults were not confined to London, but were spread through the Kingdom. The day before the Earl of Oxford was sent to the Tower, the House of Commons received information of their tumultuous proceedings in Staffordshire, where several Meeting-Houses had been pulled down by the mob. Upon this the Commons unanimously resolved to address the King, that the laws might be put in a speedy and most vigorous execution against

the Rioters, and an account be taken of such Justices, as failed in the discharge of their duty; and that the Sufferers, by these riots, may have a full compensation for their damages, which they would inable his Majesty to make good, out of the next aids granted by Parliament. The King, in his answer, promised an immediate compliance with their request, and hoped, by their reasonable assistance, to suppress the spirit of rebellion, and establish peace and prosperity.

For the more effectual prevention of riots, the King came to the House of Peers on the 20th of July, and, among others, gave the Royal assent to the Proclamation-act, as it is commonly called, by which act, if any persons, to the number of twelve, being unlawfully assembled, to the disturbance of the peace, and being required by a Justice of Peace or other Officer, by proclamation in the King's name, to disperse themselves, shall riotously continue together one hour after the proclamation, it shall be felony without benefit of the Clergy (1). After passing this and the rest of the acts, the Chancellor read the following speech, delivered into his hands by the King:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal you have shewn for preserving the peace of my Kingdoms, and your wisdom in providing so good a law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous proceedings, give me great satisfaction. But I am sorry to find, that such a spirit of Rebellion has discovered itself, as leaves no room to doubt, but these disorders are set on foot and encouraged by persons disaffected to my Government, in expectation of being supported from abroad.

The preservation of our excellent Constitution, and the security of our holy Religion, has been, and always shall be, my chief care; and I cannot question but your concern for these invaluable blessings is so great, as not to let them be exposed to such attempts, as I have certain advice are preparing by the Pretender from abroad, and carrying on at home by a restless party in his favour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

In these circumstances I think it proper to ask your assistance, and make no doubt but you will so far consult your own security, as not to leave the Nation under a Rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with an Invasion from abroad, in a defenceless condition. And I shall look upon the provision you shall make for the safety of my people, as the best mark of your affection to me.

The

(1) The proclamation must be in these words: Our Sovereign Lord the King chargeth and commandeth all persons, being assembled, immediately to disperse themselves, and peaceably depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains contained in the act made in the first year of King George, for preventing tumults and riotous assemblies. This act is to be read at every Sessions and Leet.

Other acts passed at this time were: 1. For continuing the imprisonment of the Conspirators against King William. 2. For the Quakers affirmation instead of their oath. 3. An act for regulating the forces. 4. The malt-tax. Lastly, An act to explain the act of 12 Will. III, for the further limitation of the Crown, &c.

(1) When

1715. The King, as appears by this speech, had received some intelligence of the Rebellion forming against him. Though the disaffected in England vented their fury in riots, and tumults, in breaking windows, and demolishing Meeting-Houses, the case was very different in Scotland, where the designs of the Jacobites were carried on with more secrecy and order, and very probably would have succeeded, had they been supported by their friends in England as will hereafter appear.

The Commons in their address of thanks assure the King, that they will, with their lives and fortunes, stand by and support him against all his open and secret enemies; and desire him immediately to give directions for fitting out such a number of ships, as may effectually guard the coasts, and to issue out Commissions for augmenting his forces by land; promising, without loss of time, effectually to enable him to raise and maintain such a number of forces, both by sea and land, as shall be necessary for the defence of his sacred Person, and for the security of his Kingdoms (1).²

Addresses from the Lords and the Convocation.
An address with the offer of their lives and fortunes was also presented by the Lords. The same day the Convocation waited on the King with an address, wherein, having thanked him for his message to the Commons, about the maintenance for the Ministers of the fifty new Churches, they proceed: 'After all the declarations your Majesty has been pleased to make in favour of our established Church, and the real proofs you have given for the concern of its interest; we hope, that none will be found so unjust, as to doubt of your affection to it. And we do most humbly assure your Majesty, that we will take all opportunities to infuse into those, who are under our care, the same grateful sense, that we ourselves have of your Majesty's goodness; and that at this time more especially, when the quiet of your Realms is disturbed by Insurrections at home, and the Nation threatened with an Invasion from abroad, we will put them in mind of those strict obligations of conscience, whereby they are engaged to defend and support your Majesty's Government; and will earnestly exhort them to exemplify, by a suitable practice, those principles of obedience and loyalty, which the Church of England has always thought it her duty to profess.' All these addresses met with a very gracious reception.

Precaution against the Rebellion.
The Parliament passed an act to empower the King to secure suspected persons, and to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in that time of danger. A clause was added to a Money-Bill for the reward of 100,000 l. to such as should seize

the Pretender dead or alive. Upon a motion of Mr Walpole, the Commons ordered an address for giving full pay to such half-pay Officers as were not provided for. Sir George Byng set out for the Downs to take upon him the command of the fleet, and General Erle went to his Government of Portsmouth to put that place in a posture of defence. General Cadogan marked out a camp in Hyde-Park for the Foot-guards. Lord Irwin was made Governor of Hull, in the room of Brigadier Sutton, who with the Generals Ross, Webb, and Stewart, the Lord Windsor, Colonel Descanay, and other officers were either dismissed the service or ordered to sell.

Pursuant to the Commons address, the King ordered thirteen regiments of dragoons, consisting of three thousand men, and eight of foot, consisting of four thousand, to be raised. He left the nomination of the Officers to the Dukes of Marlborough and Argyle, and the Generals Stanhope and Cadogan (2). The Trained-bands were also ordered to be in a readiness to suppress riots and tumults. Upon this, the several bodies concerned in these orders came to Court with addresses, expressing their abhorrence of all seditious and tumultuous assemblies, and their resolution to do their duty in preserving the publick peace, and to stand by and assist his Majesty with their persons and estates. These addresses were from the Common-Council of the City of London (3), from the Lieutenantcy of the same City, and from the Earl of Clare, who was Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex, with the Deputy-Lieutenants and Justices of the Peace. These were followed by several others, particularly from the Bishop of London and his Clergy; the University of Cambridge, the Dissenting Ministers of London and Westminster, the Commission of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and the University of Oxford; but the Members of that University, when they presented their address, were told, 'That, as they had shewn an open disrespect to his Majesty's Person and Government in their late conduct, his Majesty expected they should satisfy him better of their loyalty by their future behaviour, before they attempted it by words.' Nor was it a small part of the reason of the public displeasure, and of the repulse, which the University of Oxford met with on that occasion, that at the very time it was to be presented, an account came to Court by express, that some of the King's Officers, who, were beating up for Volunteers for a new regiment of dragoons, were attacked by some of the Scholars, and hardly escaped being killed.

1715.

Twenty-one regiments raised.

Whilst

(1) When the motion was made for this address, the Lord Guernsey, eldest Son of the Earl of Aylesbury, said, 'It was well known he had, on several occasions, differed from some Members in that House; but being now convinced, that our Liberty, Religion, and all that is dear to Englishmen, were aimed at, he would (laying his hand on his sword) rather die with his sword in his hand, than survive the Pretender's coming in, though he were to enjoy the greatest honours and preferments under him.'

(2) The thirteen Colonels of the dragoons were: Wynne, Honeywood, Pepper, Bowles, Gore, Munden,

Dormer, Newton, Churchill, Tyrrel,
The eight Colonels of the foot were: Stanwix, Pocock, Hotham, Lucas, Grant, Chudley, Dubourgay, Handasyde.

(3) The Common-Council in their address tell the King, 'They fear the intended Invasion has been too much encouraged by persons of Antimonarchical and Republican principles.'

1754

1715.

nal arti-
cle
Ox-
ford,
July 30.
Boling-
broke im-
peached,
Aug. 4.
Debate on
the articles
against the
Duke of
Ormond.
Aug. 5.

Whilst these things passed, the Commons added six articles more against the Earl of Oxford; and, two days after, the articles of impeachment against the Lord Bolingbroke were agreed to, and delivered by Mr Walpole at the bar of the House of Lords, where he impeached him. The next day, the articles against the Duke of Ormond being read, there arose a warm debate, in which several remarkable speeches were made. Among the rest, a Member of a considerable estate, and who had all along voted with the Tories, said, That the *Report* of the Committee of Secrecy had begun to open his eyes; and that the Duke of Ormond's flight had fully convinced him, that the heads of the Tory party were a set of knaves and villains, who designed to have ruined their Country, and made it a province to France. The Lord Stanhope, the eldest son of the Earl of Chesterfield, who spoke for the first time on this occasion, said, 'He never wished to spill the blood of any of his Countrymen, much less of any Nobleman; but that he was persuaded, that the safety of his Country required, that examples should be made of those, who betrayed it in so infamous a manner.' The Lord Finch, eldest son of the Earl of Nottingham, spoke also on the same side; and, after some other speeches, the first article was agreed to by a majority of a hundred and seventy-seven voices against seventy-eight; and then the other articles also were severally agreed to by the House. The first article charged the Duke with corresponding with Marshal Villars, the French General, while he commanded the British army in Flanders. The second, That he wickedly promised and engaged, that he would not attack the French army, nor engage in any siege against France. The third, That he did falsely, maliciously, wickedly, and traitorously adhere to the French King; and, in pursuance of a wicked promise he had secretly made with the Marshal de Villars, he endeavoured to persuade the Generals of the Confederate army to raise the siege of Quenoy; and, when he could not prevail, marched off with the Queen's troops, and gave the enemy's General advice of it. The other articles are in effect his conduct in Flanders reduced into a charge. And, both he and the Lord Bolingbroke having fled from justice, bills were brought in to summon them to render themselves by the 10th of September, and, in default thereof, to attain them of High-Treason; which passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent.

On the 8th of August, the House of Commons was called over, and among several absent Members, who were not excused, Sir Michael Wharton, Mr Corbet Kynaston, and Mr Lewis Pryse were ordered into custody. The two former were immediately discharged; but Mr Pryse declining to take the oaths, and having never attended the House, for that and other reasons, and being not found by the Messengers, was afterwards expelled.

On the 31st of August the articles against the Earl of Strafford were agreed to by the Commons, and carried by Mr Aylmer to the Lords. The articles being read in the House of Lords, the Earl of Strafford made a long speech, wherein, among other things, he complained of the hardships which had been put upon him by seizing his papers in an unprecedented manner: That he designed to have drawn up and print-

ed an account of all his Negotiations; whereby he did not doubt he should have made it appear to all the world, that he had done nothing but in discharge of his duty, and of the trust reposed in him. That if, either in his letters or discourses, while he had the honour to represent the Crown of Great-Britain, he had dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign Ministers, he hoped the same would not be accounted a crime by a British House of Peers. He concluded with desiring, that a competent time might be allowed him to answer the articles now brought against him; and that he might have duplicates of all the papers, that either had been laid before the Committee of Secrecy, or were still in the hands of the Government, which might be for his justification. The Lord Townshend said, 'That his complaint about the taking his papers from him was altogether groundless and unjust: That infinite instances of the like proceedings might be produced: That no State could be safe without it; and, in short, that extraordinary cases justify extraordinary methods. As to the Earl's demand to have duplicates of all the papers, that had been laid before the Commons, he (the Lord Townshend) thought it unreasonable, and made with no other design than to gain time, and make the Commons lose the opportunity of bringing him to his trial. That those papers were so voluminous (consisting of thirteen or fourteen volumes in folio) that they could not be copied out in many weeks; and as the Earl might have had access to them, ever since they were laid before the Parliament, so he was still at liberty to peruse them, and extract out of them what he thought proper for his own defence.' The Duke of Devonshire and the Lord Chancellor Cowper seconded the Lord Townshend; on the other hand, the late Lord Chancellor Harcourt and the Bishop of Rochester spoke for the Earl of Strafford; but what availed the latter most, was said by the Earl of Illy, who represented, 'That, in all civilized Nations, all Courts of judicature, except the Inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification; and that the House of Peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they are so justly renowned throughout all Europe.' Upon this it was resolved, 'That the Earl of Strafford should have copies of all such papers, as were in the Secretary's and other offices, which he should think proper for his defence: That he should have free access to the papers, that had been laid before the Commons: And that a month's time be allowed him, to answer the articles of impeachment against him.'

On the 3d of September the Earl of Oxford Debate on the Earl of Oxford's answer. Pr. H. C. caused his answer to the Commons impeachment to be delivered to the House of Lords, who transmitted it to the Commons, where it occasioned a small debate. Mr Walpole, among other things, said, 'he had not yet had time to examine that answer; but he now heard it read with a great deal of attention, and in his opinion, it contained little more than what had been suggested in vindication of the late measures, in a pamphlet intitled, *The conduct of the Allies*, and repeated over and over in the papers called the *Examiner*. That the main drift of this answer seemed to prove these two assertions: First, that the Earl of Oxford had no share

Articles
against the
Earl of
Strafford.

1715. share in the advising and managing the matters mentioned in the articles against him; but that the late Queen did every thing: And, secondly, that the late Queen was a wife, good, and pious Princess. That, if the second proposition were not better grounded than the first, the reputation of that excellent Princess would be very precarious; but as every body must own her to have been a good and pious Queen; so it was notorious, that the Earl of Oxford, as prime Minister, was the chief adviser, promoter, and manager of the matters charged upon him in the articles. And therefore his answer was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his Royal Mistress the blame of all the pernicious measures he had led her into, against her own honour, and the good of his country. That he hoped the Earl's endeavouring to screen himself behind the Queen's name would avail him nothing: That it is indeed a fundamental maxim of our Constitution, *That Kings can do no wrong*; but, at the same time, it is no less certain, *That Ministers of State are accountable for their actions*: Otherwise a Parliament would be but an empty name; the Commons would have no business in that place; and the Government would be absolute and arbitrary. That though the Earl had the assurance to aver, that he had no share in the management of affairs, that were transacted, while he was at the helm, yet he pretended to justify the late measures. And therefore, in that respect, his answer ought to be looked upon as a libel on the proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons, who had already confessed their guilt by flight.* Mr Shippen, a creature of the Earl of Oxford, said, It would not become him to defend the Earl's answer, since, as a Member of that honourable Assembly, he was become one of his accusers; but he could not forbear wishing, this prosecution might be dropped, and that the House would be satisfied with the two late acts of attainder. That this wish of his was the stronger, because one of the principal reasons, that induced the Commons to impeach the Earl of Oxford, subsisted no longer, the affairs of Europe having received a sudden turn from the death of the French King, whereby the Renunciation of King Philip began to take place in the advancement of the Duke of Orleans to the absolute regency of France.* Mr Aylmer answered, 'He hoped it was to little purpose, that the Gentleman, who spoke last, endeavoured to move the pity and compassion of the House, and persuade them to drop this prosecution. That this was not a proper time to examine and reply to the Earl of Oxford's answer; and therefore he would content himself with saying in general, that it was a contumacious of the shifts, evasions, and false representations contained in the three parts of the history of the White Staff. As to what had been suggested concerning the event, which seemed to have strengthened the Renunciation, he did not deny, there might be something in it, which was manifest from the great joy the well-affected to the Government had shewn on this occasion, and from the mortification and despair, that appeared in the faces of a certain party. But, after all, it could not yet be ascertained, that the Renunciation was in force: That there was a vast difference between the Regency and the Crown; that time only could decide that matter; but even supposing, that, by the concurrence

of unforeseen events, King Philip's Renunciation should at last take place, yet the same would not justify the Ministers, who proposed and laid it as the foundation of the late peace, since they, with whom they treated, were so frank and so sincere as to tell them, that it could never be valid by the fundamental laws of France.* After some other speeches, it was ordered, 1. That the answer of Robert Earl of Oxford be referred to the Committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached Lords. 2. That the Committee prepare a replication to the answer. Accordingly a replication was prepared, and being agreed to was sent to the Lords.

The next day, a Report from the same Committee, concerning the state and circumstances of Mr Prior's commitment, was made to the House in the following manner:

'That, in the perusal and examination of the several books and papers referred to the Committee of Secrecy, Mr Prior appeared, through the whole progress of the separate and pernicious Negotiations, carried on between the Ministers of Great-Britain and France, to have been principally concerned as an Agent and Instrument of those evil and traitorous Counsellors, some of which are already attainted, and others stand impeached of High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors: And the Committee conceiving there were matters contained in the first general Report, from which crimes of a very high nature ought to be justly charged and imputed to Mr Prior, whenever the House should think proper to enter into that consideration; as likewise that Mr Prior was able to give great lights into all those dark and secret transactions, when he should be called upon by the Great Council of the Nation, or any Committee appointed by them, to give an account of the Negotiations, in which he was concerned as a public Minister; the House, upon a motion from the Committee for that purpose, was pleased to order, before the Report was made, that Mr Prior should be taken into custody of the Serjeant at Arms, to prevent his making his escape, upon notice of what was contained in the Report.

That this method of confining Mr Prior is not only agreeable to former precedents upon the like occasions, but necessary and essential to that great duty and privilege of the House of Commons, of redressing grievances, and bringing great offenders to justice.

That the Committee did, some time after, pursuant to the powers given them by the House, proceed to examine Mr Prior concerning several matters, of which there can be no doubt but he was fully apprized and acquainted with; in which examination Mr Prior did behave himself with such contempt of the authority of Parliament, and prevaricate in so gross a manner, as most justly to deserve the highest displeasure of the House.

But finding at last, after an examination of several hours, that it was impossible for him to disguise or conceal some facts, that were before the Committee, he was induced to declare upon oath some truths, which will be very material evidence upon the trials of the impeached Lords.

And the Committee having notice, that Mr Prior had, during his first confinement, met and conferred

1715.

Report as
bout Mr
Prior.
Sept 20.

1715. conferred with the Earl of Oxford, and his nearest relations and dependants, which Mr Prior confessed to be true, thought it their duty to move the House, that Mr Prior might be committed to closer custody.

From this short state of the proceedings relating to Mr Prior, the Committee submits it to the wisdom of the House, Whether his behaviour has so far merited the favour and mercy of the House, as to make that confinement more easy to him, which his contempt of the Commons of Great-Britain, and his notorious prevarication, most justly brought him into. And it seems worthy of consideration, how far it may be thought advisable for the House of Commons to set at liberty a person in their custody, and committed according to the antient methods and practice of Parliament; who is a material evidence against high offenders, under prosecution of the Commons of Great-Britain, and who, there is reason to apprehend, would immediately withdraw himself, and, as far as in him lay, defeat the justice of the Nation.

After the reading of this Report, the Commons ordered, 'That the Committee be empowered to sit, notwithstanding any adjournment of the House.'

The time for the Duke of Ormond and the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke to render themselves being expired, the House of Lords ordered the Earl Marshal to raze out of the list of Peers their names and coats of arms. Inventories were likewise directed to be taken of their personal estates; and the achievement of the Duke, as Knight of the Garter, to be taken down from St George's Chapel at Windsor.

On the 30th of August, an act received the Royal assent, for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. By this act every vassal that holds lands of any superior guilty of High-Treason, by abetting the Pretender, and continues peaceable, shall be invested with the said lands in fee and heritage for ever. In like manner, if any subject of Great-Britain, holding lands of a superior in Scotland, shall be guilty of such High-Treason, his lands shall return into the hands of the superior, and be consolidated with the superior's. All entails and settlements of estates, since

the 1st of August 1714, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of High-Treason, by abetting the Pretender, shall be null and void. Besides these and other particulars, this act had a clause in it, for summoning any suspected person in Scotland to appear at Edinburgh, or where it should be judged expedient, to find bail for his good behaviour, with certification, that, if they did not appear at the time appointed, they would be denounced Rebels. Pursuant to this clause, all the heads of the Jacobite Clans, and other suspected persons, were soon after summoned to appear at Edinburgh, and not obeying the summons, they were declared Rebels.

By this time the Court had received certain information, that an open Rebellion was broke out in Scotland, under the direction of the Earl of Mar, which was to be supported by a great Conspiracy in England. The Earl of Mar, at the death of Queen Anne, was Secretary of State for Scotland, and had been one of the first who made professions of their loyalty and affection to King George, as appears by a letter he wrote the King before his arrival (1). The Earl had also taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. But, not meeting the encouragement he expected, The Earl, about the 8th of August 1715, embarked with Major-General Hamilton, Colonel Hay, and two servants, at Gravesend, on board a collier, and, arriving at Newcastle, hired a vessel belonging to one Spence of Leith, which in eight days landed them at Elie in Fife. They immediately went to the house of John Bethune of Balfour, where they staid all night, and from thence rode to the Lord Kinnoul's. The next day they proceed to Craigie-Hall; and Colonel Hay conveyed the Earl of Mar about three miles, and went to the Lord Nairn's; and the Earl and General Hamilton proceeded to the Laird of Invercald's at the Brae of Mar. Colonel Hay, the Lord John Drummond, the Marquis of Tullibardine, Strouven Robertson, and several other Highland Gentlemen, and particularly the Lairds of Glenbucket, Glenderule, Abergeldy, Dalmere, Auchindrain, and John Paterson, who had been a Clerk in the Secretary's Office,

The Rebellion in Scotland breaks out,

The Earl of Mar sets out for Scotland.

The names and coats of arms of the Lord Bolingbroke and Duke of Ormond razed.

An act passed to encourage loyalty in Scotland.

(1) The Earl of Mar's letter was as follows:

S I R,

Having the happiness to be your Majesty's subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants, as one of your Secretaries of State, I beg leave by this to kiss your Majesty's hand, and congratulate your happy Accession to the Throne; which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have had the honour of doing it personally ere now. I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your Majesty; and my reason for thinking so is, because I was, I believe, the only one of the late Queen's servants, whom your Ministers did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr Harley, and the Earl of Clarendon, when they went from hence to wait on your Majesty: And your Ministers carrying so to me was the occasion of my receiving such orders, as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them. I suppose, I had been misrepresented to them by some here upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties here too often occasion; but I hope your Majesty will be so just, as not to give

credit to such misrepresentations. The Part I acted in the bringing about and making the Union, when the Succession of the Crown was settled for Scotland on your Majesty's Family, where I had the honour to serve as Secretary of State for that Kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your Majesty out of dispute. My family hath had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the Crown, and have had the care of the King's children (when Kings of Scotland) intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your Majesty's Grandmother, when young, and she was pleased afterwards to express some concern for our family in letters, which I still have under her own hand. I have had the honour to serve her late Majesty, in one capacity or other, ever since her Accession to the Crown. I was happy in a good Mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my services. And since your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown, I hope, you will find, that I have not been wanting in my duty, in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the Country, to which I belong, and have some interest in. Your Majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and

1715. Office, came to the Earl of Mar; who, having staid at *Invercald's*, house about eight days, went to *Glenbucket's*, and from thence to *Aboyne*, where he held a consultation with the Marquisses of *Huntley* and *Tullibardine*, the Earls of *Southesk* and *Marschal*, the Lairds of *Glenderule*, *Glengary*, *Glenbucket*, Tutor of *Aboyne*, General *Hamilton*, and General *Gordon*; but *Invercald* and *Abergeldy*, who were at *Aboyne*, were not admitted to the consultation. The Earl of Mar, the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, General *Hamilton*, and Mr *Paterfon* returned to *Invercald*, where they staid about eight days; during which the Earl sent several letters, and received others; and in that time there were gathered together about five hundred of his own men, three hundred of whom, being well armed, went to *Castletown* with him and General *Hamilton*; and *Innerey* (who came to *Invercald* the day before) and the remaining two hundred went away, till they should be provided with better arms, and then were to follow under the command of *Innerey*. At *Castletown* they proclaimed the Pretender; whose Standard was set up by the Earl of Mar at *Bras-Mar*, on the 6th of September.

the Pre-
tender's
standard
set up,
Sept. 6.
Several
persons
taken
Com.
Hitt. of
the Re-
pub. Pat-
en.

Upon the news of the Earl's being in the *Higblands*, and the report of his having drawn together a body of men, orders were immediately dispatched to *Edinburgh*, for apprehending several suspected persons; pursuant to which, the Earls of *Hume*, *Wigtoun*, and *Kinnoul*, and the Lord *Desford*, Mr *Lockhart* of *Carnwath*, and Mr *Hume* of *Whitefield*, were committed prisoners to the Castle. Orders were also sent to Major-General *Wobesam*, Commander in chief in *Scotland*, forthwith to march with all the regular troops, that could be spared, to form a camp near *Sterling*, to secure the bridge over the *Forth*, and to quarter the half-pay Officers in

such a manner, that they might be in a readiness to command the militia. About this time, the Court received intelligence of several vessels ready to sail for *Scotland*, from the Port of *Havre de Grace*, laden with arms and ammunition for the use of the Pretender: And, notwithstanding all the precautions used by the Government, on the 29th of August, the Lord Justice Clerk had advice from *Montrose*, that one of those ships was arrived at *Arbois* in the North, where she was immediately unladen by the *Higblanders*, sent thither for that purpose, who carried the arms and ammunition to the Country of *Bras-Mar*. A few days after, another ship landed several Officers, who went to join the Earl of Mar, and gave him, and the Lords with him, assurances, that the Pretender would soon be in person amongst them. But the news of the death of *Lewis XIV* of France, on the 1st of September, N. S. so alarmed the Rebels, and struck such a general damp upon their spirits, that their Chiefs held a consultation, whether they should stand out any longer, in expectation of the Pretender's coming according to his promise, or whether they should give over their enterprize. They divided upon the question; some were for going home, and not stirring till the Pretender landed; but the majority, depending upon a general insurrection in *England*, were for persisting, at least, till they had news from the Pretender; to whom they all agreed to send Messengers immediately, to press his coming over. Pursuant to this resolution, the Earl of Mar assumed the title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's forces, and as such published a declaration, which he sent, with a letter, to the Baillie of *Kildrummie*, to exhort the people to take arms (1). A few days after, a manifesto was also published, setting

1715.

and servant, as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late Mistress, the Queen. And I beg your Majesty may be so good not to believe any misrepresentation of me, which nothing but party hatred, and my zeal for the interest of the Crown doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your Royal favour and protection. As your Accession to the Crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your Majesty's Reign be long and prosperous, and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him, who is, with the humblest duty and respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most faithful,

Most dutiful, and most obedient,

Subject and servant.

M A R.

Whitehall, Aug.
30, 1714.

(1) The declaration ran thus:

* Our rightful and natural King *James VIII*, by the Grace of God, who is now coming to relieve us from our oppressions, having been pleased to intrust me with the direction of his affairs, and the command of his forces in this his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*; and some of his faithful subjects and servants met at *Aboyne*, viz. the Lord *Huntley*; the Lord *Tullibardine*, the Earl *Maribail*, the Earl of *Southesk*, *Glengary* from the Clans, *Glenderule* from the Earl of *Broadalbin*, and Gentlemen of *Argyleshire*, Mr *Patrick Lyon* of

No. 85, Vol. IV.

Auchterhouse, the Laird of *Auldair*, Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*, Major-General *Gordon*, and myself, having taken into our consideration his Majesty's last and late orders to us, that as this is now the time, that he ordered us to appear openly in arms for him; so it seems to us absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, and the relieving of our native Country from all its hardships, that all his faithful and loving subjects and lovers of their Country, should, with all possible speed, put themselves into arms.

These are therefore, in his Majesty's name and authority, and by virtue of the power aforesaid, and by the King's special order to me thereunto, to require and empower you forthwith to raise your fencible men, with their best arms; and you are immediately to march them to join me, and some other of the King's forces at the *Inver* of *Bras-Mar*, on Monday next, in order to proceed in our march to attend the King's Standard, with his other forces.

The King intending, that his forces shall be paid from the time of their setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering, nor other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure; which it is expected you will see observed.

Now is the time for all good men to shew their zeal for his Majesty's service, whose cause is so deeply concerned, and the relief of our native Country from oppression, and a foreign yoke too heavy for us and our posterity to bear; and to endeavour the restoring, not only of our rightful and native King, but also our Country to its antient, free, and independent constitution under him; whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations.

S S

In

1715. ting forth the reasons of their proceedings, the grievances the Nation lay under, with assurances of redressing them (1).

*See next
upon Edin-
burgh.*

Besides these measures, a Conspiracy was formed at *Edinburgh* to surprize the Castle, on the 8th of September, between eleven and twelve at night; which, by the care and vigilance of Sir Adam Cockburn, the Lord Justice Clerk, who had early notice of it, was prevented. The design was to mount the wall by the West-side of the Castle, by rope-ladders provided for that purpose, which were to be pulled up by lines let down from within by some soldiers belonging to the garrison, who had been corrupted. The Conspirators came to the Castle-wall at the time appointed; and a rope was let down and fixed to one of the ladders. But, the Lord Justice Clerk having sent intimation of this design to Colonel Stuart, Lieutenant-Governor of the Castle, he ordered the Officers under him to double their guards, and to make diligent rounds. As Lieutenant Lindsay was going the round in obedience to these orders, he found one of the soldiers, who had been corrupted, drawing up the ladder, in order to fix it to the top of the wall; and commanded the sentinel next him to fire, which giving the alarm, the Conspirators dispersed. But a party of the Town-guard, which, at the request of the Lord Justice Clerk, the Provost had sent out to patrol, with some resolute Volunteers, coming up, found Captain Maclean, formerly an Officer under the Lord Dundee, lying on the ground, bruised with a fall from the wall, whom they secured, with three others of his Accomplices. They likewise found the ladders, and about a dozen of firelocks and carbines, which the Conspirators had left behind. One Serjeant, one Corporal, and two private Soldiers of the garrison were

also secured; and, by the confessions of the persons seized, it appeared, that the numbers engaged in this attempt were about eighty, of whom one half were *Highlanders*: That one Mr *Arribar*, formerly an Ensign in the Caille, engaged the soldiers in this Conspiracy, by promising the Serjeant a Lieutenant's Commission; the Corporal an Ensign's; and by giving one of the soldiers eight guineas, and the other four: That the Lord Drummond was to be Governor of the Castle, as being the Contriver of the design: And that, upon the success of it, the Conspirators were to fire three rounds of the artillery in the Castle; which, by the communication of fires to be kindled at convenient distances, was to be a signal to the Earl of Mar, immediately to march towards *Edinburgh* with his forces, to improve the confederation, and heighten the terror, which such an accident would have caused in the City.

The Duke of *Argyle*, being appointed Commander in Chief of the forces in Scotland, set out on the 9th of September for that Kingdom; and, about the same time, the Earl of *Sutherland* offered his service to go and raise the Highland Clans in the most northern Counties of Scotland, which was readily accepted; and the *Queenborough* man of war was appointed to transport him thither. Several other *Scots* Peers, particularly the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Marquises of *Annandale* and *Tweeddale*, the Earls of *Sekirk*, *Loudoun*, *Rothes*, *Haddington*, and *Forfar*, the Lords *Torricen* and *Belhaven*, &c. readily embraced this opportunity to shew their loyalty to King *George*, and their zeal for their Country.

By this time a dangerous Conspiracy was discovered and prevented in *England*. On the 2d of September, Lieutenant-Colonel Paul, who had

1715.

*The Duke
of Argyle
sets out for
Scotland.*

*A Conspiracy
in England
discovered
a Con-
spiracy.*

In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we cannot doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the Royal Family of *Stuart*, and our Country, from sinking under oppression.

Your punctual observance of these orders is expected; For the doing of all which this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution of them, a sufficient warrant. Given at *Brace-Mar* the 9th of September 1715.

To the Baillie and the rest of the
Gentlemen of the Lordship of
Kildrummie.

M A R.

The Earl's letter to the Baillie was in these terms:

Jackie, Invercald, Sept. 9. at night, 1715.

'Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their King and Country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the Gentlemen in most of our neighbouring Lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these six and twenty years? And now when it is come, and the King and Country's cause at stake, will they for ever sit still, and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you inclosed an order for the Lordship of *Kildrummie*, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals. If they give ready obedience, it will make

some amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies by those, who are ready soon to join me: And they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in *Kildrummie* know, that, if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them: And they may believe this not only a threat, but by all that is sacred I will put it in execution, let my loss be what it will that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the Gentlemen, that I will expect them in their best accoutrements on horse-back, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself, and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as you will be answerable to me, but to your King and Country.

Your assured friend and servant,

To John Forbes of Invercald,
Baillie of Kildrum-
mie.

M A R.

(1) Manifesto and Declaration by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful Sovereign James the VIIIth, by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and for relieving this his ancient Kingdom of Scotland from the oppression and grievances it lies under. His Majesty's right of blood to the Crown of these Realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed nor arraigned by the least circumstance of authority whatsoever.

By

1715. a Company in the first regiment of Foot-guards, was secured, and the next day committed prisoner to the *Gate-House*, being charged with instilling men for the Pretender's service, and other treasonable practices. The titular Duke of *Powis*, a Roman Catholic, was committed to the *Tower* for High-Treason; and the Lords *Lansdown* and *Dupplin* were also taken into custody; and a warrant issued out to apprehend the Earl of *Jersey*. At the same time, Mr Secretary *Stanhope* acquainted the Commons, 'That he was commanded by the King to communicate to them, that his Majesty, having just cause to suspect, that Sir *William Wyndham*, Sir *John Packington*, Mr *Edward Harvey*, *Sent of Combe*, Mr *Thomas Forster*, Junr. Mr *John Anstis*, and Mr *Corbet Kyneston*, were engaged in a design to support the intended Invasion of this Kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them: And desired the consent of the House, to his causing them to be committed and detained, if he should judge it necessary so to do;' which was unanimously agreed to by an address to that purpose.

Upon this, warrants were issued out for apprehending the six Members, two of whom, *Harvey* and *Anstis*, happening to be in town, were immediately secured. Mr *Harvey* stabbed himself some few days after with a knife, in two or three places of his breast; but the wounds proved not mortal. As to the rest, Mr *Forster* stood out in defiance of Justice, and with two *Romish* Lords raised a Rebellion in *Northumberland*. Sir *John Packington* was brought up to London from his house in *Worcestershire*, and being examined before the Council, and nothing appearing against him, was honourably discharged. Mr *Kyneston* made his escape, and Colonel *Hyske*, a Captain in the Foot-guards, was sent down with a Messenger to apprehend

Sir *William Wyndham*, at his house in *Somersetshire*, where they arrived between four and five in the morning. The door being opened, they appeared to be in haste to see Sir *William*; but the porter told them, he was in bed, and could not yet be spoke with. The Colonel told him, he came Express, and the person with him had a packet of letters of such consequence, that his Master must needs be immediately informed of it. This convinced the man, and Sir *William* presently leaped out of bed, and came in his gown to the Colonel, who told him he was his prisoner, the Messenger, at the same time, shewing the badge of his office. Sir *William* said, he readily submitted, but desired no noise might be made to frighten his Lady, who was with child. Then they entered a chamber, where the Colonel seeing Sir *William's* coat and waistcoat lie, told him, he had orders to seize all his papers; and that he must take leave to search his pockets, wherein he found a bundle of papers, which he secured. Sir *William* would have diverted him, by offering him very frankly the keys of his escrutoire, to search; but the Colonel happened to secure the most important papers, as he had reason to guess, by the great disorder and confusion in Sir *William's* looks, when he took the bundle out of his waistcoat pocket. Sir *William* desired the Colonel to stay till seven o'clock, and he would order his own coach and six horses to be ready, which would carry them all; telling the Colonel, he would only go in, and put on his cloaths, and take leave of his Lady, and then would wait on him. Out of deference to that Lady's noble relations, who, besides their high rank, had deserved it by their zeal and affection for the present Government, the Colonel had particular directions to use him with decorum, and readily complied with his request, looking on it as his parole to return:

But

By the laws of God, by the ancient constitution of these Nations, and by the positive unrevoked laws of the land, we are bound to pay his Majesty the duty of faithful subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful King: The laws of the land secure our religion, and other interests; and his Majesty, giving up himself to the support of his Protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns religious and civil into our own hands.

Our fundamental Constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, which, in searching out new experiments pretended for our security, has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign counsels and interests, and the power of foreign troops.

The late unhappy *Union*, which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and by the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his Majesty's subjects of *Scotland*, and *England*, that it has widened and increased them; and appears by experience to be inconsistent with the rights, interests, and privileges of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of *England*, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them: Nor can any way be found to relieve us, and restore our antient independent Constitution, but by restoring our rightful and natural King, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that that party, who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is

known how strenuously they opposed in two late instances the efforts, that were made by all *Scotsmen* but themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the *English*, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown a dissolution of the *Union* to be.

Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars; and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity, so long as the possession of the Crown is not in the right line.

The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by Conventions and Parliaments, are now treated as of no value nor force; and past services to the Crown and Royal Family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion.

A packed Assembly, who call themselves a *British* Parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our Sovereign, by promising a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthiest Patriots of *England*; for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these Nations. They have broke in upon the sacred laws of both Countries, by which the liberties of our persons were secured. They have impowered a foreign Prince (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the Crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language) to make an absolute conquest, if not timely prevented, of the three Kingdoms, by investing him with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be very hopeful of its being

1715. But he soon found himself mistaken in the person, whose honour he had trusted to; for, tho' the Colonel had caused two doors of Sir William's bed-chamber to be secured, yet, there being a third, he made his escape through it. The Colonel, having directed the Messenger to stay at the house till further orders, returned with speed to London, to acquaint the Government with what had passed; whereupon the King in Council thought fit to sign a proclamation, with a reward of a thousand pounds, for apprehending Sir William.

One of the papers found in Sir William's pocket was said to be a list of the principal persons, who had joined in an Association to favour an Invasion, and to advance the Pretender to the Throne; which Association was transmitted to him by the Lord Lansdown. Be that as it will, it is certain a great many notorious Jacobites, who by this time had got together at Bath, in order to head the intended Insurrection in Somersetshire, were extremely alarmed at the coming down of the King's Messengers, and left that place with great precipitation, in a very stormy night. Sir William Wyndham, being pursued by the proclamation, and several Messengers, thought a Clergyman's habit the best disguise, and ordered one of his servants to write a letter to a Gentleman in Surrey, desiring him to give his Master refuge in his house; or, if he would not venture so far, to get him a lodging in the Minister's house, where he would come in a habit, that would bespeak him respect from a Clergyman. This letter being brought to the

Gentleman's house while he was abroad, his Lady opened it; and being frightened with the thought of the danger, which her husband might incur in harbouring a person charged with Treason, she thought fit to send it to the Earl of Aylesford, who failed not immediately to communicate it to the Government. Sir William rightly judging, by the miscarriage of the letter, that he could hardly escape, thought it prudent to surrender himself. In order to which, having crossed the Thames near Twissleworth, he went first to *Sion-House* belonging to the Duke of Somerset, his father-in-law, and, coming from thence to London the 3d of October, he put himself into the hands of the Earl of Hertford, his brother-in-law, Captain of one of the troops of Life-guards; who having given notice of it to Mr Secretary Stanhope, a Messenger was sent to take Sir William into custody. Three days after, he was examined at the Council board, where he flatly denied he knew any thing of a plot. However, an order was made for his commitment to the Tower. It was then strongly reported, the Duke of Somerset offered to be his bail; which the Council did not think fit to accept. But whether the Duke bore this denial impatiently, and expressed some resentment upon it too warmly, it is certain, he was removed from his place of Master of the Horse.

While these things were transacting, the King came, on the 21st of September, to the House of Lords, and, having passed the bills that were ready, ordered the Lord-Chancellor to

1715.

being otherwise, in the way it is in at present, for these generations to come; and the consequences of these unexampled proceedings has been already so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends, and fellow-subjects of both Kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their Country, Houses, Wives, and Children, or to give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims to be sacrificed at the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated since the peace with neglect and contempt; as particularly in *Holland*: And it is not now the Officers long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour, by which they can obtain justice in their preferments.

So that it is evident, that the safety of his Majesty's person and loyal subjects, the rights of his people, and independency of his Kingdoms call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, our duty to his Majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives, which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means of putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as by our present situation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts, true to our only rightful King, our Country, and our Neighbours. We earnestly beseech and expect (as his Majesty commands) the assistance of all our true fellow-subjects to second these our just attempts, declaring hereby our sincere intentions:

That we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands under the auspicious Government of our native-born rightful Sovereign, the direction of our own domestic counsels, and the protection of our own native force and troops.

That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties secured by free Parliaments of both Kingdoms.

That, by the wisdom of such Parliaments, we will endeavour to have such laws enacted, as shall give an absolute security to us, and future ages, for the true Protestant Religion, against all efforts of Arbitrary Power, Popery, and all its other enemies. Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the solidity of our Holy Religion, or the known excellency of his Majesty's judgment, as not to hope, that in due time, good example, and conversation with our learned Divines, will remove these prejudices, which we know that his education in a Popish Country has not riveted in his Royal discerning mind: And we are sure, that, as justice is a virtue of all religious professions, the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours.

That, as the King is willing to give his Royal Indemnity for all that is past, so we will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of Oblivion, that our fellow-subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner we design to live with them.

That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home to be on the same foot and establishment of pay, as those in England.

The peace of these Nations being thus settled, and we thus freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons, and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and, at the same time, will support the public credit in all its parts.

And we hereby faithfully promise and engage, that every Officer, who joins with us in our King and Country's cause, shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he brings off with him to us: And each foot soldier to

joining



From a Painting of M.^r Richardson belonging to the L. Bolingbroke Impress'd & P.^{nt} by W. Kneller London 1721



1715. to deliver the following speech to both Houses (1):

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech. I AM persuaded you are all by this time very desirous of some recess, and that it cannot be deferred longer, without great inconvenience to your private affairs.

But, before I can part with you, I must return you my most sincere thanks, for your having finished, with so much wisdom and unanimity, what I recommended to your care; and particularly I thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the provision you have made, as well for the support of the honour and dignity of the Crown, as for the other necessary occasions of the Public; especially for your having done it by means so little burdensome to my people; which, I assure you, recommends the Supplies to me above any other circumstance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The open and declared Rebellion, which is now actually begun in *Scotland*, must convince all, who do not wish to see us given up into the hands of a Popish Pretender, of the dangers to which we have been and are still exposed.

I thought it incumbent on me to give you the earliest notice of the designs of our enemies; and I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal and dispatch, with which you impowered me, at a time when the Nation was in so naked and defenceless a condition, to make such preparations, as I should think necessary for our security. You shall have no reason to repent of the trust and confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other end, than for the protection and welfare of my people.

It was scarce to be imagined, that any of my Protestant subjects, who have known and

enjoyed the benefits of our excellent Constitution, and have heard of the great dangers they were wonderfully delivered from by the happy Revolution, should by any arts and management be drawn into measures, that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, and subject them to Popery and arbitrary Power. But such has been our misfortune, that too many of my people have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender's designs, who had never dared to think of Invading us, or raising a Rebellion, had he not been encouraged by the success of his emissaries and adherents have already had in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the further hopes they entertain of raising Insurrections in many parts of my Kingdoms.

The endeavouring to persuade my people, that the Church of *England* is in danger under my Government, has been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traitorous design. This insinuation, after the solemn assurances I have given, and my having laid hold on all opportunities to do every thing, that may tend to the advantage of the Church of *England*, is both unjust and ungrateful. Nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a calumny can make any impression upon the minds of my faithful subjects, or that they can be so far misled, as to think the Church of *England* is to be secured, by setting a Popish Pretender on the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken duty and affection to Me, and of their love and zeal for the interest of their Country, will recommend you to the good opinion and esteem of all, who have their Religion and Liberty truly at heart, and has laid a lasting obligation upon me; and I question not, but by your further assistance in the several Countries, to which you are going, with the blessing of Almighty God, who has

joining us, shall have twenty shillings sterling gratuity, besides his pay; and each trooper or dragoon, who brings his horse and accoutrements along with him, the sum of twelve pounds sterling.

And, in general, we will concur with all our fellow-subjects in such measures, as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful Sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our antient fundamental Constitution, undisturbed by Pretenders interests, counsels from abroad, or by restless factions at home.

In so honourable, good, and just a cause, we doubt not of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often rescued the royal Family of *Stuart* and our Country from sinking under oppression.

(1) When the Speaker presented the three bills for settling a revenue on the Princes of *Wales*, for enlarging the capital stock of the *South-Sea Company*, and for making provision for the Ministers of the fifty new Churches, he made a speech with great spirit and eloquence, wherein, among others, were the following passages.

Your Commons could not see, without the utmost indignation, the glories of her late Majesty's Reign tarnished by a treacherous cessation of arms; the faith of treaties violated; that antient probity, for which

Numb. LXXXVI. Vol. IV.

the *English* Nation had been justly renowned throughout all ages, exposed to scorn and contempt, and the trade of the Kingdom given up by insidious and precarious treaties of Commerce, whilst the people, amused with new worlds explored, were contented to see the most advantageous branches of their Commerce in *Europe* lost or betrayed.

Such was the condition of this Kingdom, when it pleased the Divine Providence to call your Majesty to the Throne of your Ancestors, under whose auspicious Reign, your Commons, with pleasure, behold the glory of the *Plantagenets*, your Majesty's Royal Ancestors, revive, and have an unbounded prospect of the continuance of this happiness even to the latest Posterity, in a race of Princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing may be wanting on the part of your Commons, to establish your Majesty's Throne on solid and lasting foundations, they have applied themselves with unwearied diligence to vindicate the honour of the *British* Nation, and to restore a mutual confidence between this Kingdom and its antient and faithful Allies, by detecting the Authors of those pernicious counsels, and the actors in those treacherous designs, in order to bring them to justice, by the judgment of their Peers, according to the law of the land, and the usage of Parliament, &c.

1715.

so frequently interposed in favour of this Nation, I shall be able to disappoint and defeat the design of our enemies.

Our meeting again to do business, early in the next winter, will be useful on many accounts, particularly, that the sitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that season of the year, which is most convenient; and that as little delay may be given as is possible to your judicial proceedings; and I shall at present give such orders to my Lord Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my power to meet you on any sudden occasion.

When the King's speech was ended, the Parliament adjourned to the 6th of *October*, and afterwards, by several adjournments, to the 9th of *January*.

Pursuant to the King's speech, orders from the Privy-Council, with a letter from the Secretary of State, were sent to all the Lords-Lieutenants of the Counties in *England*, to cause the Militia to be put in such a posture, as to be ready to march when required; and also to give the necessary directions to the proper Officers, to seize the persons and arms of all Papists, Nonjurors, and others, whom they should have reason to suspect.

A design to seize Bristol previously.

The designed Insurrection in the western Counties was so deeply concerted, and the Conspirators so potent and numerous, that the Jacobites at *Bath*, depending on their majority, openly talked, that the affair of *Scotland* was only a diversion to draw the King's troops that way; but that the effectual attempt would be made in the *West* very speedily. But the Government having received information of the secret proceedings of the Disaffected, took such measures, as defeated all their designs. And first, to prevent the intended surprisal of *Bristol*, in order to make it a place of arms, the Earl of *Berkeley*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of that City, repaired thither with all speed, and took all necessary precautions to secure that important place. Several Persons were apprehended, and, amongst the rest, Mr *Hart*, a Merchant, who was charged with having collected great quantities of warlike stores for the use of the Conspirators. Besides part of *Lumley's* regiment of horse, and the two battalions of *Stanwix* and *Pocock*, who were already in *Bristol*, Colonel *Chudleigh's* regiment of foot marched thither, about the beginning of *October*. At the same time, the Lord *Windsor's* regiment of horse, and *Rich's* dragoons, under the command of Major-General *Wade*, marched to *Bath*, which place was both the rendezvous, and one of the arsenals of the Conspirators. Upon strict search, the King's Officers found and seized there eleven chests of fire-arms, a hoghead full of basket-hilt swords, and another of cartouches, and three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and moulds to cast cannon, which had been buried under ground. There were about two hundred horses seized; and the following persons were apprehended, Captain *Lansdon*, Captain *Doyle*, Captain *Sinclair*, Sir *George Brown*, Mr *Mackarity*, Mr *Dun*, Mr *Macdonnel*, and *William Hibbert*. They were all brought to *London* by a party of Brigadier *Bowles's* regiment, on the 18th of *October*.

The University of Oxford is expelled.

The behaviour of the University of *Oxford* gave likewise reason to suspect them. They

had lately chose the Earl of *Arran* their Chancellor, in the room of his brother the Duke of *Ormond*, by a great majority over the Earl of *Pembroke*, who was put up in competition with him. On the 26th of *September*, the Earl of *Arran* was sworn and installed into that Office with the usual solemnity; and the Vice-Chancellor made a long speech, wherein he enumerated and extolled the eminent virtues of the family of *Butler*, and took notice of the great obligations they had at different times laid on that seminary of learning; suggesting withal, that, the Duke of *Ormond* having, before his withdrawing beyond sea, thought fit to resign the place of Chancellor of that University, they could not better express their gratitude, both to his Grace and his noble Ancestors, than by choosing his brother, the Earl of *Arran*, in his Grace's room. The University concluded this demonstration of their disaffection, by conferring the degrees of Doctor of Laws on Sir *John Everard*, a Nonjuror, and on Sir *William Gifford*, late Governor of *Greenwich* Hospital. Not many days after, a letter from a young Gentleman at *Oxford* to his Friend in *London* falling into other hands, by reason of a similitude of names, the following particulars were found in it: 'I think myself very happy in being settled in this so loyal a place, and only want your good company to complement it; for here we fear nothing, but drink *James's* health every day. The Prince thought to have been made Chancellor, and by that to have been a Bishop, but, thank God, he was disappointed.'

The Government being informed of all that passed at *Oxford*, and in particular, that Colonel *Owen*, with some other broken Officers, *Irish* Papists, and several notorious Jacobites, having taken sanctuary in that place, fomented the spirit of Rebellion, drinking publicly and uncontrolled the Pretender's health; and it being justly suspected, that they designed an Insurrection, in order to act in conjunction with the disaffected at *Bristol* and *Bath*, with whom they held intelligence, it was resolved to secure their persons. Major-General *Pepper*, being charged with this Commission, sent one of his Officers, disguised in a countryman's habit, to *Oxford*, to get intelligence, and view the avenues and principal posts in the town; and then began to move himself, with his own regiment of dragoons, and a detachment of *Tyrrel's*, bending his march towards *Bath* and *Bristol*. But, on the 5th of *October*, being come within seven or eight miles of *Oxford*, instead of resting, he marched all night, and entered the City very early in the morning. Having caused his men to alight, and fix their bayonets in the muzzles of their fuzees, he immediately secured all the avenues and the gates of every inn and public house; and then sent one of his Officers to the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor of the town, to desire to speak with them. They having readily obeyed the summons, General *Pepper* delivered to them a letter from Mr Secretary *Stanhope*, and, in a few words, acquainted them with his orders to seize sixteen or eighteen suspected persons; adding, 'That their concurring assistance would be very acceptable to the Government; otherwise, that he must be obliged to proceed to such methods, as should best execute his orders.' The Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor, surprized at this unexpected sight of soldiers, readily

1715.

1715. readily promised the General all the assistance in their power, and offered to provide him quarters for his men; which was not accepted, because their stay was to be very short. The Vice-Chancellor in particular, who some days before had boldly delivered a long oration in praise of a Nobleman attainted by act of Parliament, now trembling, and in the utmost confusion, made large professions of loyalty and affection to his Majesty. General Pepper told him, the only proof of those professions, which he desired at present, was, that he should keep the Fellows and Scholars quiet in their Colleges; declaring to him, at the same time, that if any disturbance happened, or if any persons assembled in the streets, above the number allowed by the act of Parliament against riots, he would cause his men to fire upon them. The Vice-Chancellor promised all, and even more than was desired; so the Officers appointed by General Pepper began to search for the men, whom they had orders to apprehend. But the chief of them, Colonel Owen, who lay that night at the Grey-bound Inn having timely notice from the officer of the arrival of the King's troops, leaped over a wall in his night-gown, and got into Magdalen College, where General Pepper did not think proper to search for him, rightly judging, it would be in vain. Of the other suspected persons, ten or eleven were taken; the principal of whom were Mr Gordon, Mr Ker, Mr Dorrel, Mr Wilson, Captain Halfhead, Mr Spelman of Norfolk, Lloyd, the famous Jacobite Coffee-man at Charing-Cross, (who had formerly followed the same employment at Dublin) and one, who pretended to be a Postman, in the lining of whose coat were found letters, which he was bringing from the Conspirators at Bath to their Correspondents at Oxford. They also seized two horses, with fine furniture, belonging to Colonel Owen, which were said to have formerly been the Duke of Ormond's; as likewise the horses and warlike accoutrements of several others. As soon as the Officers had made what search they thought proper, and refreshed their men, General Pepper caused them to mount, and marched out of town with his prisoners towards Abingdon. It might have been expected, that the University and City of Oxford would have taken warning from this short military visit; but upon information, that the Disaffected there persisted in their disrespectful behaviour towards the King's Person and Government, and even that a traitorous design was carrying on to seize that City for the Pretender, for which purpose a regiment was to be formed of the young Students, under proper Officers, who secretly resorted to Oxford; the Court thought fit to order Handasyde's regiment of foot to be quartered there. Accordingly, they marched thither on the 28th of October; and their arrival was the more seasonable, as, the very night before, the rabble had the insolence to proclaim the Pretender, and to commit several outrages against the Well-affected.

A design on Plymouth prevented.

The design upon Bristol having miscarried, a project was laid to seize on Plymouth. But this was also prevented by timely securing several suspected persons, particularly Sir Richard Vivian, who was brought to London the 8th of October in custody of a Messenger.

The Pretender proclaimed in Cornwall.

The common people in Cornwall were at this time so ripe for Rebellion, that six or seven of them ventured to proclaim the Pre-

tender at St Colombes, two of whom were seized, and a reward of 100*l.* each was offered by the Government for apprehending the rest. However, by the great care and vigilance of Mr Boscatwen, Comptroller of the Household, all things were kept quiet in those parts.

The Disaffected in the North of England were more successful than their brethren in the West. There had been measures concerted at London by the Pretender's friends some time before the Insurrection in Northumberland broke out; which received great assistance from Captain John Shastoe, an half-pay Officer, afterwards executed at Preston, and Captain John Hunter, of North Tyne in Northumberland, who had a Commission from Queen Anne to raise an Independent Company, but did not. Besides these, there was one Captain Robert Talbot, an Irishman, and a Papist, formerly in the French service, who, being acquainted with the design in August, 1715, took shipping at London, and went to Newcastle. By Talbot the resolutions, taken at London, were first communicated to their friends in the North of England, and means used to persuade and prepare those, who had been engaged by them, to be ready to rise upon warning given.

A correspondence and intelligence were now settled with all the Conspirators in the several parts of Britain. But, as this was a correspondence of too much importance to be carried on by the ordinary conveyance of letters, there were several Gentlemen from sundry parts in the Kingdom riding from place to place as travellers, under pretence of seeing the Country, and thereby carrying intelligence, discoursing with persons, and settling and appointing their business. The principal men intrusted with these Negotiations were Colonel Oxburgh, Mr Nicholas Wogan, Mr Charles Wogan, and Mr James Talbot, all Irish Papists. A second class of Agents consisted of Mr Clifton, brother of Sir Gervase Clifton, and Mr Beaumont, both Gentlemen of Nottinghamshire, and Mr Buxton, a Clergyman of Derbyshire. All these rid like Gentlemen, with servants and attendants, and were armed with swords and pistols. They kept always moving, and travelled from place to place, till things ripened for action. The first step towards their appearing in arms was, when, about the latter end of September, the Earl of Derwentwater had notice, that there was a warrant out from the Secretary of State to apprehend him, and that the Messengers were come to Durham, who were to take him. The Earl went to the house of one Mr B—— in his neighbourhood, a Justice of the Peace, who, if he had been well-affected to the Government, or had regarded that Lord's real interest, might have honourably enough taken him, or at least persuaded him to surrender; which, it is presumed, would not have been a difficult matter. Hence the Earl is supposed to have gone to the house of one Richard Lambert, which was thought more private, and less suspected. Mr Thomas Forster Junior, Knight of the Shire for Northumberland, against whom a warrant was likewise issued out, having notice of it, went from place to place, till at last he came to the house of Mr Fenwick of Bywell. The Messenger in pursuit of him was come within half a mile

1715.

Insurrection in Northumberland. Patten.

1715. mile of that place; but, staying to call for a Constable to his aid, Mr *Forster* found time to escape. Upon this there was a full meeting of the parties concerned in *Northumberland*; where considering all the circumstances of their friends, and of the interest they were embarked in, they judged that, as there was no longer any safety in shifting from place to place, in a few days they should all be secured and confined in prisons, or conveyed to *London*; that, as they should be separately confined, so they should be separately examined, and none could say what the other should answer; so that, for fear of betraying one another, they should be really brought to do it; that now was the time to shew their loyalty to their King, since, if this opportunity were lost, they had no room to hope for another; and therefore they boldly resolved immediately to appear in arms. Pursuant to this resolution an appointment was made, and notice of it sent to all their friends, to meet the next morning, at a place called *Green-rig*. Accordingly Mr *Forster*, with several Gentlemen, in number at first about twenty, met at the rendezvous, but made no stay, thinking the place inconvenient, but rode immediately to the top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*; from whence they might discover any, that came either to join, or oppose, them. They quickly discovered the Earl of *Derwentwater*, who came that morning from his seat at *Dilston*, with some friends, and all his servants, mounted upon his coach horses, and all very well armed. In coming from *Dilston-Hall*, they all drew their swords as they marched along *Corbridge*. They halted at the seat of Mr *Errington*, where several other Gentlemen according to appointment came to the Lord *Derwentwater*. When they had joined Mr *Forster* and his company, they were in all about sixty horse, most Gentlemen and their attendants. They called a short council, and it was concluded to march towards the river *Cockburn*, to a place called *Plainfield*. Here they were joined by others, and, having made some stay, they resolved to go that night to *Rothbury*, a small market-town. They staid there all night; and next morning, being the 7th of *October*, their number still increasing, they marched to *Warkworth*, another market-town upon the sea coast, of a strong situation. Here they continued till *Monday*, during which time nothing material happened, except that on *Sunday* morning Mr *Forster*, who now stiled himself General, sent Mr *Buxton* their Chaplain to Mr *Jon*, the Minister of the Parish, with orders for him, 'to pray for the Pretender as King, and in the Litany, for *Mary Queen-Mother*, and all the dutiful branches of the Royal Family;' which Mr *Jon* declining, Mr *Buxton* took possession of the Church, read prayers, and preached. In the mean while Mr *Jon* went to *Newcastle* to consult his own safety, and acquaint the Government with what had happened. The next thing they did, was openly to proclaim the Pretender as King of *Great-Britain*, &c. It was done by Mr *Forster* in disguise, and by sound of trumpet, and all the formality, that the circumstances and place would admit. On *Monday* the 10th of *October* they marched to *Morpeth*, having been joined at *Felton-Bridge* by seventy *Scots* horse, or rather Gentlemen from the borders. They had been considerably increased before, in their march from *Warkworth*, at *Alnwick*, and

other places, so that, at their entering *Morpeth*, they were three hundred strong, all horse, for they would entertain no foot; otherwise their number would have been very large: But, as they neither had nor could provide arms for those they had mounted, they gave the common people good words, and told them, they should soon be furnished with arms and ammunition, and then they would lift regiments to form an army. This was upon the expectation of surprizing *Newcastle*, in which case they did not question to have as many foot as they pleased. Here Mr *Forster* received an account, that Mr *Lancelot Errington* and some others had surprized the Castle in *Holy Island*, which is a small fort guarded by a few soldiers sent weekly from the garrison at *Berwick*. *Errington* undidcovered took boat and went to sea, and with his companions landed under the cover of the wall, and got into the fort by surprize; though he kept the possession but a very short time, for the Governor of *Berwick*, having an immediate account of the action, and resolving, if possible, to recover the place before *Errington* could be supplied with men and provisions, detached a party of thirty men of his garrison, with about fifty volunteers of the inhabitants, who, marching over the sands at low-water-mark, attacked the fort, and took it sword in hand: *Errington* himself attempting to make his escape, was wounded and taken prisoner, with several others; but he with his brother afterwards escaped out of *Berwick* in disguise. The design of taking this fort was to give signals to any ships, that seemed to make to the coast to land soldiers; for, by the assurances they had from their friends beyond sea, they expected them to land on that coast with supplies of arms and officers; but they came not till they were gone for *Scotland*; and then two ships appeared off at sea, and made their signal, but, having no answer from the shore, they sailed northward.

The Rebellion was now formed, and they were all in a body at *Morpeth*, promising themselves great things at *Newcastle*. Several Gentlemen joined them, and some of the country people offered to lift; but they still refused them, and prepared to march to *Newcastle*. Before they went on, Mr *Buxton* the Clergyman, taking on himself the office of a Herald, proclaimed the Pretender. Having sent a party to seize *Felton-Bridge*, they marched towards *Newcastle*, and to their great disappointment found the gates shut against them. Upon this, they turned to the westward, and marched to *Hexham*, where they were joined by some more *Scots* horse. From *Hexham* they all went three miles distant, to a heath or moor adjoining to *Dilston*, the Earl of *Derwentwater's* seat, and there made an halt, with design, as it was thought, to go and surprize *Newcastle*; but they soon returned to their former quarters, having certain intelligence from their friends in *Newcastle*, that, even before any regular forces entered the town, the Magistrates and Deputy-Lieutenants, having had first some suspicion, and soon after positive intelligence of the design of the Rebels, had effectually prevented a surprize, and taken all imaginable precaution for their security, raising immediately what men they could, seizing all Papists and suspected persons, arming the inhabitants for their own defence; and taking into the town the militia, who, about

1715. that time, were ordered to muster at *Killingworth*. The Earl of *Scarborough*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Northumberland*, repaired likewise with his friends to *Newcastle*; and the Gentry of those parts, after his example, mounted their neighbours and tenants; so that the town was full of horses and men, both townsmen and countrymen unanimously declaring for King *George*. However, the chiefs of the Rebels having great interest in that place, the inhabitants were not altogether without fear; nor were the High-party in the town without the folly of discovering their affection for the Rebels at *Hexham*, and even using some threatening expressions. This was, perhaps, partly the occasion of laying aside the former divisions and prejudices between the well-affected inhabitants as Churchmen and Dissenters. The latter cheerfully offering, and the former freely accepting the offer, an Association was entered into by both, for the mutual defence of their lives and estates; and a body of seven hundred Volunteers were armed by the town for their immediate guard without distinction. The Keelmen, being mostly Dissenters, offered a body of seven hundred more, to be always ready at half an hour's warning; which was also accepted. In the midst of this hurry, a battalion of foot, and part of a regiment of dragoons, having been ordered out of *Yorkshire* for the security of the town, came to *Newcastle*; and then all the fears of the inhabitants vanished. A few days after, Lieutenant-General *Carpenter* having been sent by the Government in pursuit of the Rebels with *Hotham's* regiment of foot, and *Cobham's*, *Molesworth's*, and *Churchill's* dragoons, arrived also at *Newcastle* the 18th of *October*, and began to prepare for attacking the Rebels at *Hexham*. In the mean time the Rebels, who staid but three days at *Hexham*, seized all the arms and horses they could meet with, and, the night before they left the town, they all drew up round the Cross in the Market-place, and proclaimed the Pretender. They had received advice, that the Lord Viscount *Kenmore*, the Earls of *Nithisdale*, *Carnwarth*, and *Wintoun*, who had taken arms in *Nithisdale*, *Dumfriesshire*, and other places in the West of *Scotland*, were entered *England* to join them, and were come to *Rothbury*. The Lord *Kenmore*, the only nobleman in that part of *Scotland* capable of commanding, was solicited by the Earl of *Mar* to take up arms for the Pretender, and to command such forces, as would join him on that side the *Forth*. He at first refused this offer, but, being importuned by the Jacobites in that Country, was at last prevailed with to set up the Pretender's Standard at *Moffat* in *Annamdale* on the 12th of *October*. The next day the body, who joined him, marched towards *Dumfries*, with design to surprize that town; but the Marquis of *Annan-*

dale, whom they had followed the day before, having none but his servants with him, entered the town, and concerted such measures, as disappointed their design. This obliged the Rebels to alter their route, and after great disputes they agreed at last to march to *Loughmaben*, where they set up their Standard, and proclaimed the Pretender. On the 14th they marched to *Achelfeichen*, and on their march, being in all near two hundred horse, they were formed into a regiment, divided into two squadrons, the chief command remaining with the Lord *Kenmore*, and each squadron under the Earls of *Wintoun* and *Carnwarth*. Hence they marched regularly, and sent their Quarter-master-general Mr *Calderwood* to take up quarters for them. Next day they came to *Langholm*, and so on to *Hawick*, their numbers increasing in the way. At this place they were alarmed, which raised some disputes, whether they should proceed. They agreed at last to return; but receiving an express from Mr *Forster* about two miles from *Hawick* towards *Langholm*, inviting the Lord *Kenmore* and his followers to meet him at *Rothbury*, they faced about, and marched that night to *Fedburgh*. Here they received intelligence of *Mackintosh's* crossing the *Forth*, and the Duke of *Argyle's* resolution to attack them. In their march to *Fedburgh*, they were extremely alarmed; for, being late, their advance guard was surprized by the shouts of one, who called out, that the Grey horse were ready to fall upon them, and had cut the Quarter-master, and those with him, to pieces. They, who were acquainted with the Quarter-master, assuring the Lord *Kenmore*, he would by no means be so easily ensnared, they continued their march, and entered the town without opposition. Here, as in most other towns, they proclaimed the Pretender; and the next day proceeded to *Rothbury*; and from thence dispatched Mr *Burnet* of *Carlisle* to *Hexham* to Mr *Forster*, to know, whether he would come towards them, or they should advance? *Forster* returned an express, that he would join them. Upon this, and the news that General *Carpenter* was preparing to attack them, the *Northumberland* Rebels marched out of *Hexham* on the 19th of *October*; and making a long march joined the *Scots* that night, and all of them next day marched to *Wooler*. Being informed there by Mr *Errington*, that the *Higblanders*, who had crossed the *Forth* under *Mackintosh*, were coming to join them, they marched to *Kello* in *Scotland*.

During these proceedings of the English Re-^{The brave} bels, the principal persons, who were either in^{of the Dis-} affected the Dis-
Rebellion with the Earl of *Mar*, or justly sus-^{summoned} pected of being disaffected to the Government, ^{to Edin-} were, pursuant to the late act, ordered, as has^{burgh.} been said, to appear at *Edinburgh*, and surrender themselves (1). Of all that were summon-
ed,

(1) The persons summoned were:

The Marquis of *Hutley*, eldest son to the Duke of *Gordon*; the Earls of *Seaforth*, *Wintoun*, *Carnwarth*, *Southes*, *Nithisdale*, *Linlithgow*, *Mar*, *Kinnaul*, *Pannure*, *Marischal*, *Broadalbin*; the Viscounts of *Kenmore*, *Stormont*, *Kilgib*, *Kingston*, *Strathallen*; the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Rello*, *Drummond*, *Nairn*, *Glenorchy*; Sir *James Campbell* of *Auchenbrech*, Sir *Duncan Campbell* of *Lochnel*, Sir *Donald Macdonald*, Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Auchtertyre*, Sir *Hugh Paterfson* of *Bonnekburn*,
No. 86. Vol. IV.

Sir *Alexander Erskine*, Lord *Lyon*, Sir *John Maclean*; Lieutenant-General *George Hamilton*; the Master of *Stormont*, the Master of *Nairn*, Mr *Alexander Mackenzie* of *Praserdale*, *James Stirling* of *Keir*, *Robert Stuart* of *Apin*, *John Campbell* of *Atravalder*, *William Murray*, Junr. of *Auchtertyre*, *Alexander Robinson* of *Strawan*; the Lairds of *Mackinnan*, *Clanronald*, *Glenghary*, *Keppoch*, *William Drummond*, servant to the Lord *Drummond*, Mr *Seaton* of *Touch*, Lieutenant *Allen Cameron*, *Rob Roy*, alias *Mac-Greger*, Mr *Stuart*

1715. ed, only two surrendered themselves; Sir *Alexander Eyckine* and Sir *Patrick Murray*, who were both secured in the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The rest not appearing were denounced Rebels. The Duke of *Argyle* arrived at *Edinburgh* the 14th of *September*. He went, the next day, and viewed the Castle, and appointed Brigadier *Grant* to command it, till the arrival of Brigadier *Preston* the Deputy-Governor.

Progress of
the Earl
of Mar.

The Earl of *Mar* and his party, after having proclaimed the Pretender at *Kirk-Michael*, on the 9th of *September*, continued there four or five days, and then proceeded to *Moulin*, another small market-town in *Perthshire*, where they likewise proclaimed the Pretender, and rested fourteen days, considerably increasing their numbers. From hence they marched to *Logaret*, another market-town, where they were reckoned to be a thousand men well armed. From *Logaret* they marched to *Dunkeld*, which they made their head-quarters; and here their numbers greatly increased again, for they were joined by two thousand men from the Highlands, by the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, by the Earl of *Broadalbin's* men, and several others. Finding themselves thus strengthened, they resolved to extend their quarters; and the Earl of *Mar* having intelligence, that the Earl of *Rothes* and the Gentlemen of *Fife* (who were up in arms for the King) were advancing to possess themselves of *Perth*, which commands the passage over the *Tay*, resolved to prevent them; and detached Mr *John Hay*, brother to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, with a strong party, with orders to possess himself of that place, which he performed effectually. As this was a great disappointment to the King's troops, so it was a very great advantage to the Earl of *Mar*, as it gave him the command of all *Fife*, the most fruitful, rich, and, for the convenience of the sea-coast, the most commodious to him of any Shire in that part of *Scotland*; and as it gave a considerable reputation both to his conduct and to his party, who, upon this success, made preparations in all parts to join him. And now they began to have the face of a formidable army, making this City their chief garrison and head-quarters. A great many Lords, Chiefs of Clans, and other Gentlemen from all quarters flocked to them, with their Followers, and some of them in very good order, and well armed, particularly the Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earl of *Seaforth*, the *Mackintoshes*, the Earl *Marjsebal*, and with them so many, that their number was said to be about twelve thousand men, very well appointed, both horse and foot.

From thence extending their quarters, they performed an exploit at *Brunt-Island*, which still added to their reputation. They not only surprized the town, being strong by situation, and a sea-port on the *Firth* of *Forth*, in view of the City of *Edinburgh*; but, manning out some boats in the harbour, they seized a ship laden with arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores,

which lay in the *Firth*, bound to the North, for the use of the Earl of *Sutherland*. 1715.

After this, they made themselves masters of all the towns upon the coast, even to the mouth of the *Firth*, the Earl of *Rothes*, and the Gentlemen with him, being obliged to separate, or retire to *Stirling*, to the King's army.

The Rebellion being come to this height, the Earl of *Mar* resolved, in concert with his confederates (who began by this time to appear likewise in other places) to make an attempt upon the South parts of *Scotland*, by a method, which at that time was thought almost impracticable. He sent a strong detachment to cross the *Firth* of *Forth*, and land on the *Lothian* side, in order to be joined by their friends, whom they expected to rise about *Haddington*, and on the borders of *England*. On their march to the Sea-coast they were covered by some horse under the command of Sir *John Arskine* of *Alva*, the master of *Sinclair*, and Sir *James Sharp*, grandson to Archbishop *Sharp*, who was murdered in his coach by the old *Cameronians*. This body was commanded by the Laird of *Barlum*, better known by the name of Brigadier *Mackintosh*, and consisted of two thousand five hundred men well armed. Orders had been given for all the boats on that side to be ready to carry them over. The King's ships in the *Firth* either seeing them, or having notice of the design, prepared to intercept them, if they should attempt the passage; but the Rebels made several counter-marches to amuse them till night came on; when, drawing down to the shore, several embarked that night, and others the next, making directly over to the South shore, the men of war not being able to prevent them. However one boat was taken with fifty men. Others were forced back to *Fife* again; among whom Lord *Strathmore*, and his Lieutenant-Colonel *Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield*, and many were driven into the *Isle of May*. Of the two thousand five hundred designed for this descent upon the *Lothians*, only one thousand five hundred of them landed; for the men of war being come down made it impracticable for the rest to pass; so they were obliged to stay till the next night, and then to return to *Criel* on the shore of *Fife*. The others landed at *North-Berwick*, *Aberlady*, and other places on that coast, and quartered at *Haddington*, and *Tranent* the first night. This was certainly a bold attempt, for men in open boats to cross an arm of the sea sixteen or seventeen miles broad, in sight, and in defiance of three men of war, among whom they fell, but received no damage from them, but rather an advantage; for the lights of the ships shewed them how to row to the shore. On the other hand, the Government omitted; nothing, that might prevent this attempt; no care was wanting to disappoint them of vessels for the undertaking: The Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, and of the other towns on the *Edith*, having had notice from the Duke of *Argyle* of this

art of *Ard*, Mr *Francis Stuart*, brother to the Earl of *Murray*, *John Cameron* of *Lochell*, Mr *John Fullerton* of *Greenhall*, *Mackintosh*, Junr. of *Borlaim*, *James Alcolom*, Mr *Henry Maul*, brother to the Earl of *Panmure*, *John Walkinshaw* of *Barrowfield*, *Colin*

Campbell of *Glenderule*, — *Graham* of *Bucklroy*, *George Hume* of *Whitfield*, Mr *John Drummond*, brother to the Lord *Drummond*, *Lyon* of *Auchterhouse*, Colonel *Balfour*, the Master of *Balfour*, and *Esthume* of *Balfour*.

(1) This

1715. this design, had caused all the boats, that could be got, to be brought to *Leith*; and besides the three ships of war, that lay in the road, ordered three Custom-House smacks, either to burn or bring over from *Fife* all the boats and vessels they could find, to prevent the Rebels coming over. But all these precautions proved ineffectual: The Rebels, being masters of all the sea-shore from *Cromarty* to the *Forth* of *Edinburgh*, easily found means to get boats for their purpose; nor did they fail of all necessary policy in the management of the design; for, whilst some of them amused the King's ships about *Brunt-Island*, as if they would pass above *Leith-Road*, their main body embarked on the other side, under the conduct of Brigadier *Mackintosh*, quite out of sight of the ships; and by that means came safe ashore.

While this design was executing, the Earl of *Mar* made a feigned march from *Perth* towards *Dumblain*, as if he intended to cross the *Forth* at *Stirling-Bridge*, in order to divert the Duke of *Argyle* from falling upon those, who had crossed the *Firth*. Nor did this prove ineffectual; for it obliged the Duke of *Argyle* to return to *Stirling* with the utmost expedition.

The *Highlanders*, who had thus crossed the *Firth*, having refreshed themselves but one night at *Haddington*, marched directly towards *Edinburgh*, where they caused more terror than there was real danger; for, unless their number had been greater, it was impossible for them to force that City. It was indeed supposed, they expected to be joined by the rabble, and some tumult would be raised in their favour. In the mean time the Duke of *Argyle* received letters from all hands, that, if he did not send a detachment of troops to *Edinburgh*, the town would certainly fall into the enemies hands. And therefore, though it had always been entirely against his opinion to divide the small number of troops he had with him, he was obliged to comply, and went himself with a detachment of three hundred dragoons, and two hundred foot, mounted on Country horses for expedition, and arrived at *Edinburgh* in the night. The Rebels who were then within four miles of the City, hearing of the arrival of this detachment, altered their resolution of going directly to *Edinburgh* (which they would have infallibly taken) and marched into the Citadel of *Leith* (1). The next morning the Duke of *Argyle* invested the town with the cavalry, and marched his two hundred foot with three hundred and fifty volunteers from *Edinburgh*, and the like number of Lord *Polwarth's* militia, down to the sea-shore, where, at a large breach in the old rampart, he judged it easy to enter; but, taking a near view of the place, he found, that, to come at the breach, the men must march at least five hundred paces under a flank-fire; that the Rebels had made a barricade along the breach; and that a garden-wall on the inside flanked it. These things made the Duke unwilling to expose his few regular troops, though they shewed a great eagerness to assault. The Rebels, in the Citadel were about one thousand two hundred; and the rest, that passed the river,

being in *East Lothian*, the Duke thought fit to delay any attempt, and consider of some proper method to dislodge them. But in the middle of the night they abandoned the place, and retired into *Seaton-House*, a large, old, and strong Castle, seven miles from *Edinburgh*, leaving behind them some baggage and ammunition. Thirty-six of their men, and two officers, were taken by a detachment under Colonel *Debourgay*.

Whilst the Rebels were in *Seaton-House*, several of the King's forces, joined by the well-affected Gentlemen of the Country, came from *Edinburgh*, and appeared near *Preston-Pans*; which gave an alarm to the *Highlanders*; upon which a party marched out, and formed themselves in order to receive those, who appeared against them. But those from *Edinburgh*, having made a halt, retired; and the Rebels returned into their garrison at *Seaton-House*. The next day, the Earl of *Roths*, with three hundred Gentlemen volunteers, and the Lord *Torpiessen* with two hundred dragoons, left by the Duke of *Argyle*, marched to *Seaton-House*; but found the Rebels so strongly posted, that it was impossible to dislodge them without artillery. This animated the Rebels; and, a good body of them advancing, some shot were exchanged, but at too great a distance to do any harm on either side; and the King's troops, seeing nothing could be done, retired.

The Duke of *Argyle* having received intelligence from *Stirling*, that the Earl of *Mar*, and the Rebels under his command, were marching from *Perth*, he returned to *Stirling* to observe their motions, leaving a party to protect the people of *Edinburgh* from the insults of the rabble. This was a feigned march of the Earl of *Mar*, to draw the Duke of *Argyle* from attempting any thing upon the *Highlanders*, who had crossed the *Firth*. He gave out, that he would pass the *Forth* with his whole army, either at *Stirling*, or at the bridge of *Down*. They began their march in the night of *October* the 17th, and advanced in three bodies; but upon notice, that the Duke of *Argyle* was returned from pursuing the enemy, he marched back to *Perth*. All this was an amusement, which indeed succeeded; for he broke the measures of the Duke, who had resolved to attack *Seaton-House*. But the Earl was determined not to coſt the *Forth* till he had drawn all the Clans together, and reduced the Earl of *Sutherland*, whom if he should leave in his rear, it might prove fatal to his designs, and expose all he had gained without opposition to be recovered by that Lord.

The *Highlanders* still continued at *Seaton-House*, and sent out parties to bring in provisions, of which they procured great plenty, as cows, sheep, meal, &c. They gave out, they resolved to fortify themselves, and make the house a magazine, while they raised an army, as well from the adjacent Country and from *Edinburgh*, and from other friends to their design in the West part of *Scotland*, who were preparing to join them, as from the borders of *England*, where by this time numbers were risen in *Northumberland*.

While

(1) This Citadel is a square fort, with four Demi-bastions, built in *Oliver Cromwell's* time, with a large dry ditch about it, never entirely demolished.

(1) Mr

1715. While they laid here, they discovered a boat at sea, making towards the shore from the *Fife-side* of the *Firth*. The men of war fired very briskly at her; but, the boat keeping to the windward at a distance, she got safe to shore. This boat had been lent by the Rebels from *Leith* to the Earl of *Mar*, and now brought back news concerning the proceedings of their friends at *Perth*, and orders to march towards

OR. 18. *England*, to join the *Northumbrians*. Immediately after the receiving of these orders, two Gentlemen brought them an account of the Insurrection in *Northumberland* under the command of Mr *Forsyth*, and of the Southern *Scots* Gentlemen under the Lord *Kennmare*. Upon this they altered their resolution of continuing at *Seaton-House*; and having also received an express from Mr *Forsyth*, inviting them to meet him at *Kelso* on the borders, they resolved to

OR. 19. march the next day towards him. Accordingly they set out in the morning for *Longformacbus*, a small town seventeen miles from *Seaton-House*. During this day's march, several of the *Highlanders* deserted. As soon as Major-General *Wightman* received intelligence of their motion, he marched from *Edinburgh* with eighty dragoons, fifty of the militia, and some volunteers, to attack their rear; but returned in the evening without success, having only taken some of the deserters, whom he made prisoners, and left fifty foot in *Seaton-House*, where they had left a great deal of their spoil. *Mackintosh* and his men marched from *Longformacbus*, towards another small town in the *Mers* called *Dunfermlie*, where they drew up in order of battle, whilst the Pretender was proclaimed, retiring afterwards to their quarters in that town. The next morning they marched towards *Kelso*, where the *English* and *Scots* horse from *Northumberland* and *Nithisdale* entered the same evening. The next

OR. 22. day they proclaimed the Pretender, and continued there till the 27th of *October* (1). It will now, be proper to see what was doing in other parts of *Scotland*.

The Synods of *Glasgow*, *Air*, *Perth*, *Stirling*, *Merse*, and *Trivetdale* had very early published earnest admonitions to persons of all ranks, to animate them to the defence of King *George* and the Constitution.

On the 28th of *September*, Mr *James Murray*, second son of the Lord Viscount *Stourmont* arrived incognito at *Edinburgh* from *France*, by way of *England*, crossing the *Firth* at *Newhaven* above *Leith*, got undiscovered into *Fife*, and so to the Earl of *Mar* at *Perth*. He gave the Rebels large promises of assistance both from *France* and *England*, and came with the character of Secretary of State to the Pretender for *Scotland*.

About this time a strong party of the *Macdonalds*, *Macleans*, and *Camerons*, attempted to surprize the fortrels of *Inverlochy*, and succeeded so far, as to take three redoubts at some distance from it; in one of which there was an Officer with twenty men, and in another a Sergeant with five; but, the main garrison being on their guard, the Rebels were disappointed, and marched towards *Argyleshire*.

On the 20th of *October*, an account was brought from the North to *Edinburgh*, that the Earl of *Sutherland*, with the Lord *Rea* and Mr *Monroe* of *Foulis*, having drawn together about eighteen hundred men, advanced, on the 18th, to *Alneth*, in order to attack the Earl of *Seaford*, who had assembled the Clans of the *Mackenzies*, *Macleds*, and others; but that, upon a near view of the Rebels, they appeared to be much superior in number; and therefore it was judged proper for the Earl of *Sutherland* to retire, which he did in good order, and without any

(1) Mr *Patten* gives the following account of the fate of the Rebels, at their junction at *Kelso*.

The Lord Viscount *Kennmare* had the chief command whilst in *Scotland*. He was a grave, full-aged Gentleman, of a very ancient family, and of great experience in political business, but of little or none in military affairs. He was of a singular good temper, but too mild and calm for such a post. He had a troop of Gentlemen with him, which, as he was General, was called the first troop, the Command of which he gave to the honourable *Basil Hamilton* of *Beldoun*, son to the Lord *Basil Hamilton*, brother to the late Duke *Hamilton*, a very promising youth, and who behaved himself with a great deal of courage in the action at *Presden*, though but very young.

The second troop was called the *Merse* troop, commanded by the Honourable *James Hume*, Esq; brother to the Earl of *Hume*, who, at that time, was prisoner in *Edinburgh Castle*. This youth is of a good temper, but not very capable of having the command of a troop, as well on account of his age, as other incapacities. He was tried at the *Marshalsea*, and found guilty.

The third troop, called the Earl of *Wintoun's* troop, and commanded by himself. This Earl is of a very ancient family, wants no courage, and has more capacity than his friends find it for his interest to suggest, as appears by the counsel he gave. He opposed the scheme of the *Northumbrian* Gentlemen to march into *England*, and pressed them to leave *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* to their fate, and go and join the western Clans, attacking in their way the towns of *Dumfries* and *Glasgow*, and then to open a communication with the Earl of *Mar*. Had this advice been followed, it would, probably, have proved very advantageous. The command of his troop he assigned, under himself, to Cap-

tain *James Dalziel*, brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who had been in King *George's* service formerly, and continued an half-pay Officer for some time; but, upon engaging in the Rebellion, he threw up his Commission; which piece of policy was the saving of his life, and prevented his being shot to death at *Presden*, by sentence of the Court-martial, among the half-pay Officers. He was a very bold and brave young Gentleman, and shewed it upon all occasions.

The fourth troop belonged to *Robert Dalziel*, Earl of *Carnwarth*: This Nobleman was brought up under the tuition of one, who made it his studied care to instil the principles of Hereditary-Right, Passive-Obedience, and Non-Resistance into his mind. He studied some time at *Cambridge*, and there sucked in an entire affection for the Liturgy and Worship in use in the Church of *England*, of which he was a sincere Devotee. He is singularly good in his temper, and of an agreeable affability, and delivers himself very handsomely in his discourse. The command of this troop he gave over to his uncle *James Dalziel*, Esq. This Gentleman had a very good character, and gave sufficient demonstrations of his affections to the Pretender's interest, by his courage and conduct.

The fifth troop was under the command of Captain *Lockhart*, brother to Mr *Lockhart* of *Carnwarth*: He was a half-pay Officer in the Lord *Mark Kerr's* regiment, and as such tried at *Presden*, by a Court-Martial; by which being found guilty of desertion, he, with three more, were shot to death there.

These troops were well manned, and indifferently armed; but many of their horses small: Besides these, there were many Volunteers, who were not formed into any regular troop.

Disorders
by the Earl
of Mar's
men.

1715. any loss, to his own Shire, where he was augmenting his forces, and preparing to come forward again, being assured of assistance from the Grants and Rosses of Culraick, and other parts, and from some of the Frasers.

These motions of the Earl of Sutherland kept the Earl of Seaforth from joining the Earl of Mar; the Rebels under whom committed great ravages and disorders in Fife. A party coming to Lesley, the chief seat of the Earl of Rothes, after searching the house for arms, they forced open the Church-doors, and, finding no arms there, broke into the burial-place of the family of Rothes, and, digging up the ground, tore open the coffins in a most shocking manner.

On the 20th of October a body of Western Highlanders, consisting of two thousand three hundred men, commanded by General Gordon, came before Inverary, the chief town in Argyle-shire; and, having that night viewed the place, marched back to a mill about half a mile from the town. Next day being reinforced by three hundred of the Earl of Broadalbin's men, they viewed the town a second time, and again returned to their former quarters. On the 22d they drew up a third time, and sent detachments to cut fascines, as if they designed to attack the town; but finding, that the Earl of Ilay, who commanded in it, was ready to receive them, they thought fit once more to retreat to their quarters; and on the 24th left the place, and marched through Glenorchies, in their way to join the Earl of Mar. This preservation of the town of Inverary was, at that juncture, a very considerable service; for, had the Rebels been masters of that pass, they might have poured in their men, either towards Glasgow, or into the Shire of Ayr, and so have joined the Rebels in the North of England.

On the 23d of October the Duke of Argyle re-

ceived advice, that a party of Rebels, consisting of two hundred foot, and one hundred horse, were marching by Castel Campbel towards Dumferling; upon which he sent away a detachment of dragoons under the command of Colonel Calcart, who came up with the Rebels on the 24th at five in the morning; and, after having killed and wounded several of them, took seventeen prisoners, and amongst them the following Gentlemen, Mr Murray, brother to the Laird of Aberkernie; Mr Hay, son to Arbat; Mr Patrick Gordon, Aberlour's eldest son; Alexander Forbes, son to Bussie; William Robertson, brother to Donbills; Mr Kenlock, a Physician; Alexander Smith; Mr Alexander Gordon; Francis Gordon, of Craig; Mr Hamilton, of Gishowen in Strabogie; and George Gordon, of the mill of Kincardine. The same evening Colonel Calcart returned to the camp at Stirling with his prisoners, having had only one of his dragoons wounded.

About this time the Earl of Mar received three letters, which had been intercepted by Mr Forster, one from Lord Townshend to the Duke of Argyle; one from the Earl of Nottingham to the Duke of Roxburgh; and one from the Prince of Wales to the Duke of Argyle; of which we have an account in the following letter of the Earl of Mar to the Earl of Broadalbin, which gives a view of the state of the Rebels affairs at that time:

My dear Lord,

I had the pleasure of your Lordship's of the 13th last night. I have now sent one hundred bolls of meal, and what quantity of ammunition we could spare, for the use of the army under General Gordon; all which is sent under an effort of forty men to Teymouth, and from thence

Three letters intercepted from England.

of Mar's letter about them.

your

The six regiments designed to cross the Forth were: First, the Earl of Strathmore's; but he and his Lieutenant-Colonel Walkinshaw of Barrowfield were forced back in their passage by the King's men of war, with several others, and obliged to go on shore in the Isle of May. This regiment was not in Highland-dress, as the others were. This Lord was a hearty friend of the Pretender's, and had some time before this Rebellion broke out, given it under his hand, that he would be ready, the first opportunity, to rise and assist to establish him upon the Throne. This paper, which was signed by several others, was lodged in the hands of Colonel Hosker, to be by him transported into France.

The second regiment was the Earl of Mar's, which came not entire over the Forth; for only Major Forbes, with three Captains and three Lieutenants, were taken at Preston, the rest were driven back by the men of war.

The third, Legie Drummond's. This regiment came not entire over the Forth, being driven back on the Fife side, with many more; for, of the two thousand five hundred designed to cross the Forth, the better half were prevented. He that had the command of this regiment was one of those that signed an answer to Monsieur de Torcy's questions, which gave a distinct resolution to each query, containing a full account of the state of affairs; particularly an account of the inclinations of the people, to venture all for the Chevalier's service: This was when the people of Scotland were dissatisfied about the Union, in the year 1707. This paper was likewise lodged in the hands of Colonel Hosker, to be by him transported into France.

No. 86. Vol. IV.

The fourth, the Lord Nairn's, brother to the Duke of Athol; but by marrying an heiress, according to the custom of Scotland, changed his own name for her's: He came over the Forth with a good many of his men. He is a Gentleman well beloved in his Country, and by all that had the advantage to be acquainted with him: He had formerly been at sea, and gave signal instances of his bravery: He was a mighty stickler against the Union. His son, who was Lieutenant-Colonel to Lord Charles, took a great deal of pains to encourage the Highlanders by his own experience, in their hard marches; and always went with them on foot through the worst and deepest ways, and in Highland-dress.

The fifth regiment was commanded by Lord Charles Murray, a younger son of the Duke of Athol: He had been a Cornet of horse beyond sea, and had gained a mighty good character for his bravery, even temper, and graceful deportment. Upon all the marches, he could never be prevailed with to ride, but kept at the head of his regiment on foot, in his Highland-dress, without breeches: He would scarce accept of a horse to cross the rivers, which his men, in that season of the year, forded above mid thigh deep in water. When the Rebels surrendered at Preston, he was tried for a deserter, being a half-pay Officer, and shot.

The sixth regiment was called Mackintosh's Battalion, a relation of the Brigadier's, who is chief of that clan. He is of an antient family, descended from the old Thanes of Fife. His name, in the Irish, or Highland language, discovers his descent; for Toibh signifies Thane, and Mac Son. His motto to his coat of arms is comical as well as remarkable, Touch not the cat without

your Lordship will take care to transport it to your army.

You ask for news, and I can tell you a good deal pretty agreeable. Most of our *Fife* detachment are got over to the other side, and proclaimed the King yesterday at *Haddington*. I have now a letter from Mr *Forster*, with three letters they had intercepted; one from Lord *Townshend* to Duke of *Argyle*; one from Lord *Nottingham* to Duke of *Roxburgh*, and one from Prince *Hopeful* to Duke of *Argyle*, of which I send your Lordship a copy, and by that you will judge pretty well of the situation of our enemies. By *Hopeful's* letter it will seem, that the Duke of *Ormond* is in *England* by this time. Mr *Forster's* letter is three days after his last to me. He was then three hundred horse, and was to be joined next day by all the border, and go frant to *New-castle*, which they were sure of, and of getting good numbers of the best foot in the North of *England* to join them. By them and our men on the South side, all correspondence betwixt *London* and the Duke of *Argyle* will be stopped. I have heard nothing yet of these four battalions, and if *Evans's* dragoons from *Ireland* to Duke *Argyle* be come: But, if the news we had of the commotions in that Country be not true, they will certainly be with him soon; and by that your Lordship will easily see the necessity of *Gordon's* finishing his business in *Argyleshire* without delay, and marching *Wilt*. *Tom. Forster* thinks and presses my attacking Duke of *Argyle* before that enforcement join him; which I wish heartily to do; but that must be as things happen. The affair of *Argyleshire* being finished by your Lordship and *Gordon*, is of great consequence to this, as well as other things. Therefore I am sure your Lordship and he will lose no time in it.

By Lord *Nottingham's* to Duke of *Roxburgh*,

I perceive your Lordship has had the honour of a letter from his Grace; to which I have no doubt of your giving a suitable answer. The paragraph of the letter is this: *Not having time to send you the whole; and beside, it signifies little. Though what you writ to my Lord Broadalbin was in itself very proper; yet, I doubt it will have little effect upon him, unless he were convinced of the folly of this attempt, from some assurance, that not only the preparations against them would be sufficient to suppress them; and that all their expectation of assistance from abroad, or by an insurrection in England, would certainly fail them.*

These are the words of the letter; and it is dated the 3d of this month. That of *Hopeful* to Duke of *Argyle* is of the 7th, by which they then knew of Duke *Ormond's* leaving *Paris*, which they had not when *Nottingham* wrote his letter. And, now that they must know of the Insurrection in *England* being far from failing us, I leave your Lordship to judge what they are not thinking at *London* of their condition. I have read most of *Hopeful's* letter to the company here: What I have not read is the first paragraph; and that I think your Lordship had best not shew to any body, save to General *Gordon*.

I just now hear from *Monteilb*, that the Earls *May* and *Bute* are certainly in *Argyleshire*; and that there are two men of war come into *Clyde*, who were sending their long-boats to retake the boats on *Lochlomond*, which *Glyngill* has seized. I wish, with all my heart, this could be prevented, and that these folks were driven from *Inverary*, which I am sure your Lordship and General *Gordon* will lose no time in doing. I am sorry for more in that Country's following *Lawer's* example; and particularly, I am surprized exceedingly with *Lochnell's* behaviour, which I knew some days ago; but I hear they have

without your glove; which coat of arms is supported by two wild cats, and has a cat for the crest. The Earl of *Wemy* is descended from the same *Thane of Fife*; and it is disputed whether he or *Mackintosh* are elder, though certain it is, that the Earl of *Wemy* retains a considerable part of *Thane's* estate. Whether *Mackintosh* be elder or younger, he left *Fife*, and made a purchase in the North, where his successors have lived for several hundreds of years in a handsome and splendid manner, and married the Heiress of *Clancattau*, whereto *Mackintosh* became the Head and Chief; which has a great many Tribes or Followers, viz. the *Macphersons*, the *Farquarsons* of *Brac-Mar*, the *Macgillivray*, the *Shaw*, *Macbeans*, *Macquens*, *Smiths* and *Clarks*, &c. which, joined together, make a numerous Clan. The *Macphersons* would not on this occasion follow their Chief, but formed a separate body for the Pretender. This regiment came entire over the other side; but the persuasions of the Brigadier prevailed with him. He is a handsome brave young Gentleman, of a very considerable interest in his own Country; for he can bring into the field upon any occasion one thousand stout, hardy, and well armed men.

The *English* were not so well regulated, or so well armed as the *Scots*. The troops were: First, the Earl of *Derwentwater's*, commanded by his brother *Charles Radcliffe*, Esq; and Captain *John Shaftoe*. That Earl being a papist, and a Relation of the Pretender's, having it seems had the opportunity of being personally acquainted with him, all these circumstances unhappily concurred to draw him into this snare, to his disac-

tion, and the utter ruin of the most flourishing family in that part of *Britain*.

It was thought, however, that this Lord did not join either so heartily or so premeditatedly in this affair as was expected; for there is no doubt but he might have brought far greater numbers of men into the field than he did; the great estate he possessed, the money he could command, his interest among the Gentlemen, and, which is above all, his being so well beloved as he was, could not have failed to have procured him many hundreds of followers more than he had, if he had thought fit; for his concerns in the *Lead-mines in Aylone Moor* are very considerable, where several hundreds of men are employed under him, and get their bread from him, whom, there is no doubt, he might easily have engaged: Besides this, the sweetness of his temper and disposition, in which he had few equals, had so secured him the affection of all his tenants, neighbours, and dependants, that multitudes would have lived and died with him: The truth is, he was a man formed by nature to be generally beloved; for he was of so universal a beneficence, that he seemed to live for others, as he lived among his own people, there he spent his estate, and continually did offices of kindness and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He kept a house of generous hospitality and noble entertainment, which few in that Country do, and none come up to. He was very charitable to poor and distressed families on all occasions, whether known to him or not, and whether Papist or Protestant. His fate will be sensibly felt by a great many, who had no kindness for the cause he died in, and who heartily wish he had not forwarded his ruin, and their loss, by his

1715. have used him as he deserves. One near *Stirling* wrote to me two days ago, that the Duke of *Argyle* had sent him prisoner to *Edinburgh*, which, I wish, may be true. I hope it will not be in the power of those rogues to do us much hurt, especially when your Lordship's being heartily in the cause of your King and Country is known to them: And I assure your Lordship, those vassals of your's, who misbehave, shall be used as you desire.

I have sent to *Aberdeen* for the Printing-press, and we have Lawyers here, with whom I advise as your Lordship recommends.

These men of *Glenlyon's*, you mentioned, were in *Fife*, and are gone over: So I have sent a party of *Macphersons* with the meal and ammunition to *Taymouth*, who are to return from that; and your Lordship will take care of it from thence. I have recommended it to your doers there, in case of your absence; and I send this by an express, that you may have it sooner than that party can march.

I'll long to hear from your Lordship, and that you will send me some good news from your parts in return for all this.

The thing I am most in pain about is our friends, who are gone over to the other side, because of Mr *Forster's* marching towards *Newcastle*; and nothing could so much prevent the Duke of *Argyle's* sending a detachment that way, as your clearing *Argyleshire* soon, and marching Westwards, as *Gordon* has orders.

I am, my dear Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient

From the camp of
Perth, Oct. 14,
1715. and most humble servant,
M A R.

Soon after, two letters from the Earl of *Mar* were intercepted, and the Pretender caused a declaration to be drawn up (1).

The Rebellion being thus kindled as well in *Dutch England* as *Scotland*, it was thought proper to demand in form of the *States-General* the six thousand men, which by the treaty of guarantee they were engaged to send over when required. The *States* immediately complied with the demand, and preparations were made for transporting them. At the same time, General *Cadogan* represented to the *States*, that the King, having received advice that the Pretender, *James Butler* late Duke of *Ormond*, *Henry St John* late Viscount *Bolingbroke*, and other Traitors, designed to pass through their Dominions in order to go to *Great-Britain* and join the Rebels, desired them to give orders to all the Governors of the places under their dominion, to stop and examine all the King's subjects that should pass out of *Germany*, *Lorrain*, or *France*, and also to all the Captains of ships not to take any such on board. This memorial was readily agreed to, and orders were issued accordingly.

As it would be some time before the *Dutch* could be embarked, *Pitt's* regiment of horse, and *Sabine's*, *Preston's*, and *Vane's* of foot, had been sent for from *Ireland*, and had landed at *Chester* the beginning of *October*. Associations were also entered into throughout the Kingdom, for the defence of the King's Person and Government; and the Lords-Lieutenants of the Counties were empowered to form into Troops or Companies such as should be willing to affiliate, and to grant Commissions to them in the King's name.

The Archbishop published a declaration, signed by himself and thirteen of his Suffragans, testifying their abhorrence of the Rebellion.

But

his indiscretion in joining in this mad as well as wicked undertaking. If the warrant from the Secretary's Office for apprehending him had been made a greater secret than it was, he might have been taken, and so his ruin have been prevented. His brother is young and bold, but too forward: He has a great deal of courage, which wants a few more years, and a better cause to improve it; there is room to hope he will never employ it in such an adventure again.

The second troop was the Lord *Widdrington's*, commanded by Mr *Thomas Errington* of *Beaufront*. This *Errington* is a Gentleman of a very antient family in *Northumberland*, a younger brother of the family of *Errington*: He has very good natural parts, and had been formerly an officer in the *French* service, where he had got the reputation of a good soldier. It is believed he would not have engaged in this Rebellion, had not the many obligations he lay under to the Earl of *Darwentwater* prevailed with him.

The third troop was commanded by Captain *John Hunter*, born upon the river *North-Tyne* in the County of *Northumberland*: He had obtained a commission in the latter end of *Queen Anne's* Reign to raise an Independent Company, but never received any pay, nor lifted any men, but when he made use of that commission now in the Rebellion. He was famous for running uncultured goods out of *Scotland* into *England*. He behaved with great vigour and obstinacy in the action at *Preston*, where he took possession of some houses during the attack, and galled that brave regiment of Brigadier *Preston's*, making a great slaughter out of the windows: He has since made his escape out of *Chester-Castle*, and, as is said, got over into *Ireland*, and from thence to *France*.

The fourth troop was commanded by *Robert Dou-*

glas, brother to the Laird of *Finland* in *Scotland*: He signalized himself upon several accounts; for going so often, so privately, and expeditiously betwixt *England* and the Earl of *Mar*. He was the man who brought Mr *Forster* his Commission, and the Manifestoes and Declarations of the Pretender. He was indefatigable in searching for arms and horses, a trade, some were pleased to say, he had followed out of the Rebellion as well as in it. He was also very vigorous in the action at *Preston*; where he with his men were possessed of several houses, and did a great deal of harm to his Majesty's forces from the windows. He also made his escape when a prisoner, either at *Liverpool* or *Chester*.

The fifth troop was commanded by Captain *Nicholas Wogan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, but descended from an antient family of that name in *Wales*; he joined the Rebels at their first meeting. He is a Gentleman of a most generous mind, and a great deal of bravery, unwearied to forward the good of his cause: His bravery was made known by several instances in the action at *Preston*: His generosity, as well as courage, was most remarkable in bringing off prisoner Captain *Preston*, of *Preston's* regiment of foot, who was mortally wounded through the body by a bullet from the Rebels, and just at the point of being cut in pieces; he hazarded his life among his own men, if possible, to save that Gentleman, though an enemy, and was wounded in doing it. Besides these there were many volunteers not formed into any troop, and the whole amounted to about two thousand horse and foot.

(1) The Letters and Declaration were as follow:
To the Lord Viscount Kenmure,
My Lord,

I long extremely to hear from you, you may be sure

1715.
troops are sent for.
Oct. 16.

Associations.

Declaration by the Bishops.

1715. But Dr *Atterbury* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and Dr *Smalbridge* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, reſuſed to ſign this declaration; and, a few days after, *Smalbridge* was removed from the poſt of Lord Almoner to the King, in which he was ſucceeded by Dr *Wake* Biſhop of *Lincoln*.

Proceſſings of the Rebels.

On the 25th of *October*, Lieutenant-General *Carpenter*, who was appointed to go againſt the *Northumberland* Rebels, ſet out from *Newcaſtle* with *Hotſham's* regiment of foot, *Cobham's*, *Moleſworth's*, and *Churchill's* dragoons; and, on the 27th, lay at *Wooler*, intending, the next day, to face *Kelſo*, where the Rebels were. The Lord *Kennmare*, who commanded them while on the South ſide of the *Tweed*, having notice of this, called immediately a Council of war, wherein it was conſidered what courſe they ſhould take. The Lord *Wintoun* preſſed them earneſtly to march into the Weſt of *Scotland*; but the *Engliſh* oppoſed, and prevailed againſt that opi-

nion. Then it was propoſed to paſs the *Tweed*, 1715. and attack the King's troops, taking advantage of the weakneſs and wearineſs of General *Carpenter's* men, who were indeed extremely fatigued, and not above nine hundred men in number, whereof two regiments of dragoons were new raiſed, and had never ſeen any ſervice. But this advice was alſo reſected, and the Rebels decamped from *Kelſo*, and, taking a little to the right, marched to *Jedburgh*. Upon this march they were all alarmed, by miſtaking a party of their own men for ſome of General *Carpenter's* forces. The party appearing at a diſtance, Captain *Wogan*, deſirous to know who they were, went off towards the river's ſide, which parted them, and left Mr *Patten* to ſtand at a convenient diſtance from him, whiſt he rid up to make a diſcovery. If they proved enemies, he was to fire a piſtol; if friends, to toſs up his hat. At the ſame time ſome of the party, wanting

fore, ſince I have not had the leaſt accounts almoſt of your motions, ſince I ſent the detachment over. I hope all is pretty right again; but it was an unlucky miſtake of Brigadier *Mackinſh's* in marching from *Haddington* to *Leith*. I cannot but ſay though, that it was odd your Lordſhip ſent no orders or intelligence to him, when you had reaſon to expect that party's coming over every day. His retreat he made from *Leith*, and now from *Seaton*, with the help of the movement I made from this, makes ſome amends for that miſtake; and I hope that party of men with him will be of great uſe to you, and the cauſe. I with you may find a way of ſending the incloſed to Mr *Forſter*, which I leave open for your Lordſhip to read; and I have little further to ſay to you, than what you will find in it. I know ſo little of the ſituation of your affairs, that I muſt leave to yourſelf what is fit for you to do, as will moſt conduce to the ſervice; and I know you will take good advice.

My humble ſervice to all friends with you, particularly Brigadier *Mackinſh's*, Lord *Nairn*, Lord *Charles Murray*, and *Mackinſh's*, who, I hope, are joined you long e'er now; and indeed they all deſerve praiſe for their gallant behaviour. I muſt not forget *Kinackin*, who I hear ſpoke ſo reſolutely to the Duke of *Argyle* from the *Cadet*; and I hope *Inverreal* and all my men with him are well; and their countrymen long to be at them, which I hope they and we ſhall ſoon. I have ſent another copy of the incloſed to Mr *Forſter* by ſea; ſo it will be hard, if none of them come to his hands.

I know your Lordſhip will endeavour to let me hear from you as ſoon as poſſible, which I long impatiently for; and I hope you will find a way of ſending it ſafe. In one of my former, either to your Lordſhip, or to ſome body to ſhew you, I told, that a part of the army would be about *Dumbarton*. But now you would not rely on that, for, till I hear from General *Gordon*, I am uncertain, if they hold that way. I have ſent your Lordſhip a copy of my new Commiſſion, which perhaps you have not ſeen before. I have named the ſeveral General Officers, and your Lordſhip has the rank of a Brigadier of the horſe.

I am told Earl *Wintoun* has been very uſeful to our men we ſent over. I ſuppoſe he is now with your Lordſhip, and I beg you may make my compliments to his Lordſhip; and I hope the King will ſoon thank him himſelf.

I will trouble your Lordſhip no farther now; but all ſucces attend you, and may we ſoon have a merry meeting. I am, with all reſpect,

My L O R D,

Your moſt obedient

and moſt humble ſervant,

From the Camp at
Perth, Otober
21, 1715.

M A R.

To Mr. Forſter, General of the King's forces in Northumberland.

S I R,

I wrote to you of the 17th from *Auchterarder*, which I hope you got. I marched the ſame night the horſe to *Dumblain*, within four miles of *Stirling*, and the foot ſome miles ſhort of that place. Next morning I had certain intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* returning from *Edinburgh* with moſt of the troops he had carried there, and was on their march towards *Stirling*. I alſo had account of *Evans's* regiment landing in the Weſt of *Scotland* from *Ireland*, and were on their way to *Stirling*. I had come away from *Perth* before the provisions were ready to go with us; and I found all the Country about *Stirling*, where we were to paſs the *Forth*, was entirely exhauſted by the enemy, ſo that there was nothing for us to ſubſiſt on there. I had no account from General *Gordon*, as I expected; and the ſooner I could expect him at the heads of *Forth* was two days after that; and I could not think of paſſing *Forth* till I had been joined by him. Under thoſe difficulties, and having got one of the things I deſigned by my march, the Duke of *Argyle's* withdrawing from our friends in *Lothian*, I thought fit to march back to *Auchterarder*, which was a better quarter, though not a good one neither. Next morning I got intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* being come to *Stirling* the night before, and that he had ſent an expreſs to *Evans's* dragoons to haſten up. I had a letter alſo that morning from General *Gordon*, telling me, that ſome things had kept him longer than he expected that it would be that day e're he could be at *Inverary*; and that he could not poſſibly join me this week. Upon this I thought it better to return here, which is a good quarter, and wait his coming up, and the Lord *Seaforth's*, than continue at *Auchterarder*, ſince it would not a bit retard my paſſing the *Forth*, when I ſhould be in a condition to do it; and in the mean time I could be getting provisions ready to carry along with me in my march, which, as I have been told, are abſolutely neceſſary about the heads of *Forth*: So I came home laſt night.

I very much regret my being obliged to this for many reaſons, particularly becauſe of its keeping me ſo much the longer from joining you; but you eaſily ſee it was not in my power to help it. However, I hope my ſtay here ſhall be very ſhort, and you may depend upon its being no longer than it neceſſarily muſt. The paſſage over the *Forth* is now ſo extreme difficult, that it is ſcarce poſſible to ſend any letters that way; and within theſe two days there were two boats coming over with letters to me, that were ſo hard purſued, that they were obliged to throw the letters into the ſea; ſo that I know very little of our friends on that ſide, and leſs of you, which is ſo ſmall loſs to me. I heard to-day

1715. wanting to know who he was, and, galloping towards him, he fired a pistol; so the alarm was taken; but the disorder was not great, the matter being soon discovered. Then they continued their march towards *Jedburgh*. The horse having entered the town, word was brought them, that General *Carpenter* had fallen upon the foot, who had not as yet reached the town. This put them into the utmost consternation. However, not being discouraged so as to abandon their fellows, they all mounted their horses, and marched out to relieve their friends. This mistake was likewise occasioned by another party of their own men, who had taken a different route; and, this being also discovered, they all returned to their quarters, and staid at *Jedburgh* two days.

As they had now a fair opportunity to slip General *Carpenter*, who was some marches behind them, it was resolved, pursuant to the advice of the *English*, to cross the mountains, and march into *England*. Accordingly, Captain *Hunter*, who was well acquainted with the country, was ordered, with his troops, to go into *North Tynedale*, and there provide quarters for them, who would follow. But here began a mutiny; the *Higblanders* could not be persuaded to pass the borders; and, though many persuasions were used with them, they would not stir. Upon this, the first resolution was altered, and orders were sent after Captain *Hunter* to countermand him. They were joined in this town by Mr *Ainsley* of *Blackhill*, and some others. From *Jedburgh* they marched to *Hawick*, a small

1715.

to-day by word of mouth, that the detachment I sent over are marched and joined our friends in the South of *Scotland*; so I hope they may be yet useful; but I hope you know more of them than I do. I have now writ to Lord *Kennure*, but it is ten to one, if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to dispose of his people; whether he is to march into *England*, or towards *Stirling*, to wait my passing *Forth*; and, in the ignorance I am in of your affairs below the river, I scarce know what to advise him. If you be in need of his assistance in *England*, I doubt not but you have called him there; but, if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I pass *Forth*, or now that the Duke of *Argyle* is reinforced, should he march towards me before I am, it would be of great service. I am forced, in a great measure, to leave it to himself to do as he finds most expedient.

I am afraid the Duke of *Ormond* is not as yet come to *England*; else I should have had the certainty of it one way or other before now. I cannot conceive what detains him, nor the King from coming here. However, I am sure it is none of your fault; and I hope they will both surprize us agreeably very soon.

I believe I told you in my last of the Lord *Strathmore*, and two hundred of the detachment, that were going over *Forth*, and drove into the *Island of May* by three men of war, being got safe ashore on this side, and are now joined us again. There were but two of all the boats taken; and I hear some of the men, that were in them, who were made prisoners in *Leith*, were relieved by our men, when they came there; but that their officers were sent to *Edinburgh-Castle*; so I want some reprisals for them, which I hope to have ere long.

Though Brigadier *Mackintosh's* mistake in going to *Leith* was like to be unlucky to us and them, yet it has given the Duke of *Argyle* no little trouble; and our march obliging him to let them slip, has, I am apt to believe, vexed him.

I beg you will find some way to let me hear from you. Ever since my detachment were in *Fife*, all the men of war, that cruised on the North Coast, betwixt *Peterhead* and the *Firth*, have been in the *Firth*, and, I believe, will continue there to prevent my sending more over that way; so that all that coast is clear, which I wish to God the King knew; and you may easily send a boat here any where with letters from *England*. I hear there is one of the regiments of foot come from *Ireland* to *Stirling*.

When you write to me, if by sea, pray send me some News-papers, that I may know what the world is doing; for we know little of it here these eight days. Success attend you; and I am, with all truth and esteem,

S I R,

From the Camp at
Perth, October 12,
1715.

Your most obedient

Humble servant,

M A R.

No. 86. VOL. IV.

The Pretender's Declaration was in the following terms:

James R.

'James VIII, by the Grace of God, of *Scotland, England, France, and Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving subjects of what degree or quality soever, greeting. As we are firmly resolved never to omit any opportunity of asserting our undoubted title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms; and of endeavouring to put ourself into the possession of that right, which is devolved upon us by the laws of God and Man; so must we, in justice to the sentiments of our own heart, declare, that nothing in this world can give us so great satisfaction, as to owe, to the endeavours of our loyal subjects, both our and their restoration to that happy settlement, which can alone deliver this Church and Nation from the calamities, which they lie at present under, and from those future miseries, which must be the consequences of the present Usurpation. During the life of our dear Sister of glorious memory, the happiness, which our people enjoyed, softened in some degree the hardship of our own fate: And we must further confess, that when we reflected on the goodness of her nature, and her inclinations to justice, we could not but persuade ourself, that she intended to establish and perpetuate the peace, which she had given to these Kingdoms, by destroying for ever all competition to the Succession of the Crown; and by securing to us at last the enjoyment of that inheritance, out of which we had been so long kept, which her conscience must inform her was our due, and which her principles must lead her to desire, that we might obtain.

But, since the time when it pleased Almighty God to put a period to her life, and not to suffer us to throw ourself, as we then fully purposed to have done, upon our people, we have not been able to look on the present condition of our Kingdoms, or to consider their future prospect, without all the horror and indignation, which ought to fill the breast of every *Scotman*.

We have beheld a foreign Family, aliens to our Country, distant in Blood, and strangers even to our Language, ascend the Throne.

We have seen the reins of Government put into the hands of a faction; and that Authority, which was designed for the protection of all, exercised by a few of the worst, to the oppression of the best and greatest number of our subjects. Our Sister has not been left at rest in her grave; her name has been scurrilously abused; her glory, as far as in these people lay, insolently defaced, and her faithful servants inhumanly persecuted. A Parliament has been procured by the most unwarrantable influences, and by the grossest corruption, to serve the vilest ends. And they, who ought to be the Guardians of the liberties of the people, are become the Instruments of tyranny. Whilst the principal powers engaged in the late wars enjoy the blessings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts, and ease their people; *Great-Britain*, in the midst

1715. small market-town, belonging to the Dukes of *Bucclagh*, at whose house the *English* Lords, with their relations, and Mr *Forster*, took up their quarters. The *Highlanders* still supposing, that the march for *England* was resolved on, separated themselves in disgust, and went to the top of a rising ground on *Hawick Moor*, and, resting their arms, declared, they would fight, if they were led on to the enemy; but would not go into *England*; adhering to Lord *Wintoun's* advice, that they would go through the West of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either cross the *Forb* some miles above *Stirling*, or send word to the Earl of *Mar*, that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle's* rear, whilst he fell on his front. Whilst they were in this humour, they would allow none to come

and speak with them but the Earl of *Wintoun*, 1715. who had tutored them in this project, by assuring them, if they went to *England*, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and sold for slaves (1). After a dispute of two hours they were at last brought to this, that they would keep together as long as they staid in *Scotland*; but, upon any motion of going for *England*, they would return back: So they continued their march to *Hawick*, where they were extremely frightened for quarters. Here the *Highlanders*, who had always the guard, and did all the duty after they joined the horse, discovered from their advanced guard a party of horse (who were patrolling in their front) and, taking them for enemies, gave the alarm at midnight; and all ran immediately to arms. The moon shone,

midst of peace, feels all the load of a war. New debts are contracted; new armies are raised at home; *Dutch* forces are brought into these Kingdoms; and by taking possession of the Duchy of *Bremen*, in violation of the public faith, a door is opened by the Usurper to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these Nations to the state of a province, to one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the Empire.

These are some few of the many real evils, into which these Kingdoms have been betrayed, under pretence of being rescued and secured from dangers purely imaginary. And these are the consequences of abandoning the old Constitution, as we persuade ourselves, very many of those, who promoted the present unjust and illegal Settlement, never intended.

We observe, with the utmost satisfaction, that the generality of our subjects are awakened with a just sense of their danger; and that they shew themselves disposed to take such measures, as may effectually rescue them from that bondage, which has, by the artifice of a few designing men, and by the concurrence of many unhappy causes, been brought upon them.

We adore the wisdom of the Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our Restoration, by the success of those very measures, that were laid to disappoint us for ever. And we most earnestly conjure all our loving subjects, not to suffer that spirit to faint or die away, which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of the Kingdom; but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes of success, which so just and righteous a cause ought to inspire, those methods, which the finger of God seems to point out to them.

We are come to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties, to which any of our subjects, from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed on this important occasion, to relieve our subjects of *Scotland* from the hardships they groan under on account of the late unhappy Union, and to restore the Kingdom to its antient, free, and independent State.

We have before our eyes the example of our Royal Grandfather, who fell a sacrifice to Rebellion; and of our Royal Uncle, who, by a train of miracles, escaped the rage of the barbarous and blood-thirsty Rebels, and lived to exercise his clemency towards those, who had waged war against his Father and Himself; who had driven him to seek shelter in foreign lands, and who had even set a price upon his head.

We see the same instances of cruelty renewed against us by men of the same principles, without any other reason than the consciousness of their own guilt, and the implacable malice of their own hearts. For, in the account of such men, it is a crime sufficient to be born their King. But God forbid, that we should tread in these steps, or that the cause of a lawful Prince and an injured People should be carried on like that of usurpation and tyranny, and owe its support to Assassins. We shall copy after the patterns abovementioned,

and be ready, with the former of our Royal Ancestors, to seal the cause of our Country, if such be the will of Heaven, with our blood. But we hope for better things: We hope, with the latter, to see our just rights, and those of the Church and People of *Scotland*, once more settled in a free, independent *Scots* Parliament, on their antient foundation. To such a Parliament (which we will immediately call) shall we entirely refer both our and their interests, being sensible, that these interests, rightly understood, are always the same. Let the civil as well as religious rights of all our subjects receive their confirmation in such a Parliament. Let consciences truly tender be indulged. Let property of every kind be better than ever secured. Let an act of general grace and amnesty extinguish the fears even of the most guilty. If possible, let the very remembrance of all, which have preceded this happy moment, be utterly blotted out, that our subjects may be united to us, and to each other, in the strictest bonds of affection as well as interest.

And that nothing may be omitted, which is in our power to contribute to this desirable end, we do, by these presents, absolutely and effectually, for us, our heirs and successors, pardon, remit, and discharge all crimes of High-Treason, misprision of Treason, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever, done or committed against Us, or our Royal Father, of blessed memory, by any of our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who shall, at or after our landing, and before they engage in any action against us, or our forces, from that time, lay hold of mercy, and return to that duty and allegiance, which they owe to us, their only rightful and lawful Sovereign.

By the joint endeavours of Us and of our Parliament, urged by these motives, and directed by these views, we may hope to see the peace and flourishing estate of this Kingdom in a short time restored; and we shall be equally forward to concert with our Parliament such further measures, as may be thought necessary for leaving the same to future generations.

And we hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewarts of Stewarts, or their Deputies, and Magistrates of Burghs, to publish this our Declaration, immediately after it shall come to their hands, in the usual places and manner, under pain of being proceeded against for failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of our general pardon.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at our Court of *Commerce*, the 25th day of *October*, and in the fifteenth year of our Reign.

J. R.

(1) During the contest, the horse surrounded the foot, in order to force them to march Southwards, upon which the *Highlanders* cocked their firelocks, and said, 'If they were to be made a sacrifice, they would chuse to have it done in their own country.'

1715. shone, and the night was very clear; so the whole body formed themselves in very good order to oppose any attack, that should be made. But in the end this proved another false alarm; and they all returned to their quarters. It was said, that this alarm was designed to try the *Highlanders*, and to see how they would behave; and whether they would stand cheerfully to their arms, if an enemy appeared.

Oct. 30.

The next day, they marched to *Langbolme*, another small market-town, belonging to the *Duchess of Buccleugh*. From hence there was a strong detachment of horse sent in the night to *Ecclefechan*, with orders to block up *Dumfries*, till they should come up and attack it. *Dumfries* is a rich town, situated very commodiously upon the mouth of a navigable river on the *Irish* sea, and maintains a considerable trade with *England* and the West of *Scotland*. Had the Rebels been steady in their resolutions, they might very easily have made themselves masters of that town, there being no regular forces in it, but only train-bands, militia, and townsmen, who would not have been able to hold out, nor any fortifications to assist them in the defence of it. Here the Rebels also might have furnished themselves with arms, money, and ammunition, which were much wanted, and opened a passage to *Glasgow*, one of the best towns in *Scotland*. Here likewise they might have joined the *Highland* Clans from the West, besides a great many *Country Gentlemen*, who, on such an appearance, would have come in to them; by which means they might have soon formed a considerable army, and have received succours from *France* and *Ireland*, no men of war being in all those seas at that time. They were, moreover, assured, that in *Glasgow* there were a great many arms in the *Talbooth* ready for all occasions, and a considerable quantity of gun-powder in the *Tron* steeple. As to the Duke of *Argyle*, he was in no condition to have disturbed them; but, on the contrary, would have scarce thought himself safe in *Stirling*, his troops not exceeding two thousand men; for he had not then been reinforced by the troops from *Ireland*, nor the *Dutch* from *England*. But all these arguments were in vain; the *English* Gentlemen were positive for an attempt upon their own Country, pretending to have letters from their friends in *Lancashire*, inviting them thither, and assuring them, that there would be a general insurrection upon their appearing; and that twenty thousand men would immediately join them. Whether they had any such letters or no, is still a question; but they affirmed it to their army, and urged the advantages of a speedy march into *England* with such vehemence, that they turned the scale, and sent an express after the party of horse they had ordered to *Ecclefechan*, for to return and meet them at *Langtoun* in *Cumberland*. Thus the design of continuing in *Scotland* was abandoned. But the *Highlanders*, whether dealt with privily by the Earl of *Wintoun*, or being convinced of the advantages they were going to throw away, and the uncertainties they were bringing upon themselves, halted a second time, and would march no farther. However, their Leaders were again prevailed with to march by promises, and distributing money to the men. But many of them were still positive, and that to such a degree, that they separated, and about

five hundred of them went off in bodies, chusing rather, as they said, to surrender themselves prisoners, than to go forward to certain destruction. All imaginable means were used to prevent this desertion; but nothing could prevail with them to alter their resolutions; for they retired in parties over the mountains. The Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewise with part of his troop, very much dissatisfied at the measures, and declaring they were taking the way to ruin themselves. However, in a little time he returned and joined the body, though not at all satisfied with their proceedings; and was never after called to any Council of War, which incensed him extremely against the rest of the Lords and commanding Officers. They left the small pieces of cannon, which they had brought from *Kello*, at *Langbolme*, having nailed them up, and made them unfit for service. Then they marched that night to *Langtoun*, about seven miles from *Carlisle*, which was a very long and fatiguing march. Here they had intelligence, that Brigadier *Stanwix*, with a party of horse from *Carlisle*, had been there that day to get intelligence of their numbers and motions; but that, upon notice of their coming towards him, he had retired to his garrison, which then consisted of very few men, having made Mr *Graham* of *Inchbracky* a prisoner. This night the party ordered to *Ecclefechan* returned and joined the Rebels. Next day they entered *England*, and marched to *Brampton*, a small market-town, belonging to the Earl of *Carlisle*. Here they proclaimed the Pretender, and Mr *Forster* opened his Commission (brought by Mr *Douglas* from the Earl of *Mar*) to act as General in *England*. From this time the *Highlanders* had six-pence per day paid them, to keep them in good order, and under command. The Rebels halted one night at *Brampton*, to refresh the men, having marched above one hundred miles in five days. On the 2d of November they advanced to *Penrith*, where they expected to have met with some friends to join them; for it was reported, that Mr *Dacre* of *Abbeylanger-Coast*, a Papist, had promised to raise forty men; but he was prevented by a fever. As they drew near *Penrith*, they had notice, that the Sheriff, with the Lord *Lonsdale*, and the Bishop of *Carlisle*, had drawn together the whole *Posse* of *Cumberland*, amounting to about twelve thousand men, in order to oppose their progress. The first part of this was very true, that the *Posse* was drawn together; nor was their number much less. But they gave the Rebel army no occasion to try, whether they would stand or not; for, upon notice of the approach of the Rebels, they shamefully dispersed, leaving the Lord *Lonsdale*, with about twenty men besides his own servants, who continued on the spot till the Rebels appeared, and then he retired. A party was sent to *Lowther-Hall* to see for him, but he was not to be found. This retreat animated the Rebels, who made some booty, taking several horses and a great many arms. Having staid at Nov. 3. *Penrith* that night, they marched next day to *Appleby*, where they halted again. On the 5th of November they marched to *Kendal*, and on the 6th to *Kirby-Lonsdale*, a small market-town in *Westmoreland*, where some few Papists and their servants from *Lancashire* joined them.

1715.

1715. them (1). From this place they marched to Lancaster on the 7th, where the famous Colonel *Charlton* and another Officer happened to be. Upon the news of their approach, the Colonel proposed to blow up a fine bridge, over which they were to pass, to obstruct their entry into the town; but the inhabitants would not agree to it. The Colonel therefore thought it advisable to leave the town, after having ordered some barrels of powder to be thrown into a well, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Rebels. The Rebels, having entered Lancaster without opposition, performed the usual ceremonies of proclaiming the Pretender, and levying the public revenue. It was thought they would have continued here till they had received the promised succours, the place being easily made tenable against a greater force than the Government could command on a sudden: But they were in a great hurry to meet their fate, and left Lancaster on the 9th, carrying with them six pieces of cannon, which they found there. They directed their march towards *Preston*, where the horse arrived that night, but the foot halted half way. The horse entered *Preston* without any opposition; *Stanhope's* regiment of dragoons, and a regiment of militia, having thought proper to retire on the approach of the Rebels, which did not a little animate them to see the Royal troops thus fly before them. At *Preston* they were joined by a considerable number of Gentlemen and their followers, all Papists; which very much disgusted the *Scots* Gentlemen and *Highlanders*, because they were made to believe, that all the *High-Church* party would join them. The Rebels had once resolved to march out of *Preston* the next day, in order to enter *Manchester*, where they expected to meet with a considerable reinforcement, and to possess themselves of *War-rington-Bridge*, which would have made them masters of the rich town of *Liverpool*. But this design, like all others, that had any shew of prudence, was laid aside for two days, by which time they found themselves otherwise employed.

Proceed-
ing of the
King's
so on.

It is now time to observe what motions the King's troops made to oppose the Rebels, who had thus given General *Carpenter* the slip.

While it was yet uncertain which way the Rebels would direct their march, the Duke of *Argyle* sent a detachment from his small army at *Stirling*, to hinder their passing the head of *Forth*, if they should attempt that way to join the Earl of *Mar*. A squadron of dragoons, and one battalion of foot of this detachment, were quartered at *Falkirk*, and two hundred dragoons at *Kilfyth*.

General *Carpenter*, upon intelligence, that the Rebels were in full march towards *Lancaster*, resolved to pursue them with the dragoons only, for the greater expedition; not doubting but he should be joined by the King's troops in the West, in which he was not mistaken; for General *Wills*, who had been sent down some days

before to command in the West, having intelligence at *Chester*, that the Rebels were advancing towards *Lancaster*, gave orders for all the troops, quartered in those parts, to assemble at *War-rington*, on the borders of that County. When he arrived there, he found only *Preston's* regiment. With that he set out, on the 8th of November, and, the same day, arrived at *Manchester*, where he had intelligence that General *Carpenter* was on his march from *Durham* to *Lancaster*, to whom he sent an express, to acquaint that General of his own motions, that they might act in concert. He marched from *Manchester* the 11th, with the regiments of dragoons of *Wynne*, *Honeywood*, *Munden*, and *Dormer*, and *Preston's* regiment of foot, and advanced directly to *Wigan*, where *Pitt's* horse and *Stanhope's* dragoons were quartered. Understanding here, that the Rebels were still in *Preston*, he gave orders for the troops to be ready to march towards that place next morning, by break of day. He formed the horse into three brigades, *Wynne's* and *Honeywood's*, under the command of Brigadier *Honeywood*; *Munden's* and *Stanhope's*, under the command of Brigadier *Munden*; *Pitt's* and *Dormer's*, under the command of Brigadier *Dormer*.

On the 12th of November, the troops began their march in the following order: A Captain and fifty men of *Preston's* foot, sustained by a Captain and fifty dragoons, formed the vanguard: *Preston's* regiment followed Brigadier *Honeywood's* brigade; next *Dormer's*; and *Munden's* in the rear; and the baggage in the rear of all. In this order they marched to the bridge of *Ribble*, where we shall leave them, to observe what preparations were made for their reception by the Rebels.

The same morning General *Forster* gave orders for his army to march, not in the least suspecting the King's troops, and the destruction of all their hopes, were so near at hand. He had depended on the intelligence from the *Lancashire* Gentlemen, who had promised, that none should advance within forty miles without his knowledge; but it seems, they disappointed him; so that he was under the greatest surprize, when he was informed from all hands, that General *Wills* was within sight of him. He went out with a party of horse to view the posture of the King's troops; and, upon finding they were in full march towards him, he returned to the town to prepare for their reception.

His men were no ways discouraged, but cheer-
fully set about the preparations for their defence. of *Preston*. They barricaded the avenues, and posted their men in the streets and by-lanes, and such houses, as were properest for galling their enemies. The Gentlemen Volunteers were posted in the Church-yard, under the command of the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Wintoun*, and *Nithisdale*, and the Lord *Kenmore*. General *Forster* formed four main barriers; the first a little below the Church, commanded by Brigadier *Mackintosh*, and sup-
ported

(1) It is to be observed, there were no Papists of any account had yet joined them in their march; for all the Papists on that side the Country had been secured in the Castle of *Carlisle*, as Mr *Howard* of

Corbie-Castle, Mr *Warwick* of *Warwick-Hall*, Mr *James Graham* of *Inchbrachy*, and Mr *Henry Curwen* of *Workinton*.

1715. ported by the Gentlemen-Volunteers in the Church-yard, the second was situated at the end of a lane leading to the fields, and commanded by Lord Charles Murray. The third Barrier was near a wind-mill, and commanded by the Laird of Mackintosh. And the fourth was in the street leading to Liverpool, commanded by Major Miller, and Mr. Douglas. They threw up several intrenchments in an instant, and did all in their power to make a stout resistance; but were guilty of one capital error, which discovered their ignorance, or rather infatuation. For in the morning, upon the first intelligence of General Wiles's approach, they had detached Macpherson of Innercal, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Earl of Mar's Regiment, with an hundred chosen men, to take post at the bridge of Ribble, which was the only pass the King's troops could enter on that side; the river being fordable only in two places, the one below, and the other above the bridge, and these fords easily made unpassable. The bridge terminates a long narrow lane, where, in some parts, not above two can ride abreast. This is the famous lane, where Oliver Cromwell met with a stout resistance from the King's troops, who having rolled down several large stones from the height upon him and his men, one of them came so near, that he escaped only by making his horse jump into a quick-sand. But Mr. Forster, instead of making advantage of this pass, which he might have done to the destruction of the King's troops, (whom he might have very much annoyed by the help of his cannon, while they lay exposed without any cover) ordered this detachment to return to the town, and left the pass free for General Wiles.

When General Wiles came up to the bridge in the forementioned order, he expected to have met with great difficulties in forcing the pass; but, finding it abandoned, he was much surprized, and suspected some stratagem; and therefore resolved to proceed with caution. Having viewed the hedges, and laid open the ways for the cavalry to enter, he found all clear, and not the least appearance of an enemy. This made him conclude, they had abandoned the place, and were endeavouring, by long marches, to return to Scotland; but in this he was likewise mistaken. For, upon his advancing near the town, he found them in a posture to give him a warm reception, in a place, where he could easier come at them, than he could at the bridge of Ribble. He immediately prepared for an attack, and disposed his troops in such a manner, as he might best annoy them in the town, and prevent their making an escape.

The General having viewed the disposition of the enemy, and finding all the avenues leading to the town strongly barricaded, and two pieces of cannon planted on each; he resolved to make two attacks. For the attack of the avenue, that leads to Wiggan, a Captain and fifty dragoons were draughted out of each of the five regiments, with a Major and Lieutenant-Colonel to command them, and ordered to dismount to sustain Preston's regiment commanded by the Lord Forrester their Lieutenant-Colonel; and Honeywood's regiment was ordered to remain on horseback, to sustain the whole; and the Brigadier of that name had the direction of that attack.

The regiment of Wynne and Dormer, and a Numb. LXXXVII. Vol. IV.

squadron of Stanhope's, were ordered to dismount under the command of Brigadier Dormer, while the regiments of Pitts and Munden, and the remaining squadron of Stanhope's sustained them in the attack of the avenue that leads to Lancaster, lying on that side of the town opposite to the attack of the avenue leading to Wiggan. By the disposition of the King's forces, the four chief barricades of the enemy were easily attacked, but not with desired success.

The first attack was upon that barricade below the Church, commanded by the old Brigadier Mackintosh, who received the King's troops very gallantly; and with a terrible fire, both from the barricade and the houses, obliged them to retire to the end of the town; at the same time the Lord Forrester, Lieutenant-Colonel of Preston's foot, entered the avenue of Wiggan, and took possession of two large houses within fifty yards of the barricade, where he posted his men, finding it impracticable to force the barricade; but from these houses, which overlooked the whole town, he very much annoyed the enemy; and from thence, it is said, they received most of the damage they sustained during the action. These houses had been possessed by the Highlanders, when the barricade was commanded by Mackintosh; but they were called off by him to support that barricade, which gave the King's troops an easier possession of them, and perhaps saved the remains of that regiment, which suffered very much in that bold attack. General Honeywood ordered the houses between those he possessed and the barricade to be set on fire; which was not done without the loss of men on both sides. He likewise ordered breast-works to be thrown up, both to secure his men, and prevent the Rebels from escaping at that quarter of the town.

The other barricades were attacked with great resolution, but without any success; the King's troops being obliged to retire to the ends of the town, and remain satisfied till they could renew their attempts the next day; for by this time night hindered their farther approaches. Thus far the Rebels appeared to have acted with courage, and to have had the advantage, since they had, in all the attacks, repulsed their enemies with little or no loss on their side, and a considerable slaughter on the King's. But they did not long continue in this disposition; for having intelligence next morning, that General Carpenter had arrived with more troops to surround them, their resolution failed them, and from that moment they acted with great confusion and despair.

General Carpenter arrived at Preston on the 13th, at ten in the morning, with three regiments of dragoons, Lord Cobham's, Churchill's, and Moleworth's, accompanied by the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, and Colonel Darcy; ordering Moleworth's to the Manchester side, and marching the other two to the Lancaster side. He found, that the Rebels had been attacked the day before, without success, and that most part of the King's horse and dragoons were crouded in a deep narrow lane near the end of the town, so incommodious, that it was impossible to draw up above three or four in front; and, going to view the ground towards the river, he saw there were no troops posted at the end of Fishergate-Street, to block up that part of the town, where several of the Rebels were said to have

1715: have escaped the night before. This street leads to a marsh or meadow, which joins to that part of the river *Ribble*, where there are two good fords, being the high road towards *Liverpool*; and, towards the end of the same street, there was another barricade with two pieces of cannon. General *Carpenter* therefore ordered Colonel *Pitt* to post his two squadrons on that marsh; and going back to the end of the town, he ordered communication to be made for the troops to assist each other in case of a fall. The Rebels, being thus invested on all sides, and being now sensible, though too late, of their condition, began to consider what was to be done. The *Highlanders* were for sallying out upon the King's forces, and dying, as they called it, like men of honour, sword in hand; but they were over-ruled, and not allowed to stir. Nor was the motion communicated to the whole body; but General *Forster* (prevailed upon by Lord *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and some few others,) resolved upon a capitulation, flattering themselves with obtaining good terms from the King's Officers. Colonel *Oxburgh*, pretending acquaintance with some of them, made an offer to go out, and treat of a surrender. Accordingly, he went with a trumpet to General *Willes*, and offering to lay down their arms, and submit themselves, hoped he would recommend them to the King's mercy. The General told the Colonel he would not treat with Rebels; for they had killed several of the King's subjects, and they must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel said, as the General was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would shew mercy to people, who were willing to submit. The General replied, All he would do for them, was, that, if they laid down their arms, and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had farther orders; and he would give them but an hour to consider of it. Colonel *Oxburgh* returned into the town, to acquaint Mr. *Forster* with this; and, before the hour was expired, there came out Mr. *Dalziel*, brother to the Earl of *Carnwarth*, who wanted terms for the *Scots*. The General's answer was, that he would not treat with Rebels, nor give them any other terms than what he had before offered them. Upon which the General was desired to grant farther time till seven o'clock next day, to consult the best method of delivering themselves up. The General agreed to grant them the time desired, provided they threw them up no new intrenchments in the streets, nor suffered any of their people to escape, and sent out the chief of the *English* and *Scots* as hostages for the performance. The General sent in Colonel *Cotton* to bring them out, who accordingly brought out the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Brigadier *Mackintosh*. The next day, about seven in the morning, Mr. *Forster* sent out to let the General know, that they were willing to give up themselves prisoners at discretion, as he had demanded. Brigadier *Mackintosh*, being present when this message was

brought, said, He could not answer, that the *Scots* would surrender in that manner; for that they were people of desperate fortunes; and he had been a soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. Upon this the General said, 'Go back to your people again; and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be, I will not spare a man of you.' The Brigadier went back, but came running out immediately again, and said, 'The Lord *Kennemure*, and the rest of the Noblemen, with his brother, would surrender in like manner with the *English*.'

General *Carpenter* entered one side of the town, and General *Willes* the other, with all their troops, with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colours displayed. They both met in the middle of the town, where the *Highlanders* were drawn up under arms. The Noblemen and Gentlemen were first secured in several inns, and the *Highlanders* then laid down their arms in the place where they were standing; and they were next secured under a sufficient guard.

General *Carpenter*, finding the place too narrow to contain all the horse that was with him, sent part of them to *Wigan* the same day, and went away himself the next, leaving General *Willes* to command in his absence. Nov. 14.

Mr. *Forster* was by most people blamed for the surrender, without obtaining better terms for those, whom he had drawn into this enterprize. His want of skill was acknowledged on all hands, and this was what he could be least blamed for, since he was made General, as the only Protestant of note of the party. But, though he was nominal General, he depended mostly upon the conduct of Colonel *Oxburgh*, who had gained in foreign Service, the reputation of an experienced Officer. Others did not scruple to charge Mr. *Forster* with treachery as well as want of capacity, and pretend to say, that, if the King's General had not been sure of him beforehand, he would have granted more generous terms to the Rebels; and they bring his escape out of *Newgate*, as a proof of this surmise; supposing that a prisoner of his distinction would have been better looked after, if the Government had not been under an obligation to connive at his escape. But there seems to be little ground for such a suspicion, especially as the Pretender himself did not credit it, but held Mr. *Forster* afterwards in great esteem and confidence.

In the attack upon *Preston*, Brigadier *Honeywood* received a contusion on the shoulder, by a musket-shot, and Major *Bland* a slight one in the arm; and his horse was shot through the neck. There were killed at Brigadier *Honeywood's* attack, two Captains, one Ensign, and twenty-eight private soldiers; wounded, Lord *Forrester*, Major *Lawson*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, four Ensigns, and fifty private men. At Brigadier *Dormer's* attack there were nine men killed; wounded, the Brigadier, one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Cornet, and thirty-nine men (1).

Upon

(1) The prisoners of note *English* and *Scots* were as follows:

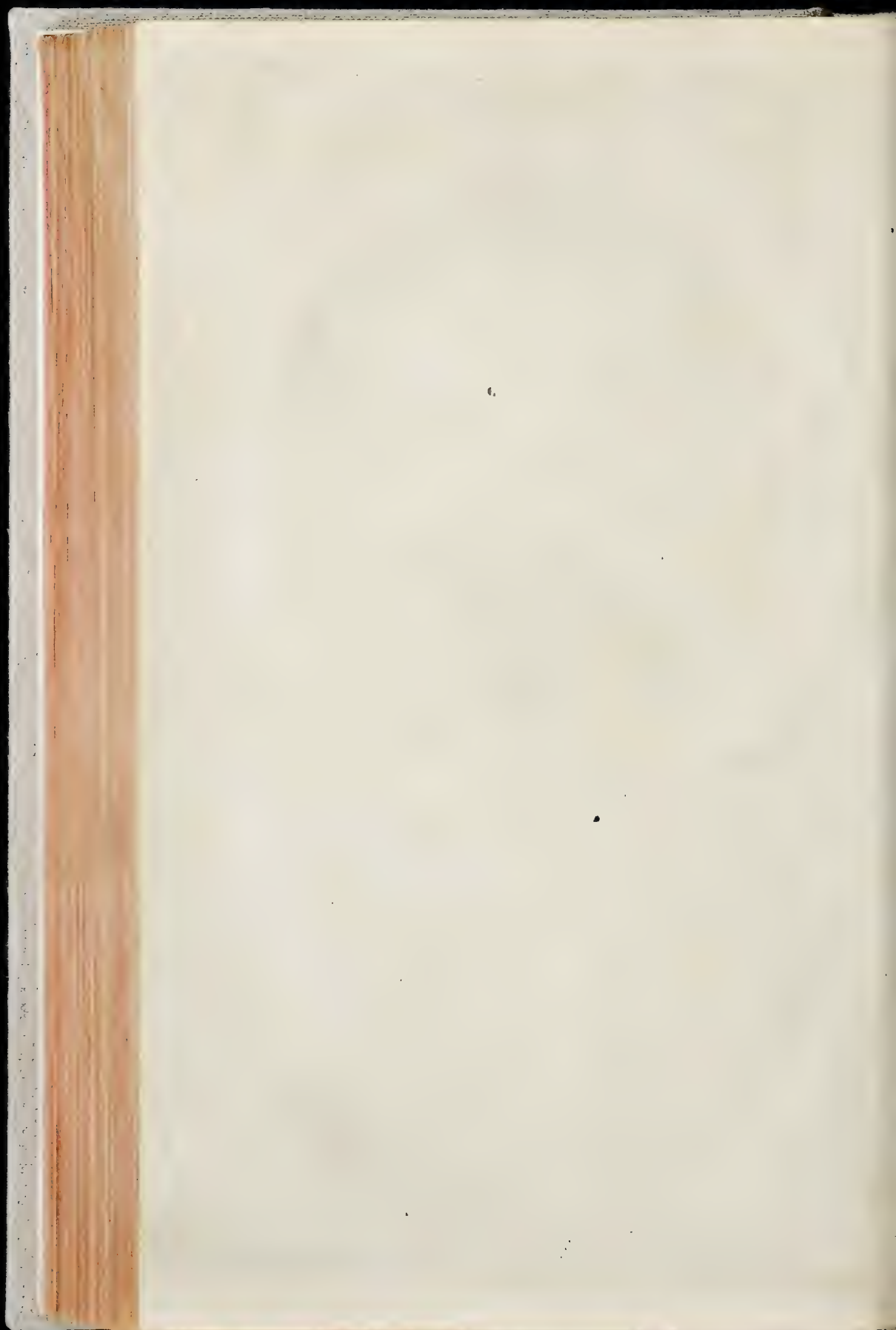
ENGLISH.

Mr. *Forster*, the General, The Earl of *Derwentwater*,

The Lord *Widdrington*, Mr. *Charles Radcliffe*, brother of the Earl of *Derwentwater*,
Mr. *Edward Howard*, brother of the Duke of *Norfolk*.

Charles





1715.
Proceed-
ings of the
Duke of
Argyle.

Upon the very day, the Rebels agreed to surrender themselves at *Preston*, was fought the battle of *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar*, being now joined by all the power he could expect from the Earl of *Seafort*, and all his Northern Clans, and by the troops under General *Gordon*, thought himself strong enough to put his design in execution of passing the *Forth*, joining his *Southern* friends, and marching into *England*. To this purpose he summoned a general Council of war, where all their measures were concerted for this enterprize. Accordingly, he left Colonel *Balfour* Governor of the town of *Perth* with a guard sufficient; and, being furnished with provisions, artillery, and all other necessaries for a long march; he set out on the 10th of *November*, for *Auchterardre*, there to draw his army together, of which he made a general review that day at that place, and rested the 11th.

The Duke of *Argyle*, having intelligence of the motion of the enemy, was at no uncertainty what to do. He knew, if he was to dispute their passage over the *Forth* at the heads of that river, his horse on which he placed his whole dependance, would be of no service to him in that place. He chose therefore to engage the Earl on the grounds about *Dumblain*, where he might employ all his forces (1). He likewise had intelligence, that on the 12th at night the enemy designed to incamp at *Dum-*

blain. Therefore, judging it of importance to possess that place, on the 12th in the forenoon he ordered his whole army to pass the river at *Stirling Bridge*, and incamped that night with his left at *Dumblain*, and his right towards *Sheriff-Moor*. The enemy advanced the same night within two miles of the Royal army; and having received intelligence, that the Duke with his whole army was in possession of *Dumblain*, they drew up in order of battle, and remained in that posture under arms till break of day.

On the 13th in the morning both armies were in motion, and the Duke of *Argyle* advanced to a rising ground, to take a view of the Rebel-army, which he could easily discern, in full march towards him. But another hill on his left intercepted his view of the whole extent of their left wing; for which reason it was impossible for him to guess at the true extent of their line, or how far they out-flanked him.

The Duke's army amounting to three thousand five hundred men, of which one thousand two hundred were dragoons, was drawn up upon the heights above *Dumblain* to the North-east of that place, which lay about a mile and a half from his left, and a wet boggy morass, called *Sheriff-Moor*, on his right.

The order of the Royal army was thus: The first line was composed of six battalions of foot in the centre, with three squadrons of dragoons upon

Battle of
Dumblain
Nov. 13.

Charles and Peregrine John Laybourn,
Widdrington, brothers of Gabriel Hefsted,
the Lord Widdrington, Cuthbert Hefsted,
Walter Tankard, Thomas Walton,
John Thornton of Nether- Edward Tesley,
writon, Thomas Errington,
John Clavering of Cailey, Philip Hudson,
Nicholas Wogan, James Talbot,
Charles Wogan, Alexander Deasnefs,
John Talbot, Lyon Walton,
Robert Talbot, John Masterfan,
Roger Salkeld, George Sanderfon,
George Collingwood, George Budding,
John Hunter, Robert Cotton of Gidding in
Edward Ord, Huntingdonshire,
William Tunstall, Paymaster, John Cotton, his son,
ter, Richard Gascoigne,
William Shaftoe of Paving- John Hunter,
ton, William Hardwick,
John Shaftoe, his son, Thomas Butler,
Edward Shaftoe, Robert Patten,
Edward and James Swin- William Caston,
burn, brothers of Sir Wil- Thomas Lisle,
ham Swinburn, Thomas Forster,
George Gibson, Junr. of William Raine,
Stoncraft, Thomas Riddle,
Edward Byers, Henry Widdrington,
Richard Stackart, Richard Ord,
William Charleton, William Sanderfon,
Edward Charleton, John Towle,
Charles Charley, John Hotterfalt,
Richard Charley, Francis Thornbuck,
Ralph Standish of Standish, John Heale,
Six Francis Anderton of Edward Mackey,
Leffock, Henry Oxburgh,
Richard Townley of Town- William Dabson,
ley, John Beaumont,
John Dalton, John Crofts,

Captain James Dabziel,
Brigadier Mackintosh,
Colonel Stuart,
William Erring,
Alexander Forrester,
William Crierfon,
William Calderwood,
Robert Maclean,
Robert Carruthers,
Andrew Casbie,
Mr. Lockhart,
James Skeen,
Walter Riddle,
Richard Harris.

The English Noblemen and Gentlemen of } 75
the English taken prisoners }
Their Servants or Followers } 8½
Private men in the Church at Preston } 305
Total English } 463

Scots Noblemen, Officers, and Gentle- } 143
men taken prisoners }
Their Vassals, &c. } 862
Total Scots } 1005

English in Preston } 463
Taken in Lancaster } 4
467

Scots in Preston } 1005
Taken at Lancaster } 17
1022

Total English and Scots } 1489

S C O T S.

The Earl of Nithsdale, The Lord Nairn,
The Earl of Winton, The Master of Nairn,
The Earl of Carnwarth, Lord Charles Murray,
The Lord Viscount Ken- Major Basil Hamilton,
mure, George Seton of Barne,

(1) On the 23d of *October*, the Duke of *Argyle* had notice that a party of the Rebels, consisting of two hundred foot and a hundred horse, were marching by *Castle-Campbell* towards *Dunferling*. Upon this intelligence, his Grace immediately sent off a detachment of dragoons, under the command of Colonel *Cathcart*, who came up with the Rebels the 24th, at five o'clock in the morning; and, after having killed

and

1715. upon the right and left. The second line was composed of two battalions of foot, and two squadrons of dragoons on each wing. The Duke commanded the right; General *Wilham* the left; and Major-General *Wightman* the main battle or centre.

The Earl of *Mar's* army, amounting to about nine thousand men, were drawn up in the following order: The first line was composed of ten battalions of foot, consisting of the Clans commanded by the Captain of *Clanronald*, *Glen-gary*, Sir *John Maclean*, and *Campbell* of *Glen-Lyon* on the right; there were three squadrons of horse, the *Stirling* Squadron, which carried the Pretender's standard, and two of the Marquiss of *Huntley's*. On the left were drawn up the *Perthshire* and *Fife-shire* squadrons. The centre of the second line was composed of three battalions of the Earl of *Seaforth's*, two battalions of the Marquiss of *Huntley's*, the battalions of the Earl of *Pannure*, Marquiss of *Tullibardine*, Lord *Drummond* and *Strowan*, all commanded by their respective Chiefs, except that of *Drummond*, commanded by the Viscount of *Strathallan* and *Legie-Almond*. The Earl *Marischal's* Squadron was on the right, and that of *Angus* on the left.

The Earl of *Mar*, who knew that his number far exceeded the Duke's, extended his lines as far as possible, with a design to take him in flank, and marched up to him in this disposition.

The Duke of *Argyle*, who till now supposed that the morals of *Sheriff-Moor* was unpassable, saw, that the two or three nights frost had made it capable of bearing; and the Rebels coming down the *Moor* with intent to flank him, having their right much extended beyond the point of his left; he found himself obliged to alter the disposition of his front, to prevent his being surrounded; which, on account of the scarcity of General Officers, was not done so expeditiously, as to be all formed again before the Rebels begun the attack.

The left wing of the Duke's small army fell in with the centre of theirs, which consisted, especially the first line, of the flower of the Rebel army.

They begun the action by a general discharge of their fire-arms, and received the first fire of the Royal troops without shrinking; but the Captain of *Clanronald*, who led them on in chief, was killed, which had like to have struck a damp upon them. But *Glen-gary*, who succeeded him, starting from the lines, waved his bonnet, and cried three or four times *Revenge*, which so animated the men, that they followed him close up to the muzzles of the muskets, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad swords did great execution.

The three battalions of foot, on the left of the

1715. Duke's centre, behaved gallantly, and made all the resistance they could; but, being unacquainted with this way of fighting, they were forced to give ground, fell in among the horse, and helped the enemy to put them in confusion; so that a total rout of that wing of the Royal army ensued. General *Wilham*, with some of the horse, riding full speed to *Stirling*, gave out that all was lost; but the General was mistaken in that, as well as in the opinion he formed of the men he run from that morning before the engagement.

Upon the right wing of the King's army, the Duke of *Argyle* commanded in person, and at the head of *Stair's* and *Evans's* dragoons, attacked the enemy's left, consisting chiefly of horse, with such intrepidity, that, notwithstanding the Rebels shewed they wanted neither courage nor inclination to stand, yet were obliged to give way, and were put into confusion. The Duke pursued them towards the river *Allen*, which he was forced to do, in regard that, tho' the distance is not above two miles, yet in that space they attempted to rally again above ten times; and, whenever the ground afforded them any advantage, endeavoured to make a full stop; so that the Duke having to do with troops of that disposition, who likewise out-numbered him, was obliged to follow his blow, lest he should have lost the advantage he had gained. Nor was it in his power to succour the left, the rout of that wing happening so suddenly, and the Officer, who commanded, leaving the field, almost at the first fire of the Rebels, there was no opportunity to rally the broken troops a second time.

Brigadier *Wightman* followed close after the Duke with three battalions of foot, and ran a very great risque of faring in the same manner with the rest, if the Rebels had but had common prudence; for, no sooner their right understood the disaster of their left, than they formed again, and returned back to the field, following close on the rear of *Wightman's* battalions, to the number of five thousand. Some say, that body was led on by General *Gordon*, others by General *Hamilton*, others by both; and others, (and indeed with more probability) say, they were headed by *Glen-gary*; and that he, upon being ordered to attack these battalions, returned for answer, That the Clans had done enough; and that he would not hazard them to do other people's work, (meaning the horse) and remained upon a hill, where he seemed to form his men, as if for some new action.

The Duke, having by this time intirely broke their left, and pushed them over the river *Allen*, returned to the field; and *Wightman*, facing again to the right, took possession of some inclosures and mud walls, which would serve for a breast-

and wounded several of them, took seventeen prisoners; amongst them the following Gentlemen:

Mr. *Murray*, brother to the Laird of *Aberkeny*.
Mr. *Hay*, son to *Arboth*.
Mr. *Patrick Gordon*, *Arbuthnot's* eldest son.
Alexander Forbes, son to *Bystie*.
William Robertson, brother to *Donhill*.
Mr. *Keloch*, a Physician.
Alexander Smith.
Mr. *Alexander Gordon*.

Francis Gordon of *Craig*.
Mr. *Hamilton* of *Gibbston* in *Strabogie*.
George Gordon of the *Miln* of *Kinkardine*.

The same evening Colonel *Cathcart* returned to the camp at *Stirling* with his prisoners. A few days after, a detachment sent by the Earl of *May* into *Lorn*, to intercept about four hundred of the Earl of *Broadalbin's* men, who were in motion to join the Rebels, having surrounded them, obliged them to separate and return to their several habitations.

(A) This

1715. a breast-work, in case they were attacked, as they judged by the countenance and number of the enemy they should. In this posture both armies stood looking at one another, but neither caring to engage; when towards evening the Duke drew off towards *Dumblain*, and the enemy towards *Ardoch*, without molesting one another (1).

The day after the engagement, the Duke of *Argyle* returned to the field of battle, and carried off the wounded, and four pieces of cannon left by the Rebels, to *Stirling*, where he retired with all his army.

The prisoners of most note taken by the King's forces were the Lord *Stratballan*, the *Lairds*

(1) This is the account of the Duke of *Argyle's* Historian; to which it may be proper to add those which were published by a kind of authority on all sides. The first is Colonel *Harrison's* account, who was sent express to the King by the Duke of *Argyle*:

The Duke of *Argyle* being informed, on the 12th, that the Rebels had come to *Auchterardrie* with their baggage, artillery, and a sufficient quantity of bread for a march of many days, found he was obliged either to engage them on the grounds near *Dumblain*, or decamp, and wait their coming to the head of the *Forth*. He chose the first on many accounts, and, amongst others, that the grounds near *Dumblain* were much more advantageous for his horse, than those at the head of the river: And besides this, by the frosts then beginning, the *Forth* might become passable in several places, which the small number of his troops did not enable him to guard sufficiently. He likewise received advice, that the 12th at night the Rebels designed to incamp at *Dumblain*; upon which, judging it of importance to prevent them by possessing that place, he marched the 12th in the forenoon, and incamped with his left at *Dumblain*, and his right towards *Sheriff-Moor*. The enemy stopped that night within two miles of *Dumblain*. Next morning his Grace, being informed by his advanced guard, that the Rebels were forming, rode to a rising ground, where he viewed the enemy distinctly, and found, as they pointed their march, they designed flit upon his flank. The *Moor* to our right, was the preceding night unpassable, and guarded us from being flanked on that side; but by the frost was become passable. His Grace therefore ordered his troops to stretch to the right in the following order: Three squadrons of dragoons upon the right and left in the front line, and six battalions of foot in the centre. The second line was composed of two battalions in the centre, and one squadron upon the right, and another upon the left, and a squadron of dragoons behind each wing of horse in the first line. As the right of our army came over against the left of the Rebels, which they had put to a morass, his Grace, finding they were not quite formed, gave orders immediately to fall on, and charged both their horse and foot. They received us very briskly, but, after some resistance, were broke through, and were pursued above two miles by five squadrons of dragoons, the squadron of volunteers, and five battalions of foot. When we came near the river *Allan*, by the vast numbers of Rebels we drove before us, we concluded it an intire rout, and resolved to pursue as long as we had day-light. The pursuing to the river *Allan* had taken up a long time, by reason of the frequent attempts they made to form in different places, which obliged us as oft to attack and break them, when they were in part passed, and others passing the *Allan*. Major-General *Wightman*, who commanded the five battalions of foot, sent to acquaint the Duke of *Argyle* that he could not discover what was become of our troops on the left; and that a considerable body of the Rebels, horse and foot, stood behind him. Upon that his Grace halted, formed his troops, and marched towards the hill, on which the Rebels had posted themselves.

Hereafter his Grace extended his right towards *Dumblain*, to give his left an opportunity of joining him. There we continued till it was late, and, not finding our left come up, his Grace marched slowly towards the ground he had formed on in the morning. So soon as it was dark, the Rebels, who continued undispersed on the top of the hill, moved to *Ardoch*. About an hour after our troops, which had been separated from the Duke of *Argyle*, joined his Grace. Our dragoons

on the left, in the beginning of the action, charged some of the horse on the right, and carried off a standard; but at the same time the Rebels pressed so hard on our battalions on the left, that they were disordered, and obliged to fall in among the horse. The Rebels, by this means cut off the communication betwixt our left and the other body; and they being informed, that some of the Rebels were endeavouring to get to *Stirling*, the troops on our left retired beyond *Dumblain*, to possess themselves of the passes leading there. We have, as yet, no certain account of the numbers killed; but it is reckoned they may be about eight hundred, among whom there are several persons of distinction. The quality of the prisoners is not yet fully known; only that the Viscount of *Stratballan*, two Colonels, two Lieutenant-Colonels, one Major, nine Captains, besides Subalterns, are brought to *Stirling*. We have likewise carried off fourteen colours and standards, four pieces of cannon, tumbrils with ammunition, with all their bread-waggons. This victory was not obtained without the loss of some brave men on our side. The Earl of *Forfar's* wounds are so many, that his life is despaired of. The Earl of *Illy*, who came half an hour before the action, received two wounds, the one in his arm, the other in his side; but, the bullet being cut out of his side, it is hoped he is past danger. General *Evans* received a cut in his head. Colonel *Hawley* was shot through the body, but there is hopes of his recovery. Colonel *Lawrence* is taken. Colonel *Hummers* and Captain *Armstrong*, Aid de Camp to the Duke of *Argyle*, are killed. The courage of the King's troops was never keener than on this occasion, who, though the Rebels were three times their number, yet attacked and pursued them with all the resolution imaginable. The conduct and bravery of the Generals and inferior Officers contributed much to this success; but, above all, the great example of the Duke of *Argyle*, whose presence not only gave spirit to the action, but gained success as often as he led on. The troop of horse Volunteers, which consisted of Noblemen and Gentlemen of distinction, shewed their quality by the gallantry of their behaviour; in a particular manner the Duke of *Roxburgh*, the Lords *Rathes*, *Haddington*, *Lauderdale*, *Loudoun*, *Belhaven*, and Sir *John Shaw*.

Major-General *Wightman's* account was as follows:

Stirling, Nov. 14, 1715, at eleven at night.

'Last Friday I arrived from *Edinburgh*, where I had finished all the works and barricadoes, that I had orders to do for the security of that town; and, as soon as I came to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, he told me he was glad to see me, and that, as he intended to make a march towards the enemy the next morning, he had sent an express to *Edinburgh* for me. Accordingly, on Saturday the 12th instant our whole army marched over the bridge of *Stirling* towards the enemy, who lay at a place called *Ardoch*, about seven miles from this place; and in the evening our army came within three miles of the enemy's camp. We lay all that night on our arms, and the next morning, being Sunday, I went with his Grace where our advanced guard was posted, and had a plain view of the Rebels army all drawn up in line of battle, which consisted of nine thousand one hundred men. They seemed to make a motion towards us; upon which the Duke ordered me immediately back to put our men in order; and soon after his Grace ordered them to march to the top of a hill against the enemy: But before all, or not above half of our army was formed in line of battle, the

1715. Lairds *Barrowfield*, *Logie Drummond*, Mr. *Murray of Auchtertyre*, the Viscount of *Strathallan's* brother, Mr. *Drummond of Drumquhany*, Mr. *Ro's*, son to the Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*, Colonel *Mackenzie of Keldin*, &c. with several Captains, subaltern Officers, and private

Men, amounting in all to the number of about eighty. 1715.

The Earl of *Forfar*, the Laird of *Glenkindy*, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Lawrence*, were all the men of note, who were mentioned to be taken prisoners by the Rebels, who took likewise several

ral

enemy attacked us. The right of their line, which lay in a hollow way, vastly outwinged us, which was not perceived by us, nor possible for us to know it, the enemy having possession of the brow of the hill; but the left of their army was very plain to our view, the moment we got to the top of the hill. Not half our men were come up, or could form. The enemy, that were within little more than pistol-shot, began the attack with all their left upon our right. I had the command of the foot; the enemy were *Highlanders*, and, as it is their custom, gave us fire, and a great many came up to our noses sword in hand; But the horse on our right, with the constant fire of the platoons of foot, soon put the left of theirs to the rout; the Duke of *Argyle* pursuing, as he thought, the main of their army, which he drove before him above a mile and a half over a river. As I marched after him as fast as I could with a little above three regiments of foot, I heard great firing on our left, and sent my Aid de Camp to see the occasion of it, and found, that the right of the enemy's army, that lay in the hollow way, and were superior to that part of the army, which we had beaten, was fallen upon our left with all the fury imaginable; and as our men were not formed, they cut off just the half of our foot, and the squadrons on our left. The Duke, who pursued the enemy very fast, was not apprised of this; and, as he had ordered me to march after him as fast as I could, I was obliged to slacken my march, and send to his Grace, to inform him of what had happened. I kept what foot I had in perfect order, not knowing but my rear might soon be attacked by the enemy, that had beat our left, which proved to be the flower of our army. At last when the Duke had put to flight that part of the Rebel army he was engaged with, he came back to me, and could not have imagined to see such an army as was behind us, being three times our number; but, as I had kept that part of our foot, which first engaged, in very good order, his Grace joined me with five squadrons of dragoons, and we put the best face on the matter, to the right about, and so marched to the enemy, who had defeated all the left of our army. If they had had either courage or conduct, they might have intirely destroyed my body of foot; but it pleased God to the contrary. I am apt to conjecture their spirits were not a little damped by having been witnesses some hours before of the firm behaviour of my foot, and thought it hardly possible to break us. We marched in a line of battle till we came within half a mile of the enemy, and found them ranged on the top of a hill, on very advantageous ground, and above four thousand in number. We posted ourselves at the bottom of the hill, having the advantage of ground, where their horse could not well attack us; for we had the convenience of some earth walls or ditches about breast high, and as evening grew on, we inclined with our right towards the town of *Dumblain*, in all the order that was possible. The enemy behaved like civil Gentlemen, and let us do what we pleased; so that we passed the bridge of *Dumblain*, posted ourselves very securely, and lay on our arms all night. This morning we went with a body of dragoons to the field of battle, brought off the wounded there, and came to this town in the evening. General *Webb's* late regiment, now *Morison's*, is one of the unfortunate regiments that was not formed, and suffered most. Major *Hammer* is killed, with young *Hillary*, and many other Officers. General *Evans* and I had the good fortune to be on the right wing with the Duke. General *Evans* had his horse shot dead under him, and escaped very narrowly as well as myself.

P. S. Our whole army did not consist of above one

thousand dragoons, and two thousand five hundred foot; and but a little more than half of them engaged. However I must do the enemy that justice to say, I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment; and their Officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable. All I can say is, it will be of the last danger to the Government if we have not force to destroy them soon. The loss on both sides I leave for another time, when we have a more exact account.

The following account (given by the Earl of *Mar* or his party, of the engagement on *Sheriff-Moor* near *Dumblain*, Nov. 13, 1715, was published by Mr. *Frederick*, the Pretender's Printer at *Perth*:

There being various and different reports industriously spread abroad, to cover the victory obtained by the King's army over the enemy, the best way to set it in a clear light, is to narrate the true matter of fact, and leave it to the world to judge impartially thereof.

Thursday, Nov. 10, the Earl of *Mar* reviewed the army at *Auchterarder*. Friday 11, rested.

Saturday 12, the Earl of *Mar* ordered Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, and Brigadier *Ogilvie*, with three squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley*, and the Master of *Sinclair's* five squadrons of horse, and all the Clans, to march and take possession of *Dumblain*, which was ordered to be done two days before, but was delayed by some interruptions: And all the rest of the army was ordered, at the same time to parade upon the *Moor* of *Tullibardine* very early, and to march after General *Gordon*. The Earl of *Mar* went to *Drummond-Castle* to meet with my Lord *Broadalbin*, and ordered General *Hamilton* to march the army. Upon the march, General *Hamilton* had intelligence of a body of the enemy's having taken possession of *Dumblain*; which account he sent immediately to the Earl of *Mar*. A little after General *Hamilton* had another express from General *Gordon*, who was then about two miles to the Westward of *Ardoch*, that he had intelligence of a great body of the enemy's being in *Dumblain*. Upon which General *Hamilton* drew up the army so, as the ground at the *Roman* camp near *Ardoch* would allow. A very little after the Earl of *Mar* came up to the army, and not hearing any more from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, who was marched on, judged it to be only some small party of the enemy to disturb our march, ordered the guards to be posted, and the army to their quarters, with orders to assemble upon the parade any time of the night or day, upon the firing of three cannon. A little after the army was dismissed, the Earl of *Mar* had an account from Lieutenant-General *Gordon*, that he had certain intelligence of the Duke of *Argyle's* being at *Dumblain* with his whole army. Upon which the General was ordered to halt till the Earl should come up to him, and ordered the three guns to be fired; upon which the army formed immediately, and marched up to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* at *Kinbuck*, where the whole army lay under arms, with guards advanced from each squadron and battalion till break of day.

Sunday the 13th, the Earl of *Mar* gives orders for the whole army to form on the *Moor*, to the left of the road that leads to *Dumblain*, fronting to *Dumblain*. The general persons were ordered to their posts. The *Stirling* Squadron, with the King's standard, and two squadrons of the Marquis of *Huntley's*, formed the right of the first line of horse. All the Clans formed the right of the first line of foot. The *Perthshire* and *Fifehire* squadrons formed the left of the first line of horse; the Earl *Marjoch's* squadron on the right of the second line; three battalions of the Marquis of *Seaforth's*

1715. ral Captains and subaltern Officers; and, according to them, about two hundred private Men.

The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the Rebels, is said to have amounted to eight hundred, and on the King's side to five

Seaforth's foot, two battalions of my Lord *Huntley's*, the Earl of *Panmure's*, the Marquis of *Tullibardine's*, the battalions of *Drummond*, commanded by the Viscount of *Strathallan* and *Logie Almond*, the battalion of *Strowan*, and the *Angus* squadron of horse, formed the second line. When the army was forming, we discovered some small number of the enemy on the height of the West end of the *Sheriff-moor*, which looks into *Dumblain*, from which place they had a full view of our army. The Earl of *Mar* called a Council of war, consisting of all the Noblemen, Gentlemen, General Officers, and Heads of the Clans, which was held in the front of the horse on the left, where it was voted to fight the enemy *nemine contradicente*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* ordered the Earl *Marischal* Major-General of the horse, with his own squadron, and Sir *Donald Macdonald's* battalion, to march up to the height, where we saw the enemy, and dislodge them, and send an account of their motions and dispositions. No sooner the Earl *Marischal* began his march, but the enemy disappeared, and the Earl of *Mar* ordered the army to march up after them. By the other Generals orders the lines marched off the right, divided in the centre, and marched up the hill in four lines. After marching about a quarter of a mile, the Earl *Marischal* sent back an account, that they discovered the enemy forming their line very near him, to the South of the top of the hill: Upon which the army, particularly the horse, was ordered to march up very quickly, and form to the enemy; but, by the breaking of their lines in marching off, they fell in some confusion in the forming, and some of the second line jumbled into the first, on or near the left, and some of the horse formed near the centre; which seems to have been the occasion, that the enemy's few squadrons on the right were not routed as the rest.

The Earl of *Mar* placed himself at the head of the Clans, and finding the enemy only forming their line, thought fit to attack them in that posture. He sent Colonel *William Clepham*, Adjutant-General to the Marquis of *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General of the horse on the right, and to Lieutenant-General *Gordon* on the right of the right of the foot, and Major *David Erskine*, one of his Aids de Camp, to the left, with orders to march up and attack immediately: And upon their return, pulling off his hat, waved it with a huzza, and advanced to the front of the enemy's formed battalions: Upon which all the line to the right, being of the Clans, led on by Sir *Donald Macdonald's* brothers, *Glenagary*, Captain of *Clanronald*, Sir *John Maclean*, *Glenco Campbell* of *Glenlyon*, Colonel of *Broadalbin's*, and Brigadier *Ogilvie* of *Boyme*, with Colonel *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, at the head of *Huntley's* battalions, made a most furious attack; so that in seven or eight minutes we could perceive neither the form of a squadron or battalion of the enemy before us. We drove the main body and left of the enemy in this manner for about half a mile, killing and taking prisoners all that we could overtake. The Earl of *Mar* endeavoured to stop our foot, and put them in some order to follow the enemy, which we saw making off in some small bodies from a little hill below, towards *Dumblain*, where the Earl of *Mar* resolved to follow them to complete the victory. When an account was brought him, that our left, and most of our second line, had given way, and the enemy was pursuing them down the back of the hill, and had taken our artillery, immediately the Earl of *Mar* gave orders for the horse to wheel; and having put the foot in order, as fast as could be, marched back with them. When he was again near the top of the hill, two squadrons of the enemy's Grey dragoons were perceived marching towards us. When they came near the top of the hill,

and saw us advancing in order to attack them, they made much faster down the hill than they came up, and joined at the foot of the hill to a small squadron or two of the Black dragoons, and a small battalion of foot, which we judged had marched about the West end of the hill, and joined them. At first they again seemed to form on the low ground, and advanced towards us; but, when they saw us marching down the hill upon them, they fled very speedily to *Dumblain*. The Earl of *Mar* remained possessed of the field of battle, and our own artillery, and stood upon the ground till sunset; and then, considering that the army had no cover or victuals the night before, and none to be had nearer than *Brace*, *Ardoch*, and the adjacents, whereby his Lordship expected the left to rally, and the battalions of the Lord *George Murray*, *Innesmyhe*, *Macpherson*, and *Macgregor*, to join him, resolved to draw off the artillery, and march the army to that place, where were some provisions. There were two carriages the guns broke, which we left on the road. But these battalions did not join us till the next day afternoon, before which the enemy was returned to *Stirling*.

We took the Earl of *Forfar*, who was dangerously wounded, Colonel *Lawrence*, and ten or twelve Captains and Subalterns, and about two hundred Sergeants and private men, and the Laird of *Glenkindy*, one of the volunteers, four colours, several drums, and about fourteen or fifteen hundred stands of arms. We compute, that there lay killed in the field of battle about seven or eight hundred of the enemy: And this is certain, that there lay dead upon the field of battle above fifteen of the enemy to one of ours. Besides, the number of the wounded must be very great.

The prisoners taken by us were very civilly used, and none of them stripped. Some are allowed to return to *Stirling* upon their parole, and the Officers have the liberty of the town of *Perth*. The few prisoners, taken by the enemy on our left, were most of them stripped and wounded after taken. The Earl of *Panmure* being first of the prisoners wounded after taken, they having refused his parole, he was left in a village, and by the hasty retreat of the enemy, upon the approach of our army, was rescued by his brother and his servants, and carried off.

Monday 14, the Earl of *Mar* drew out the army early in the morning on the same field, at *Ardoch*, they were on the day before. About eleven o'clock, we perceived some squadrons of the enemy on the top of the hill near the field of battle, which marched over the top of the hill, and a little after we had an account of their marching to *Stirling*. Upon which the Earl of *Mar* marched back with his army, who continued about *Auchterardire*.

Tuesday 15, rested. Wednesday 16, the Earl of *Mar* left General *Hamilton* with the horse to canton about *Duplin*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, and the rest of the foot about *Forgan* and adjacents, and went into *Perth* himself to order provisions for the army; the want of which was the reason of his returning to *Perth*.

Thursday 17, the Earl of *Mar* ordered General *Hamilton* to march with the horse, and some of the foot, to *Perth*, and Lieutenant-General *Gordon* with the Clans, to canton about that place.

After writing the former Narrative, we have account from *Stirling*, that the enemy lost twelve hundred men; and, after inquiry, we cannot find above sixty of our men in all killed; among whom were the Earl of *Strathmore*, and the Captain of *Clanronald*, both very much lamented. *Auchterhouse* is missing. Very few of our men are wounded.

1715. five hundred; but they never agreed in the accounts of their several losses (1).

A remarkable incident.
Passen.

It was reported, that Mr. *Drummond*, an Officer in the Duke of *Argyle's* army, went to *Perth* under the pretence of being a deserter, and was made Aid de Camp to the Lord *Drummond*; and at the battle of *Dumbtain* he attended the Earl of *Mar* to receive his orders. When the Earl thought that his right wing was like to defeat the Duke of *Argyle's* left, he dispatched this Mr. *Drummond* to General *Hamilton* (who commanded the left of the Earl of *Mar's* army) with orders to attack the enemy briskly, since he was like to have the advantage on the right. But Mr. *Drummond*, instead of delivering that order, gave the direct contrary orders to General *Hamilton*, and told him, that the Earl of *Mar* was worsted on the right, and desired him to retire with all haste with as good order as possible. Upon which General *Hamilton* gave order to halt, which was obeyed. Then, the right of the Duke of *Argyle's* army approaching them, most part of them gave way without firing a gun; and those that stood were chiefly Gentlemen and Officers, who were so galled by the Duke of *Argyle's* right wing, that many of them were killed on the spot, and others taken prisoners. And it is said, Mr. *Drummond*, after he gave the abovementioned orders to General *Hamilton*, deserted to the Duke of *Argyle's* side. But this is only report.

There was another thing very observable that day; Mr. *Robert Roy Macgregor*, alias *Campbell*, a Gentleman eminent formerly for his bravery and courage, was with his men very near the Earl of *Mar's* army; and being desired by a Gentleman of his own party to go and assist his friends, he refused, and said, If they could not do it without him, they should not do it with him.

Inverness taken.

The engagement being over, news was brought to the Rebels of the surrender of the important pass of *Inverness* to the King, on the same day the battle was fought. This service was performed by *Simon Fraser* of *Beaufort*, Lord *Lovat*, chief of the *Frazers*, who had hitherto appeared in the interest of the Pretender. He came before *Inverness* on the 10th of *November*, where he was little expected in that manner, having been all his life of a contrary party. Sir *John Mackenzie*, who held the town as Governor for the Earl of *Seaforth*, had only three hundred men with him. With these he retired to a kind of Castle or Citadel, out of which he made his retreat on the 12th, and gave free possession to the king's new friends. The securing *Inverness* was a great blow to the Rebels in these parts, for by it a free communication was

opened between the Earl of *Sutherland* and the Well-affected in the Counties adjacent to *Inverness*; and by this means the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Marquis of *Huntly* were not only drawn from the Rebel-army to defend their own territories, but were induced soon after to make their submission; and a good number of the *Frazers*, who followed *Frazerdale* before, upon the change of disposition in their Chief, the Lord *Lovat* left the Rebels, and increased the number of the King's friends under him.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine* left the Earl of *Mar* likewise, in order to cover his own Country; and many of the Clans, not seeing any likelihood of coming to an action, returned to their homes; it being the custom with these people never to remain long in the field, unless they are kept in constant employ.

On the 12th of *November* arrived at *White*. The Bar-
ball Captain *Williamson*, Aid de Camp to Gene-
ral *Cadogan*, with the news of the Barrier treaty
being signed, bringing with him a duplicate of
the treaty itself for the King to ratify. This
treaty had been a long while in hand, and had
met with many difficulties and delays; and it
was very much doubted by some, whether the
Imperial Court intended to conclude it at all.
But, after great disputes, it was at last finished
at *Antwerp*, and signed by the Plenipotentiaries
of the Emperor, the States-General, and the
King of *Great-Britain*, by which the bounds of
the Imperial Dominions in the *Netherlands*, as
also of the States-General, were adjusted, and the
Emperor became guarantee of the Succession of
the House of *Hanover* to the Crown of *Great-
Britain*, as the States-General were before.

Three days after, General *Cadogan* arrived at *London* from *Flanders*, and the same day three
thousand of the Dutch Auxiliaries came up the
Thames; and having refreshed themselves for
some days in their quarters in the Tower Ham-
lets, and *Southwark*, marched by land towards
Scotland, and the other three thousand were or-
dered to follow by sea. But the winds being
contrary, they were forced to put into *Harwich*
and other places. These troops not being used
to sea, suffered so much, that they desired to
land, and march wherever the King should
think fit. Accordingly they were ordered also
to proceed by land to *Scotland*; and their march,
with that of the three thousand from *London*,
was so regulated, as to arrive at *Edinburgh* about
the same time.

A resolution being taken to dislodge the
Rebels from *Perth*, General *Cadogan*, by the
King's command, set out on the 29th of *Novem-
ber* for *Scotland*; and Brigadier *Petit*, with
six engineers under him, was ordered to march
thither

(1) The account of the killed, wounded, and taken on the King's side, according to the Muster-Master-General's Rolls, Nov. 30, 1715, stands thus:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Taken.	In all
Foot, —	241	120	110	610
Dragoons, —	25	53	12	
Officers, —	14	11	10	
Serjeants, —	10	3	1	
Total of men	290	187	133	610
Horses, —	42	75	40	157

(1) The

1715. thither with all speed. A considerable train of artillery was also shipped off at the *Tower*, and sent to *Scotland* for this expedition.

About the same time Colonel *Stern's* regiment arrived in the *Thames* from *Ghent*, where they had been garrisoned, and brought prisoners with them the Lord *Clermont*, son to the Earl of *Middleton*, who, in the year 1708, was taken prisoner in the Pretender's expedition to *Scotland*, and Mr. *Murray*, who by the name of *Gordon*, had lately been with the Earl of *Mar*, and who were both taken in *Flanders*. The Lord *Clermont* was committed to the *Tower*, and the other to *Newgate*.

Several half-pay Officers taken at Preston are sent.

With regard to the prisoners taken at *Preston*, some half-pay Officers being found amongst them, a Court-martial was held at *Preston* on the 28th of *November*, to try the following persons as deserters; the Lord *Charles Murray*, a younger son of the Duke of *Atbol*, Major *Nairn*, and Captain *Lockhart*, brother to *Lockhart of Carnwarth*, the Author of the *Memoirs of Scotland*. *Nairn* and *Lockhart* had belonged to Lord *Mark Ker's* regiment; Captain *Shaftoe* to Colonel *Frank's*; Ensign *Erykine* to *Preston's*; and Ensign *Dalziel* to Lord *Orkney's*. The five first were found guilty, and sentenced to be shot; but *Dalziel* was acquitted as to the crime of desertion, upon his proving, that he had resigned his Commission some time before he engaged in the Rebellion. The Lord *Charles Murray* was respited till further orders; but the others were, on the 4th of *December*, executed. About five hundred of the inferior prisoners were sent to the Castle of *Chester*, and a great number to *Liver-*

The chief of the prisoners sent to London.

pool; but all the Noblemen and most considerable persons amongst them were sent to *London*, where they arrived on the 9th of *December*, being guarded from *Higbgate* by Major-General *Tatton*, Lieutenant-Colonel of the first regiment of guards, at the head of a detachment of about three hundred foot guards, and a hundred and twenty horse-grenadier guards. They were brought so far by Brigadier *Panton*, Lieutenant-Colonel of *Lumley's* regiment of horse, under a guard of one hundred of his troopers. At *Higbgate* every one of the prisoners had his arms tied with a cord coming cross his back; and, thus pinioned, they were not allowed to hold the reins of the bridle, but had their horses led by a foot-foldier. In this posture they were ranged in four divisions, according to the four different prisons to which they were allotted; the Noblemen to the *Tower*; *Forster* and *Mackintosh* to *Newgate*; others to the *Marshalsea*; and others to the *Fleet*; each division being placed between a party of horse-grenadiers, and a platoon of foot-guards. In this manner General *Tatton* set out from *Higbgate* about noon, and proceeded to *London* through innumerable crowds of Spectators of all ages and conditions; his drums beating all the way a triumphal march. The same day two of them, Mr. *Richard Gascoigne* and Mr. *Thomas Butler*, one of the Duke of *Ormond's* natural

sons, were carried to the *Cock pit*, where they were examined before a Committee of the Privy-Council, and afterwards committed to the custody of a Messenger. The next day, the Lord *Kenmore*, Mr. *Forster*, and Brigadier *Mackintosh* were carried to the *Cock pit*, where they were severally examined by a Committee of Council, and then remanded, the first to the *Tower*, and the others to *Newgate*. The same day likewise, Mr. *Gascoigne* and Mr. *Butler* were examined a second time, and then committed to *Newgate*. On Monday, the 12th of *December*, the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Nithdale*, *Carnwarth*, and *Wintoun*, the Lord *Widdrington*, and some others of the principal Rebels, were also severally examined, and afterwards sent back to their respective prisons.

The Rebellion in *England* being totally suppressed, the King's household troops broke up their camp in *Hyde Park*, the day after the prisoners were brought to *London*, and the artillery was sent to the *Tower*. However, for the greater security of *London* and *Westminster*, an extraordinary horse-guard was placed in several inns between *St. James's* and *Whitehall*, with orders to patrol all night.

On the 22d of *December*, the Pretender landed at *Peterhead* in the North of *Scotland*, with only six Gentlemen in his retinue; among whom was the Marquis of *Tinmouth*, son to the Duke of *Berwick*. The Pretender had embarked at *Dunkirk* on board a small ship, which had formerly been a privateer of eight guns. The first night he lay at *Peterhead*; the second at *Newburgh*, a feat of the Earl *Marischal's*. He passed through *Aberdeen incognito* (he and all that were with him being in the habit of Sea-officers) to *Fetterosse*, the chief feat of the Earl *Marischal*. Here he was met by the Earl of *Mar*, the Earl *Marischal*, and about thirty Noblemen and Gentlemen of the first Quality, who had left *Perth* with a party of horse, on the first notice of his landing, which they received by an express from *Peterhead*. At this place he appeared in public, and, assuming his pretended Quality, permitted the Noblemen and Gentlemen to kiss his hand. Whilst he remained at *Fetterosse*, which was till the 27th, he formed a Court, appointing all the Officers of State and Household, and made some Peers, and several Knights. He was proclaimed with great solemnity before the door of the house, and then published his declaration*, dated at *Commerce* * See in *Lorrain*, on the 25th of *October*. It was p. 454. printed at *Perth* by *Robert Freebairn*, who styled himself *Printer to his Majesty*, and was sent to all the Magistrates, Ministers, and Justices of the Peace within the Rebel-quarters; many of whom, especially in the North, published it according to the order sent with it.

He is proclaimed, and his declaration published.

At *Fetterosse*, the Pretender received also the homage of his Ecclesiastical and Lay Episcopal Subjects of the Diocese of *Aberdeen* by addresses from each of them (1).

He is addressed.

During

(1) The address of the Clergy, dated *December 29*, was as follows:

S I R,

We your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful sub-
No. 87. Vol. IV.

jects, the Episcopal Clergy of the Diocese of *Aberdeen*, do, from our hearts, render thanks to Almighty God for your Majesty's safe and happy arrival into this your antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, where your Royal presence was so much longed for, and so necessary to animate

1715.
He goes to
Scoon

During the Pretender's stay at *Fetteresso*, he was attacked by an aguish disorder; but he soon recovered, and, on the 2d of *January*, arrived at *Briechen*, where he continued two days; and, on the 3d, went and lay at *Kinaird*. The next day he arrived at *Glames*, and lay there that night. Next morning he made his public entry into *Dundee*, with the Earl of *Mar* on his right, and the Earl *Marjiball* on his left hand, being followed by about three hundred Gentlemen on horseback. At the desire of his friends he remained about an hour on horseback in the market-place, allowing the people to perform the ceremony of kissing his hand. He then went and dined at *Stuart of Garantully's*, where he lodged that night. Next day he left *Dundee*, and dined at *Castle-Lyon*, a seat of the Earl of *Strathmore's*, and lay that night at *Sir David Tripplin's*, and, on the 7th of *January*, arrived at the palace of *Scoon*, the ancient place of the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*, where he seemed resolved to stay till that ceremony was performed.

He makes
his entry
into Perth

On the 9th of *January*, about noon, he made his public entry on horseback into *Perth*, and reviewed some of the troops, that were drawn out on purpose. He expressed great satisfaction at the appearance of the men, and was much pleased with the Highland dress, which he had never seen before. In the evening he returned to *Scoon*, where he began to form a regular Council, and to perform several acts of State. He published six proclamations; for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; for praying for him in Churches; for the currency of all foreign coins; for summoning the meeting of the Convention of Estates; for ordering all fencible

men, from sixteen to sixty, to repair to his Standard; and for his Coronation on the 23d of *January*. 1715.

On the 16th of that month, a grand Council was held, at which all the Chiefs of the Rebels were present. At the opening of it, the Pretender delivered himself in a set speech to this effect:

'I am now, on your repeated invitation, *His speech* come among you. No other argument need be *to his* used of the great confidence I place in your *Council.* loyalty and fidelity to me, which I entirely rely on. I believe you are already convinced of my good intentions to restore the ancient laws and liberties of this Kingdom: If not, I am still ready to confirm to you the assurance of doing all, that can give you satisfaction therein.

The great discouragements, which presented, were not sufficient to deter me from coming to put myself at the head of my faithful subjects, who were in arms for me, and whatsoever shall ensue, I shall leave them no room for complaint, that I have not done the utmost they could expect from me. Let those, who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me, it will be no new thing, if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has shewn a constant series of misfortunes; and I am prepared (if so it please God) to suffer the threats of my enemies, and yours. The preparations, which are making against us, will, I hope, quicken your resolution, and convince others, from whom I have assurances, that it is now no time to dispute what they have to do: If, otherwise, they shall by their remissness be unmindful of their own safety, I shall take it

as

mate your loyal subjects, our noble and generous patriots, to go on with that invincible courage and resolution, which they have hitherto so successfully exerted for the recovery of the rights of their King and Country, and to excite many others of your good subjects to join them, who only wanted this great encouragement.

We hope and pray, that God may open the eyes of such of your subjects, as malicious and self-designing men have industriously blinded with prejudices against your Majesty, as if the recovery of your just rights would ruin our Religion, Liberties, and Property, which by the overturning of these Rights have been highly incroached upon; and we are persuaded, that your Majesty's justice and goodness will settle and secure those just privileges, to the conviction of your most malicious enemies.

Almighty God has been pleased to train up your Majesty from your infancy in the School of the Cross, in which the Divine Grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments, by which prosperity corrupts the heart. And as this School has sent forth the most illustrious Princes, as *Moses*, *Joseph*, and *David*; so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your Majesty, not only a blessing to your own Kingdoms, and a true Father of them, but also a great instrument of the general peace and good of mankind.

Your Princely virtues are such, that, in the esteem of the best judges, you are worthy to wear a Crown, though you had not been born to it; which makes us confident, that it will be your Majesty's care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their Religion, Liberties, and Property, as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true Christianity, according to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the Practice of the Primitive Christians.

We adore the goodness of God, in preserving your Majesty amidst the many dangers, to which you have been exposed, notwithstanding the hellish contrivances formed against you, for encouraging assassins to murder your sacred person; a practice abhorred by the very Heathens. May the same merciful providence continue still to protect your Majesty, to prosper your arms, to turn the hearts of all the people towards you, to subdue those who resist your just pretensions, to establish you on the Throne of your ancestors, to grant you a long and happy reign, to bless you with a royal progeny, and at last with an immortal crown of glory. And as it has been, still is, and shall be our care, to infill into the minds of the people true principles of loyalty to your Majesty; so this is the earnest prayer of, &c.

The City of Aberdeen, who were mostly of the Episcopal Communion, followed the example of their Pastors, in the following address:

We your ever loyal and dutiful subjects, the Magistrates, Town-Council, and other your Majesty's loyal subjects, Citizens of *Aberdeen*, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native and hereditary Kingdom. Heaven very often enhances our blessings by disappointments, and your Majesty's safe arrival, after such a train of difficulties, and so many attempts, makes us not doubt but God is propitious to your just cause.

As your Majesty's arrival was seasonable, so it was surprising. We were happy, and we knew it not: We had the blessing we wished for, yet insensible till now, that your Majesty has been pleased to let us know, that we are the happiest, and, as so, we shall always endeavour to be the most loyal of, &c.

(1) The

1715. as my greatest comfort, that I have acquitted myself of whatever can be expected from me. I recommend to you what is necessary to be done in the present conjuncture; and, next to God, rely on your Council and Resolution.

The Rebels
think of
dispersing.

This speech was dispersed with great industry; but the Council soon came to a resolution to abandon the whole enterprize, the first opportunity they should have to do it decently. They were not in circumstances to stand the attack of the Royal army, which was now reinforced with six thousand Dutch: But it was necessary to conceal this resolution from their own people, till the proper measures were concerted to have them all dispersed with the greatest safety, without exposing them to the insults of the Royal army. Had the resolution been made public, it would have had this consequence, that the common people would be so dispirited, as not to be capable of taking care of their safety; and some of them perhaps might have had thoughts of revenging upon their Leaders the danger, in to which they had been drawn. For this reason the Council gave out, they resolved to fight the King's troops; and, accordingly, made all the preparation necessary for such an undertaking, as if they had really intended it.

Expresses were sent to the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Huntley, and many others of their friends, to return speedily to the army at Perth. Their head-quarters were fortified in the best manner; and people of all ranks were zealous in promoting the work. Nothing was to be seen till the very day they abandoned the place, but the greatest industry in throwing up intrenchments, raising batteries, planting guns, with all the other preparations of war. The

Pretender even issued out an order, for the burning of the village of Auchterardire, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy (1).

According to this order, several towns, as *Several Auchterardire, Blackford, Dunning, and Alutbell, villages burnt* and other villages, were burnt to the ground; by which the poor inhabitants, being only old infirm men, women, and children (the rest being forced from their homes) were exposed to the severest season of the year, in one of the coldest winters that had been known for many ages. In the account published at Paris of the Pretender's conduct in Scotland, it is affirmed, that, upon his leaving that Kingdom, he had deposited a sum of money in the hands of General Gordon, for the use of the Sufferers by the execution of this order; which money was to be delivered by that General, with a letter from the Pretender to the Duke of Argyle. Whether this was published to take off the ill impression that order seemed to leave upon the minds of the people, or whether there was any truth either in that or the letter, depends only on the credit of the account written by the Earl of Mar at Paris (2).

During these transactions, the Duke of Argyle, in conjunction with the Lord Cadogan, took measures to dislodge the Rebels from Perth, and remove the Pretender from Scotland.

A number of the Rebels having possession of Brunt, the town of Brunt-Island, on the other side of the road of Leith, the Duke of Argyle ordered the men of war, then on duty in that road, to stand over, and throw some shot into the town. The Captain had thrown but few, when the Rebels abandoned the town, fearing as they said, the Captain, after his cannonading, would attempt

(1) The order was as follows:

James R.

'Whereas it is absolutely necessary for our service, and the public safety, that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our forces; and seeing this can be by no means better effected than by destroying all the corn and forage, that can support them in their march, and burning the houses and villages, which may be necessary for quartering their enemy; which nevertheless it is our meaning should be only done in case of absolute necessity, concerning which we have given our full instructions to James Graham younger of Braco: These are therefore ordering and requiring you, how soon this order shall be transmitted to you by the hands of the said James Graham, forthwith, with the garrison under your command, to burn and destroy the village of Auchterardire, with all the houses, corn, and forage within the said town, so as they may be rendered intirely useless to the enemy; for the doing whereof this shall be to you, and all you shall employ in execution thereof, a sufficient warrant.

Given at our Court of Scots this seventeenth day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign, 1715-16.

By his Majesty's command,

To Colonel Patrick Graham,
or the commanding Officer
for the time, of our gar-
rison of Tullibardine,

M A R.

(2) This account at large was as follows:

S I R,

'You seem surprized at the sudden change our affairs here have taken, from what you expected by the accounts you had from some of our friends at Edinburgh, before our leaving Perth, and even after we were gone from thence. I will therefore, for your satisfaction, give you a true account of that whole matter.

It is plain enough, that it was our business to represent our affairs then to the public, to be in such a posture, as might encourage our friends every where, and discourage our enemies, and stop them from marching against us, until we were in a better condition to receive them; which we had reason to expect soon to be, by our friends joining us, as they daily promised to do, and until we should receive the money, arms, and ammunition we were every day expecting, as we had been for a long time.

But, that time being now over, I may freely own to you, and it is fit you should know, that a month before the Chevalier landed, the resolution was taken of abandoning Perth, as soon as the enemy should march against it. And, though this resolution was known to a good number in our army, yet the secret was so well kept, that it never came to the public; so that the enemy, believing that we should stand our ground, thought themselves obliged to delay their march for a long time, until they had made great preparations of artillery, &c. as if they had been going to besiege a fortified town: But, in reality, our condition was then such, as obliged us to take that resolution, having neither a sufficient number of men, ammunition, nor arms.

Upon the Chevalier's arrival we expected, that our friends would then have certainly joined us; both those,

1715. attempt to land; and their number was not sufficient to defend the place. Upon notice of the Rebels abandoning *Brunt-Island*, where they had left behind them six pieces of cannon, some arms, and a great quantity of provisions, a detachment of *Scots* and *Dutch* troops were sent over the *Firth*, to take possession of the town, under the command of *Sir James Montgomery*. Upon this the Rebels quitted all the towns on the North side of the *Firth*; by which means the navigation to and beyond *Leith* was not so much interrupted, as in the beginning of the winter.

There happened some skirmishes between the detachments sent to possess these towns, and some parties of the Rebels; but none of any consequence. The most remarkable skirmish was about the 2d of *January*, when the Earl of *Rolles*, with a good company of volunteers, and a detachment of fifty *Dutch*, attempted to possess themselves of the palace of *Falkland*, a royal foundation but now gone to decay. The Rebels, having intelligence of the Earl's design, threw a party of their men into the place, and sent another body to surround him in a village, near *Falkland*. The volunteers, to the number of thirty, found means to make their escape; but the *Dutch* foot were made prisoners.

To restrain the incursions of the enemy upon the Duke's new acquisitions on the coast of *Fife*, three battalions of *Dutch* foot were ordered to pass the *Firth* at the *Queen's-Ferry*, and take

quarters about *Innerkeithing*, *Dumferling*, and the towns in that neighbourhood, which proved a sufficient check upon the Rebels during their stay at *Perth*.

About this time the Earl of *Seaforth* and the Marquis of *Huntley* had capitulated with the Earl of *Sutherland*, after many threatnings between them, which never came to blows. The Earl of *Seaforth* afterwards involved himself again in the Rebellion; but the Marquis of *Huntley* strictly observed the terms of his capitulation.

The Duke of *Argyle* had now got all the supplies he expected. The six thousand *Dutch* auxiliaries, under the command of Major-General *Vanderbeck*, had joined him; as *Newton's* and *Stanhope's* dragoons had likewise from *England*. But he was in great want of a train of artillery, which he had long expected from *England*, and which had been shipped for this service; but the stormy weather and easterly winds continuing, the Duke grew impatient of waiting any longer for them, and ordered General *Cadogan* to go to *Berwick* with a guard of five hundred men, and fifteen hundred carriage horses, to bring thence ten pieces of cannon and four mortars, with their carriages and ammunition, which, with fourteen pieces, that he had already with him, was thought a sufficient train for this expedition. The train being now ready, he was as much at a loss for gunners to manage it, having few or none in his army; but the fleet, on

those, who had formerly been with us, and were gone home, and those, who before had given the Chevalier not being come, as the only reason of their not joining the army; and also that those, to whom the reducing of *Inverness*, the Lord *Sutherland*, and those with him, was committed, would have vigorously performed that service, and then have joined us; and we had no reason to doubt, but money, ammunition, and arms would immediately be sent after the Chevalier.

But, to our great misfortune, we were disappointed in all these our hopes, though never so well grounded in appearance.

The rigour of the season, and the great fall of the snow on the hills, kept in some measure the rest of the *Highlanders* from joining us. Most of those, who before had excused themselves upon the Chevalier's not being come, kept still at home, now that he was come, waiting perhaps to see how his affairs were like to succeed. Those employed for reducing of *Inverness* were so far from acting with vigour, that they made, what they called it, a cessation of arms with the enemy. Some gold was sent to us in *Lingo's*; but the ship, in which it came, was stranded, and the gold itself lost. Several ships came with Officers, but neither arms nor ammunition in any of them. So that our condition, after the Chevalier's arrival, was no ways bettered, except by the new life his presence gave to the small number we at that time had got together. Even in that weak condition, the Chevalier would gladly have maintained *Perth*, or ventured a battle. But when the enemy, with all their great preparations, and an army of above eight thousand effective regular troops were actually in march, and advanced near to the place, it was found impracticable to defend the town, and undesirable to enter into a battle with a small number of men, that were in it, for a great many reasons too long to be here mentioned. But in short we had not above four thousand, both horse and foot; and of these, for want of arms, and for other reasons, not above two thousand five hundred to be relied upon as good fighting men. The town is little better than an open village at any time; and at this the river on one side,

and a kind of fosse or ditch on the other, were frozen up, so that it was easy to be entered on all quarters. The long continued frost had kept the mills from going; so that there was not above two days provisions in the town. The enemy being then in possession of the most part of *Fife*, where the coal-pits are, there were no coals to be got; and, the wood being scarce in the country, there happened to be almost no fuel at all. Besides this, the *Highlanders* are not used to defend towns; nor had they wherewithal to defend this.

On the other hand, to have gone out to fight the enemy, when there was no advantageous post or pass to be defended, had been exposing our men to visible destruction; the enemy being provided with every thing, and thrice our number of fighting men, might have surrounded us on all sides, and prevented all possibility of retreat. All this put us into an absolute necessity of leaving *Perth*, and retiring Northwards, which we did in good order, and came in two days to *Montrose*, and *Briechin*. Neither of these places are tenable, though we had been provided, as we were not, with a sufficient number of men, ammunition, and provisions. But, *Montrose* being a good harbour, where we expected our succours from abroad, we were unwilling to quit it, so long as we could remain safe in it. We thought indeed, that the enemy would have made a halt at *Perth*, and not have marched so quickly after us, as we soon found they did, they being within a few miles of us before we had certain intelligence of it, though great pains had been taken to be informed of their motions. The Earl of *Pannure*, not being recovered of the severe wounds he had received at the battle of *Sheriff-Moor*, was not in a condition to march along with the army, which otherwise he would have done; upon which the Chevalier advised him, as he passed *Dundee*, to endeavour to get off in the first ship he could find; and, by accident finding a little bark at *Arbuthnot*, went off in it for *France*.

Before this time several people had very seriously represented to the Chevalier the deplorable circumstance, in which his affairs now were on all sides; that, being overpowered in *Scotland*, no appearance of any rising in *England*, nor any news of the succours he expected from

1715. on board of which the train and ammunition had been shipped, arrived in the road of *Leith* on the 28th of *January*. Colonel *Borgard*, who commanded the Engineers and Gunners sent with these stores, arrived at *Stirling* on the 29th, so that now all things were ready for the intended attack of the enemy, which was resolved in a Council of war, notwithstanding the rigour of the season.

On the 2^d ft, two hundred dragoons were sent, under the command of General *Guesf*, to view the road, and discover some of the dispositions of the Rebels. This party, though only sent to reconnoitre, put the Rebels into the utmost confusion at *Perth*. Some country-people, whose fear magnified the number of the detachment, carried news to the town, that the Duke of *Argyle* and all the army was within a few hours march. This struck the whole Rebel army with the greatest consternation; and the panic continued, till parties, sent out as far as *Tullibardine* to view the country, returned with the report of the falshood of the rumour.

Colonel *Guesf* being returned, acquainted the Duke of *Argyle*, that the roads were so covered with snow, that it would be impossible for the army to pass, especially the artillery and heavy carriages, except the snow was removed; upon which several thousand people from the Country were summoned in to clear the roads.

On the 24th, the Duke and General *Cadogan* went out with a party to view the Country, and

hasten the workmen employed in clearing the roads. This likewise alarmed some of the enemy's advanced posts, but did not, as the other, reach *Perth*.

The day before and that day it thawed suddenly; and the thaw was followed by a great fall of snow, which hindered the workmen employed in clearing the roads, who had now all their work to do over again, and rendered the designed march almost impracticable. This inclined most of the Generals to defer the march of the troops till the season was more moderate, none of them having seen a campaign in so cold a climate: But the Duke was resolute in the measures taken, especially as he had positive orders from above, to attack the Rebels without loss of time.

On the 26th, the Duke ordered two regiments of dragoons, and five hundred foot, to advance to *Dumblain*, with directions to post a strong party at the demolished bridge of *Down*.

On the 29th, the army began their march, and proceeded to *Dumblain*; the troops, which were there before, advancing at the same time, to the old Castle of *Bravo*, expecting some resistance, but they found it abandoned. The next morning the same party, with two pieces of cannon advanced upon the road to *Tullibardine*, to cover the workmen, who were clearing the way, and to prevent their being insulted by the garrison of *Tullibardine*. That day the army marched to *Auchterardrie*; that is, to the place where

from abroad, he had no course at present to take, that was consistent with what he owed to his people in general, to those who had taken arms for him in particular, and to himself upon their account, but by retiring beyond sea, to preserve himself for a better occasion of asserting his own right, and restoring them to their ancient liberties.

It was indeed hard to bring him to think of this; but those about him found it now high time to press the matter more than ever, the enemy being within three miles upon their march towards us. They therefore again represented to him the impossibility of making a stand any where, till they should come to the most inaccessible places of the mountains, where in that season of the year, there being so much snow on the ground, there could be no subsistence for any body of men together, and where no succour could come to them. That, when his small army was divided in lesser bodies, they could not avoid being cut off by the enemies troops, who would then be master of all the Low Countries, and especially by the garrisons they had in *Inverlochy* and *Inverness*, which they would reinforce. That, as long as they knew he was in the Kingdom, they would pursue him, even with the hazard of their whole army, his person being the chief object of their pursuit, as his destruction was the only thing, that could secure their usurpation; whereas, if he were gone off, they would not pursue with that eagerness, nor would they find their account in harassing their army in the snow, and excessive cold of the mountains, to pursue the scattered remains of the loyal party, who might skulk in the hills, till providence should open a way for their relief, or that they should obtain terms from the Government. That his person being with them would defeat even these faint hopes; and that in short, whilst he was in the Kingdom, they could never expect any terms or capitulation but by abandoning him, or giving him up; which rather than ever consent to, they would be all to the last man cut in pieces.

Though the Chevalier was still extremely unwilling to leave his loyal people, who had sacrificed their all with so much zeal and alacrity for his service; yet when he considered, that, as things then stood, his

presence, far from being a help and support to them, would rather be an occasion of hastening their ruin, he was sensibly touched to find himself, for their sakes, under a necessity of leaving them; There was no answering their reasons, nor any time to be lost, the danger increasing every moment. He therefore at last told them, that he was sorry to find himself obliged to consent to what they desired of him; and I dare say, no consent, he ever gave, was so uneasy to him as this was.

In the mean time fresh alarms coming of the enemies approaching, orders were given for the army's marching towards *Aberdeen*, and the resolution was taken for his going off in the evening. It happened very providentially, that there was just ready in the harbour a small ship that had been designed to carry a Gentleman he was then to have sent to a foreign Court. This ship was now pitched upon to transport him: She was but a small one, and could carry but a few passengers; and therefore, to avoid confusion, he himself thought fit to name those, who should attend him. The Earl of *Mar*, who was the first named, made difficulty, and begged he might be left behind; but the Chevalier being positive for his going, and telling him, that in a great measure there were the same reasons for his going as for his own; that his friends would more easily get terms without him than with him; and that, as things now stood, he could be no longer of any use to them in that Country, he submitted.

The Chevalier likewise ordered the Marquis of *Drummond* to go along with him. This Lord was then lame by a fall from his horse, and not in a condition to follow the army, and was one of the four with the Earl of *Mar*, Lord *Tullibardine*, and Lord *Lithgow*, against whom there was then a bill of attainder passing. The Chevalier would have willingly carried with him the two other Lords; but it happened, that they were both then at a distance; Lord *Tullibardine* at *Briechin* with a part of the foot, and Lord *Lithgow* at *Bervil* with the horse. Lord *Marjibah*, Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, was also ordered to go, though he seemed very desirous to stay, and share in the fate of

1715. where it stood, for the Rebels had burnt the village to the ground, so that the men were obliged to lie in the open air in as violent a cold night, as ever was known in those parts. The next morning early they marched to *Tullibardine*, the garrison of which place had retired, except fifty men, who were made prisoners. Here the Duke of *Argyle* received intelligence, that the Pretender and his army had abandoned *Perth* the day before, and retired towards *Dundee*. This was very agreeable news to the whole army, who had lain in the snow for two nights successively. But, as it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the Duke had the intelligence, they could not reach *Perth* that night. However the Duke took with him four squadrons of dragoons, and two battalions of foot, and marched that evening to take possession of the town, where he arrived about two o'clock in the morning with the horse; but the foot, through the length and deepness of the road, did not arrive till ten the next morning, very much harassed by their march. Had the Rebels had any intelligence, that the Duke was detached with so small an attendance, from the main of the army, he might have been in some hazard; for the gros of the army did not arrive at *Perth* from *Tullibardine* till late in the evening, the 1st of *February*.

The Pretender and his party had now got two days march before the Royal army. It was ne-

cessary therefore to pursue them without intermission, that they might have no rest. Accordingly the 2d of *February* the Duke of *Argyle* continued his pursuit at the head of six squadrons, two battalions, and eight hundred detached foot; lay that night at *Erris*, and on the 3d arrived at *Dundee*, though the main army, which made more easy marches, did not come up till the 4th. Here the Duke's intelligence made him judge, that the Rebel army, which had now proceeded to *Montrose*, would make some stop there, as that place was more tenable than *Perth*, and a sea-port where they might expect supplies from abroad. Therefore he resolved not to allow them to fortify themselves, but sent two detachments to *Montrose* by two different roads: Two thousand foot and fifty dragoons went by the way of *Aberbrothick*, and three hundred more, and fifty dragoons, marched by the way of *Briecben*; but the snow was so deep, that the march proved very tedious to those detachments, since they were obliged to summon in the Country-people, to clear the roads. On the 5th, the whole army marched; the Duke with the cavalry, and train, by the road of *Briecben*, and the infantry with General *Cadogan* by the way of *Aberbrothick*.

In this day's march, they had intelligence that the Pretender had made his escape, both from his own people and the King's army, the morning

his countrymen. Lieutenant-General *Sheldon*, Vice-Chamberlain, had the same orders; as had also Colonel *Clepham*, who had left the enemy. Lord *Edward Drummond*, who was also Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, happened to be with Lord *Timneath*, at five miles distance, and so could not go with the Chevalier, as he intended they both should; but he wrote to them to follow in a small ship, that was then in the harbour; but the master of this ship was frightened, and went away without carrying any body.

The Chevalier then ordered a Commission to be drawn for Lieutenant-General *Gordon* to command in chief, with all necessary power inserted; and particularly one, to treat and capitulate with the enemy. He left also the said General the reasons of his leaving this Kingdom, and all the money that was in the Paymaster's hands, or that he had himself (save a small sum for defraying his own and company's charges) and left orders for a sum of money (if there should be any left after paying the army) to be given to the poor people, who suffered by the burning of *Auchterardre*, and some villages about it, which had been thought necessary to be done, to prevent the enemy's march, though very much against his inclination; which made him delay from time to time, until the enemy was actually on their march; and the Chevalier left a letter with General *Gordon* for my Lord *Argyle* to be delivered when the said money should be given, desiring, that it should be distributed accordingly.

About nine o'clock the Chevalier went on board the ship, which was about a mile at sea. Lord *Marischal* and Colonel *Clepham* came some time after to the shore; but by accident found no boat, and so could not go off; though, as the boat-man, who carried the Chevalier, assured us, he staid for them till near eleven o'clock, but could stay no longer because of the nine men of war, that were cruising thereabouts; and it was great good luck, that the ship having staid so long, got out of their reach before it was day-light.

As soon as the Chevalier parted, we marched, and we are now a good way advanced towards the Highlands; for there was no stand could be made at *Aberdeen*; nor could we think of going to *Inverness*, that being still in the enemies hands. Some went to *Peter-*

head, and thought to have got off in a ship they found there; but we hear they were soon forced back by a man of war: So it is like they may join us again, if they are not intercepted by the enemy.

I must add here one thing, which however incredible it may appear, is, to our cost, but too true; and that is, that, from the time the Earl of *Mar* set up the Chevalier's standard to this day, we never received from abroad the least supply of arms and ammunition of any kind; though it was notorious in itself, and well known, both to friends and enemies, that this was what from the beginning we mainly wanted; and, as such, it was insisted upon by the Earl of *Mar*, in all the letters he writ, and by all the messengers he sent to the other side. Several ships came with officers, and some small sums of money, after the battle of *Sheriff-moor*; and three or four ships more came after the Chevalier's arrival. But, even when he was with us in person, no powder was sent, nor a sword nor musket; so that, when we marched from *Perth*, we had not three hundred weight of powder for the whole army, nor should we have wanted men, had we had arms to put into their hands. How the main point came to be so intirely neglected by those, who had the management of the Chevalier's affairs in their hands, on the other side, is yet a mystery to us: And it surprizes us the more, that those, who came lately over, assure us, that both arms and ammunition might have been gotten from private hands, without having the obligation to any foreign Prince. So whether this unaccountable omission proceeded from mere negligence, want of money, or from a jealousy in some, who were perhaps unwilling that we should be the instruments of this great work, and that it should succeed in our hands, or some other by-reasons, is what time may discover.

Thus I have given you true matter of fact, and a sincere account of our unfortunate condition. Whatever may now be our fate, we have still one solid ground of comfort, that the Chevalier hath (as we hope) got safe out of the reach of his enemies; for in the safety of his person is all our hopes of relief; and we look on him as the instrument referred by God, (and he now seems the only one in the ordinary course

1715. ing before, on board a *French* ship, called the *Maria-Teresa* of *St. Malo*, then lying in the road of *Montrose*.

It has been already observed, that the abandoning *Perth*, and dispersing the Rebel army as soon as they could get out of the reach of the King's army, had been resolved ever since, if not before, the Pretender's arrival in *Scotland*; but that it was necessary to conceal this design from the gros of the army, as well as that the Pretender, and some of the chief Leaders of this undertaking, intended to make their escape to *France* the first opportunity. However, the army's abandoning *Perth* so precipitately, as to leave their waggons and artillery behind them, and then pointing their march to the sea-shore, especially to *Montrose*, where it was known that several *French* ships lay, raised jealousies in the heads of the army of what was really their intent, and produced considerable murmurings, which the Earl of *Mar* could not appease, but by countenancing the march from *Montrose* to *Aberdeen*, where he gave out they designed to make a stand. The army was made to believe that the Pretender was to go along with them; and, to amuse them, his horses and ordinary body-guard were drawn up before the door of the house where he lodged. This removing all jealousy, the army became tractable again, and proceeded on their march. But the Pretender, instead of going on with them, left his attendance in their usual waiting, slipped out of a

back-door, and went on foot to the Earl of *Mar*'s quarters, and from thence to the water-side, where a boat waited for them; and carried them on board with only three servants. The same boat returned, and took in the Earl of *Melfort*, the Lord *Drummond*, Lieutenant-General *Buckley*, *Sheldon*, and others, to the number of seventeen in all, being persons of the first rank, either in his household or army, or originally privy to his design.

When they were all on board, the vessel set sail, steering to the coast of *Norway*, to keep clear of the *English* cruisers. They had a fresh gale at West South West, and made land the next evening; and, coasting along the *German* and *Dutch* shores, they arrived in five days at *Gravelin* in *France*; and the same ship returned in twelve days from her first setting out, both to give intelligence of the Pretender's safe landing, and to take in another party of Gentlemen, which was done about *Frazerburgh*, after the main of their army was dispersed in the hills.

The Earl *Marischal* and the Lord *Tinnmouth*, son of the Duke of *Berwick*, were about five miles from *Montrose*, when the Pretender embarked; and so were left to shift for themselves with several others. But it will appear from the sequel, that both the Earl *Marischal* and General *Gordon* were in the secret, though they pretended to make the army believe otherwise, to secure themselves from their resentment, and only

of Providence to rescue these nations in due time from their oppression, and the lawless dominion of *E----*.

Now if we look back a little, and consider our affairs from the beginning of this last attempt, I believe it will be found, that no Nation in our circumstances, and so destitute of all kind of succour from abroad, ever made so brave a struggle for restoring their Prince and Country to their just Rights. And when it comes to be known to the world (as some time or other it may) what encouragements there were at home and abroad, reasonably to make us expect and hope for success in this great, good, and necessary work, it will not appear a chimerical, rash, or ill-grounded undertaking; and its not proving successful, as plainly appears by what has been already said, and what follows, is not owing to the Chevalier, or his faithful friends on this side.

When the Earl of *Mar*, by the Chevalier's command, came down to *Scotland*, he found the people there more forward to take arms than his instructions allowed him to consent to; and it was not without difficulty that we could allay their first heat. But the Chevalier not going into *England*, nor the Duke of *Berwick* coming to *Scotland*, as was generally expected, abated very much of that forwardness; so that, when the Government summoned those they suspected to appear, and give bail for their good behaviour, many of them seemed inclined to comply. The Earl of *Mar*, in pursuance of his instructions, found it then high time, for preventing this step, to appear openly; and it was not without difficulty, that he could persuade some to join with him, they apprehending great uncertainty of success in this affair, by no account being come of the Chevalier, or the Duke of *Berwick*'s arrival, nor of money, arms, ammunition, or officers, though others were all along very forward. Upon the resolution of taking arms, he sent a Gentleman to give the Chevalier an account of it.

It was near a month after the Earl of *Mar* set up the Standard before he could procure a Commission; and it is no small proof of the people's zeal for their Country, that so great a number followed his advice, and obeyed his orders, before he could produce one. It must be owned, and it is the less to be wondered

at, that, his authority being thus precarious, some were not so punctual in joining him, and others performed not so effectually the service they were sent upon; which had they done, not only *Scotland*, but even part of *England*, had been reduced to the Chevalier's obedience before the Government had been in a condition to make head against us. But, as it was, most of those who had promised, and some who had not, joined the Chevalier's Standard at *Perth* about the end of *October*; at which time the Earl of *Mar* sent two Gentlemen, to give the Chevalier an account of the condition they were in, of what they had, and what they wanted, and to hasten his own, the Duke of *Ormond*'s, and the Duke of *Berwick*'s coming into *Britain*.

About this time there was a rising of some Noblemen and Gentlemen in the South of *Scotland*, who, marching over the borders, were joined by some in the North of *England*; and they all together marching back into *Scotland*, the Earl of *Mar* sent over the *Firth* of *Forth* fifteen hundred foot to join them. This occasioned the Duke of *Argyle*'s leaving *Stirling*, and going with a part of his army to *Edinburgh*. Now had the *Scots* and *English* horse, who were then in the South of *Scotland*, come and joined the fifteen hundred foot as was expected; had the Highland Clans performed as they promised, the service they were sent upon in *Argyleshire*, and marched towards *Glasgow*, as the Earl of *Mar* marched towards *Stirling*, he had then given a good account of the Government's army, the troops from *Ireland* not having yet joined them, nor could they have joined them afterwards. But, all this failing by some cross accidents, Lord *Argyle* returned with that part of his army to *Stirling*; and the Earl of *Mar* could not, with the men he then had, advance farther than *Dumblain*; and for want of provisions there, was soon after obliged to return to *Perth*.

But immediately after we had got provisions, and that the Clans and my Lord *Seaforth* had joined us, we marched again towards the enemy; and, notwithstanding the difficulties the Earl of *Mar* had upon that occasion with some of our own people, he gave the enemy battle; and, as you see in our printed accounts

1715. only staid behind to conduct the army to a place, where they could with safety disperse them: Which they did so effectually, that though the Duke of Argyle used his utmost endeavours to come up with them, yet he could never overtake one party of them, and did not, in all the pursuit from *Perth* to the *Highlands*, take a hundred prisoners. They kept so close together, and marched with such expedition into the mountains, that it was in vain for the Duke to pursue them any farther.

When the Pretender went away, he appointed General *Gordon* to command in chief. When that General arrived in the army at *Aberdeen* (where they were but coldly received, in comparison of their former reception) he produced a paper of instructions which he had from the Pretender, and which, he said, he was commanded not to open till he came to that City. In this paper the Pretender complains chiefly of disappointments from abroad; and mentions the necessity he was under, for his own preservation, to leave the Country. He thanks them for their so cheerfully undertaking so hazardous an enterprise, which, he says, would not have been liable to the present disappointments, if their endeavours had been as well seconded by others, who had, by large promises, flattered him with their assistance. He recommends to them to consult their own safety, and to keep together till they arrived at such places, where they might separate without becoming a prey to

the enemy, and promises to let them hear from him shortly.

It was the 6th of February when they arrived at *Aberdeen*, the third day after the Pretender embarked. Here they staid but one night, and in that interval procured three vessels to carry over about two hundred Gentlemen, who designed to make their escape that way. These vessels received private orders to meet them to the North of *Aberdeen*, about *Peterhead*, *Buchan-Ross*, and other parts, where they took in their intended cargo; but one of them, falling in with the King's Cruisers, put in for the shore, where the Gentlemen landed again, and followed the Rebel army through by-ways. The other two vessels, with about a hundred and forty Gentlemen, arrived safe in *France*.

On the 7th, the Rebels resolved to leave *Aberdeen*, and began their march early in the morning, and had evacuated the place by two in the afternoon. General *Gordon*, with the foot, formed the van, and the Earl *Marjsebal*, with about a thousand horse, formed the rear to prevent surprize. They marched to the left directly West through *Strath-Spey*, and *Strath-Down*, to the hills of *Badenoch*, where they quietly dispersed the common people, mostly to their homes, but with a resolution to be ready to take up their arms on the first notice they should have from General *Gordon*.

About this time several Gentlemen, who had betaken themselves to the hills about *Lochaber*, received

of it, had not our left-wing given way, which was occasioned by mistake of orders, and scarcity of experienced officers, that being composed of as good men, and marched as cheerfully up to the field of battle as the other, our victory had been complete; and, as it was, the enemy, who was advanced on this side the river, was forced to retire back to *Stirling*.

Amongst many good qualities, the *Highlanders* have one unlucky custom, not easy to be reformed; which is, that generally after an action they return home. Accordingly a great many went off after the late battle of *Sheriff-Moor*; so that the Earl of *Mar* not being in a condition to pursue the advantage he had by it, was forced to return to *Perth*, waiting there, not without impatience, both for the return of the *Highlanders*, and for money, arms, and ammunition, he had so often asked, and still expected from abroad. But the *Highlanders*, hearing nothing of the Chevalier, or the Duke of *Berwick*'s coming, nor of the supplies, did not return to the army, as they had promised: And the Gentlemen of the army, who had been long from home, living still at their own charges, which they could not well longer support, went also mostly home, some without leave, and others after a leave, which the Earl of *Mar* saw well enough would be to no purpose to refuse. Some indeed never thought of quitting the army, and others returned soon to it; but our number was never again near so great, as it had been before the battle. About this time we had the news of the fatal affair at *Pryston*, which was no small discouragement to the army; so that some, who had been caballing privately before, began then to speak openly of capitulating with the enemy, and found others more easy to join with them.

We had, at the same time, another piece of bad news; which was, that *Simon Fraser* of *Beauford* (by some called *Lord Lovat*) had joined *Lord Sutherland*; and that they, with the help of some other disaffected people thereabouts, had retaken *Inverness*. Upon this news, most of the name of *Frazer*, who had joined the Chevalier's army with *Frianterdale*, went now away, and joined *Beauford*, or *Lord Lovat*, their Chief.

This obliged the Earl of *Mar* to send *Lord Seaforth*

North to get his men together, who had mostly returned home after the battle, and in conjunction with the Chevalier's friends in that Country, to endeavour to recover *Inverness*.

In the mean time those who were for capitulating with the enemy, pressed the Earl of *Mar* so hard to consent to it, that to prevent some people's making private separate treaties, which he found they were about, he was at last forced to comply so far with them, as to send a message from the whole army to my Lord *Argyle*, to know, if he had power to treat with them? That Lord returned with great civility this answer, That he had no sufficient power to treat with them in a body, but that he would write to Court upon the subject. To which it was replied, That, when he should let them know he had sufficient power, they then would make their propositions. By which the affair was put off at that time, and we were since informed, that the Lord *Argyle* never received those powers; and that even his former powers, which he sent up to be enlarged, were never returned to him.

Much about this time the Marquis of *Huntley* having for some time pressed his going home with his horse, the Earl of *Mar* consented to it, and gave him a Commission, in conjunction with my Lord *Seaforth*, for reducing of *Inverness*, and those who opposed the Chevalier's interest in that Country, which we then hoped would be soon done.

After this some, though but few, were discovered to have private dealings with the enemy; and some others went home, and never returned to the army; but a good number of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, and all the Heads of the Clans, still remained with the army at *Perth*.

We had about this time the long wished-for news of the Chevalier's being landed; and that put an end for the present to any further talking of capitulations.

I have now given you a true, and, I hope, a satisfactory account of the condition we have been in, ever since our first taking arms; of the bad condition in which the Chevalier found us at his arrival; and of the reasons that obliged him at last to leave us.

There

1715. received advice, that two *French* frigates lay at the *Orkneys* in *Penland Friib*, till they should come aboard. Upon this the Lord *Duffus*, Sir *George St. Clair*, and Lieutenant-General *Ecllin*, with about one hundred and sixty Gentlemen more on horseback well armed and mounted, made a fall from the hills, and crossing in a body the Shire of *Murray*, came down to the sea-coast, near a place called *Bruch*. Here they quitted their horses to their servants; and such, as they had no use for, they killed to prevent their falling a prey to the King's forces; then went on board some small boats to pursue their way to the *Orkneys*; but finding these boats too small and dangerous for that boisterous season of the year, they put in again at *Dumbeth*; where they hired two large barks, in which sixty of them got safe to the frigate of twenty-six guns. The others pressed another *Scots* vessel to carry them to the other frigate. When they arrived off that coast, the country people were alarmed, and afraid, that they were come with a design to plunder them, and seemed inclinable to fall upon them. But, the *French* ship coming in to their assistance, the people were soon set right as to

their mistake, and assisted them in getting on board the *French* ship. Both the ships set sail, and landed them at *Gottenburgh*, in the King of *Sweden's* Dominions, who was then setting out with an army on his expedition to *Norway*, and received their offer of entering into his service very courteously. But the Lord *Duffus*, going to *Hamburg*, was there seized at the suit of the *British* Envoy.

In the mean time, the Duke of *Argyle* was on his march to *Montrose*, where he arrived on the 6th of *February*; and at *Aberdeen*, with five hundred men, on the 8th; but the rest of the army not being come up, the pursuit could not be continued: Only he dispatched General *Evans* with two hundred dragoons to harass their rear, or endeavour to divide their horse from the foot; and at the same time, to give chase to the two hundred Gentlemen, who had separated from the rest, to take shipping at *Frazersburgh*; but the General succeeded in neither.

While the Duke of *Argyle* was in chase of the Rebel army by land, the men of war were as industrious to annoy them by sea, and hinder their escape. But they had not the fortune to meet

There remains yet to answer one question, which you may naturally ask, as most people do, on this subject; and that is, Why the Chevalier delayed his coming so long?

To answer this question to your satisfaction, I must tell you, that I have what I shall here relate, from persons of unquestionable veracity, who were then upon the place, eye and ear witnesses of what passed; and so you may safely rely upon it.

You have certainly heard, what was generally said, of the Chevalier's sister's inclinations towards him, whilst she was in possession of his Throne. But, whatever there was of truth in that, what I am well assured of is, that he was at last so little satisfied with what was said to him from thence, that he was fully resolved, whilst she was yet alive, to have gone into *Scotland*; and in order to that, had already prepared a declaration, or manifesto, to have been there published upon his arrival. How he was hindered from putting this design in execution by some real friends, that were themselves imposed upon, and by other pretended friends, who were at the bottom real enemies, is a mystery, which time may discover.

Upon the first news of his sister's death, he immediately took post, and resolved to endeavour at any rate, to get into some part of his Dominions; but was stopped by those, who had power to do it effectually. Being then forced back to *Lorraine*, he made and published his protestation, which it is likely you have seen, and which, I can assure you, was drawn intirely by himself.

From that time, as before, he had nothing in his thoughts, but how, and when, he could assert his own right, and deliver his people. He saw little ground to hope for succour from any foreign Prince, and had only the affections of his people, and the advice of his friends on this side the water, to rely upon. Their interest seemed now more than ever linked to his; and they being upon the place, and consequently best able to judge of the fittest time for his coming to them, it must be allowed, that it had been no ways prudent nor advisable in him to act contrary to their opinion: And yet it is most certain, that it was only by following their advice, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, that so much time was lost. Some of them in *England* insisted upon having a certain number of regular troops to make head at first, without which, they said, nothing was to be attempted: And though he sent them word over and over, that, after all the endeavours he could use, he found it absolutely impos-

sible to obtain any troops; yet they insisted for several months in this opinion, and by that means the most favourable time, he ever had, was lost. Other friends there pretended, that the disposition of the people would still grow more favourable towards him; and that there was no danger, but advantage, by delaying.

Thus, though he had several times fixed a day for his departure, he was still forced to delay, that he might not act contrary to the advice of his friends; and at another time, because he found, that his enemies had discovered his design, and taken infallible measures to intercept him. But as soon as his friends began to see and own the mistakes they had been in, he without any regard to the many dangers he had to go through, set out from *Commercy* the 28th of *October*, and went incognito through a great part of *France* to the coast of *Bretagne*; and to avoid falling into the hands of many, who were placed upon the common road to intercept him, he was obliged to cross the Country through bye-ways, with only three people with him. His design was to go to *England*, if things appeared favourable there; or, if they did not, to go to *Scotland*.

When he arrived at *St. Malo's*, he found the Duke of *Ormond* returned from the coast of *England*, to which he had gone some days before, in hopes to have found friends ready to join him; but that having failed by some accidents of discoveries, he was forced to return. Upon this he resolved to go into *Scotland*; and it not being thought safe for him to go through the *British* channel, he had been advised to go round *Ireland*; and by a message from his friends in *Scotland*, it was proposed to him to land at *Dunstaffnage*, which was at that time in their possession; but soon after the enemy came to be masters of it, by the Clans not performing what they were charged with in *Argyleshire*, as is aforementioned. His friends immediately informed him of this change by a second message; and this confirmed him in the resolution he had himself before taken, of changing all his measures, and in place of taking that long tedious way, which was indeed the safest, to take a much shorter, though a more dangerous way for being intercepted by the enemies ships. He sent therefore immediately to prepare a small ship privately for him at *Dunkirk*; which was accordingly done, though not without difficulty.

He was a second time obliged to traverse a great part of *France*, and that on horseback, in the very coldest time of this hard and severe winter; exposed to greater danger than in the *Forth*, from the greater

1715. meet with one ship belonging to the Rebels; though they were not remits in their duty (1).

With all this diligence both on sea and land, it was strange that any escaped: But it was much more so, that not one of them ever fell into the hands of their pursuers, but arrived every man safe in France; where they were hunted by the Earl of Stair, the British Ambassador at the French Court, whose intelligence was so good, that there was scarce one step taken by the Pretender, or any of his most secret friends, without his knowledge; by which means he disappointed the Pretender of the greatest part of the supplies he expected from France, and watched his person so narrowly, that he kept him a considerable time on that side of the water, to the ge-

neral disappointment of the Rebels. By his repeated memorials to the Regent of France, he kept him in constant observance of the treaty of *Utrecht*; at least any violations, that were made, were only by connivance; in which cases the Earl was never silent, as appears by two memorials; the one writ while the Pretender was in Scotland, and the other after he had abandoned it (2).

The facts contained in the first memorial were too well vouched, for the Regent to deny them; and it was difficult to find any evasion to reconcile them to the engagements of the Court of France in the treaty of *Utrecht*; for which reason he did not incline to give any answer. But the affairs of the Pretender taking a different turn, and he being obliged to leave Scotland, and

number of those, who lay in wait for him on all the great roads, which obliged him to travel by unfrequented roads where there was accommodation bad enough; and yet all this time, in that terrible cold, he never had the least ailment or indisposition.

It was about the middle of December (our style) before he could reach *Dunkirk*. He was there informed, that there was a man of war then lying in that very road; and that there were a great many more cruising on the coasts of France, England and Scotland, all of them in waiting for him: But he without any regard to these dangers, went immediately on board this small ship with only three servants, and conducted by good Providence, arrived safe at *Peterhead*, where he landed the 22d of December, O. S.

Having, I hope, now fully satisfied your curiosity, I have only to add, that though it hath pleased God to permit, that this attempt, though never so just, had not the wished for success; we have still reaped by it one great advantage, which is, that we have seen with our own eyes, and personally known our lawful Sovereign, and to our unspeakable satisfaction, discovered in him all the great and good qualities, that are necessary for making a people every way happy.

The time may, and I hope, will yet come, when God in his mercy, will open the eyes, and turn the hearts of those Nations to a sense of their duty, and not permit to be accomplished a person to be always unfortunate. But however it should please Providence to dispose of him, this I can assure you, and you may rely upon it, that as his right is indefeasible, he is firmly resolved, by the help of Almighty God, to assert it, when ever he finds a fit opportunity, and never to depart from it but with his life.

(1) This appears from the following journal of their proceedings published at *Edinburgh*.

Feb. 22. The Royal *Anne Galley*, *Pearl*, *Port-mahon*, *Deal-Castle*, and *Phoenix* are returned from cruising. It appears from the journal of Captain *Stewart*, that he had intelligence early of the Pretender's having put to sea from *Montrose* in a clean tallowed French Snow, which rowed out of the harbour, and close in a long shore, a good while with her sails furled.

The *Port-mahon* lay all that night within two leagues of the harbour's mouth; but it was so very dark, there was no seeing a ship at a quarter of a mile's distance. Captain *Stewart* and the *Pearl* were off *Aberdeen*; and when the rebels marched out of that town, having notice of their marching Northward, and that Lord *Timmouth* and others were contriving to make their escape from *Peterhead* or *Frazersburgh*, he immediately dispatched away the *Pearl* and *Phoenix* to lie off these places, which effectually disappointed them. He lay himself at *Aberdeen*, till the Duke of *Argyle* arrived there. The winds afterwards blowing hard Southerly, he disposed the ships mostly on the South-coast of the *Murray-Firth*; sent by the *Deal-castle* a letter to the Earl of *Sutherland*, to apprise him of the flight of the Rebels, and to prepare to receive them, in case they should make a push at *Inverness*; and traced Lord *Timmouth* and his Associates as far as *Port-Sary*; where seeing a

ship of war ready to intercept them, they despaired of success on the coast, and therefore they joined the Clans on the 10th instant, and took to the mountains. All the ships kept the sea diligently, when wind and weather would permit, and observed the motions of his Majesty's army so carefully, that the Duke of *Argyle* did not pass through any sea-port town without finding some ship ready to put in execution any service his Grace might have had to propose. On the 21st Sir *John Jennings* had advice from my Lord *Levon*, that a vessel with the Pretender's plate, and other effects on board, and a considerable sum of money for his use, had lately put into the *Levis*; and that many of the Chiefs of the Rebels were making off towards the *Isle of Skie*, and other North-West Islands: Whereupon he immediately ordered the *Drake-Sloop* thither, with instructions to cruise about the *Orkneys*, if the wind should then be contrary; and by express directed Captain *Stuart* of the *Aldborough* to dispatch the *Happy Sloop* thither, and to cruise himself with the *Lively* for fourteen days about the islands of *Islay*, *Mull*, and *Canna*, to endeavour to intercept the Rebels, or any vessels for their relief.

(2) The first memorial, dated in January 1715-16, was in the following terms:

The underwritten Earl of *Stair*, Minister of the King of Great-Britain at the Court of his most Christian Majesty, represents to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of France, that although his Royal Highness has several times assured the said Earl, that he would faithfully and punctually observe the treaty of peace concluded with Great-Britain at *Utrecht*, and that he would not suffer any arms, ammunition of war, officers, or soldiers, to sail from any harbour of France for the service of the Pretender; and that his Royal Highness had accordingly sent strict orders to all the harbours in the Kingdom for that purpose; it is nevertheless apparent, that things of this nature are daily embarked, and shipped off in the Ports of France, without any opposition on the part of the Officers commanding there. The late Duke of *Orleans* and the Pretender have frequently gone on board ships at *St. Malo* that were known to be laden with arms and ammunition for the service of the Pretender; and that with so little circumspection, that they have been attended with a whole troop of horse, with their officers of the regiment of *Nugent*, all of them in their regimental cloaths, arms, and accoutrements, without meeting with any opposition from the commanding Officers of the most Christian King at *St. Malo*. The Pretender finding it not advisable to venture to embark there, set out through *Normandy* to embark at *Dunkirk*; and the late Duke of *Orleans*, not finding it safe to land in England, returned to *Morlaix*. During his absence, his Royal Highness did the Earl of *Stair* the honour to tell him, that he would cause the said troopers of the regiment of *Nugent* to be punished as deserters, if they returned to France; and the Marshal *d'Uxelles* assured him, that he would cause them to be hanged. They are now returned, and have joined their regiments: The *Sieur Bofsch* and his company, the

1715. and being again arrived in *France* some days after the first memorial was delivered, the Earl of *Stair* presented a second, to prevent his or any of his Adherents being sheltered in that Court (1).

The Pretender, upon his return to *France* 1715. from *Scotland*, being persuaded, that the Lord Viscount *Bolingbroke* (who had entered into his service as Secretary of State to him, and continued

the arms and ammunition, which the late Duke of *Ormond* had with him for his enterprize, are still at *Morlaix*, and have been removed only from one ship to another. The commanding Officer is so far from commanding those arms to be stopped, that he refused to cause the ship to be searched, though he was desired to do so by Captain *Campbell*, Commander of the English man of war lying in *Morlaix*.

Several ships, with arms, ammunition, money, and officers for the service of the Pretender, are sailed, within these six weeks past, from *Dieppe* and *Havre de Grace*, which are actually arrived in *Scotland*. And lastly, a ship sailed the 17th of this month from *Havre de Grace*, in sight of an Officer of the King of *Great-Britain*, who having represented to the Marquis de *Roveray*, that there were twenty Officers, both at *Havre* and *Harfleur*, ready to go on board to follow the Pretender to *Scotland*; and desired the Marquis to give orders to prevent their embarkation, the Marquis answered, That what he said might possibly be true; but that he could not hinder the Officers from going on board, having no orders from Court to do so. The Earl of *Stair* has several times represented to his Royal Highness the Regent, and to the Marshal d'*Uxelles*, that several Generals, Colonels, and other Officers, who are actually in the service of *France*, designed to go over to *Scotland*, and join the Rebels, and even has given a list of them to the Marshal; which Generals, Colonels, and Officers are still at *Boulogne*, *Calais*, *Dunkirk*, and other places thereabouts, ready to embark for *Scotland*, having been detained only by the contrary winds and great frosts; the Commanders of the said places alledging, that they have no orders from Court to hinder the said Officers from embarking. The said Earl of *Stair* finds himself obliged to represent these things to his Royal Highness, that he may see, whether his orders have been punctually executed, and consider whether *Great-Britain* has reason to believe, that the treaty of *Utrecht* is faithfully executed. His Royal Highness is desired at the same time, to cast an eye on the said treaty. Furthermore, the said Earl of *Stair* finds himself obliged to notify to his Royal Highness, that the said late Duke of *Ormond*, and several other Conspirators against their King and Country, set out some days since towards *Bordeaux* and *Bayonne*; and that they have assembled on the coast of *Gascogne* a great quantity of arms and ammunition, with ships to make a descent (as the Court of *St. Germain*'s give out) in *Ireland*, and cause a Rebellion there, which that Court flatters themselves will not only be supported with money, but also with troops from *France*. The Earl of *Stair*, who has so ardently desired to establish and maintain a good, sincere friendship between the King his Master and his Royal Highness, finds himself very uneasy to have representations to make about matters of so great importance, which are of so nice a nature, and tend to alienate the affection of the two Nations from each other, and provoke them so far, that dismal consequences may ensue thereupon, if speedy care is not taken to prevent them.

(1) The second memorial ran thus:

The Earl of *Stair*, Minister of the King of *Great-Britain*, to his Most Christian Majesty, by express order from the King his Master, notifies to his Royal Highness, the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent of *France*, the flight of the Pretender, and the dispersion of the Rebels in *Scotland*; which his Majesty is persuaded will be very acceptable to his Royal Highness, by reason of their near relation, and the strict friendship which his Majesty has carefully cultivated with his Royal Highness.

The treaty of *Utrecht* being so lately concluded, the King thought himself sure, that his Royal Highness,

Regent, would have taken proper measures to hinder the Pretender from setting foot again in *France*. But since the Pretender has found means to return thither, his Majesty persuades himself that his Royal Highness will oblige him, as soon as he has notice of it, to quit the Kingdom.

His Royal Highness has too much reason and penetration, not to see the whole weight and justice of this demand. *Great-Britain* cannot be either safe or quiet so long as persons, who have conspired and undertaken with an armed force the ruin and subversion of their Country, are received and supported in its neighbourhood; nor can *France* itself be sure, that they shall not be again exposed to bear the blame of their evil practices.

The King of *Great-Britain* and the Nation thought themselves very safe on the side of *France* by the solemn treaty of *Utrecht*, which for ever excludes the Pretender from *France*, and obliges *France* to give him no succours, nor ships, nor arms, nor ammunition, nor money, nor officers, nor soldiers, nor councils, directly or indirectly. These Gentlemen came over, and demanded refuge and protection in *France*, where they are no sooner arrived, but, taking advantage of the convenience of the neighbourhood, and the facility of correspondence by letters, they plot and contrive a black and detestable Treason against their Country, which, upon the faith of the treaty, was disarmed and defenceless. And, notwithstanding the treaty, they find means to get entrance for the Pretender into *France*, and by their intrigues procure him ships, arms, ammunition, officers, soldiers and money; with which assistance the Pretender did actually invade *Britain*, where he occasioned infinite damage to the Nation.

His Royal Highness may imagine, whether *Great-Britain* can be easy in a situation so troublesome as they would find themselves in, having these Rebels in their neighbourhood, ready to carry fire and sword into the heart of their Country. In this situation, *Great-Britain* would be obliged to keep always in arms, tormented with continual suspicions and inquietudes; a condition much worse than an open war. For a people, which love to live in peace with all their neighbours, and is jealous of the preservation of their laws and liberties, his Royal Highness may see by the unanimous addresses of both houses of Parliament to the King, with what an eye the Nation beholds this boisterous and unsettled situation. The King hath the happiness of his subjects too much at heart, not to come with eagerness into their sentiments and interests; and he flatters himself, that upon this account his Royal Highness will not refuse him so just a proof of his friendship, and of the desire he hath to maintain a good understanding between the two nations.

For the same reasons, the King of *Great-Britain* hopes, that his Royal Highness will be pleased to join effectual instances with those of his Majesty, to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to the end the said Duke may not permit the Pretender to return into his Dominions.

The Earl of *Stair* is ordered likewise to put his Royal Highness in mind of the Declaration he made, that the Officers in the service of *France*, who should follow the Pretender in the Invasion of *Great-Britain*, should be broke; and the King is persuaded, that his Royal Highness will not suffer the general Officers, Colonels, and others, who have followed the Pretender in the Rebellion, ever to be employed again in the service of *France*; and that if it happen, that some of the said Officers should return, or be already returned into *France*, his Royal Highness will punish them in such a manner, that it may appear his Royal Highness and this Government do loudly disapprove of their proceeding, formally contrary to the treaty of *Utrecht*.

1715. nued in *France*, in order to send supplies to him into *Scotland*, had been faulty in the execution of his office, sent the Duke of *Ormond* to him for the Seals, and removed him from all employments under him. This occasioned a controversy (under his direction) by letters between his Secretary *Mr. Brinlden*, and *Mr. James Murray*, afterwards made Earl of *Dunbar* by the Pretender (1).

The death
of Lewis
XIV.

During these proceedings, *Lewis XIV.* of *France* died at *Versailles* on the 1st of *September*, *N. S.* 1715, in the 77th year of his age almost completed (having been born on the 5th of *September*, 1638) and in the 73d year of his *Reign*, which began *May* 14, 1643. His death produced a sort of Revolution in the Government of *France*. The King, by his will, had placed the Administration of the Government in a Council, of which the Duke of *Orleans* was

chief. But the Duke was not, by his authority, to decree any thing, or issue any order in the name of the Minor, without the advice and consent of the Council. The day after the King's death the Duke of *Orleans* (attended as the Kings of *France* usually are on the like occasions) came to the Parliament of *Paris*, and, after the King's will was opened and read, complained of a disposition so contrary to the laws of the Realm, and so prejudicial to his right. He therefore moved, that the will should not be registered, but that the Parliament should adjudge the Regency to him without any restriction. They immediately complied with his motion, and adjudged the Regency to him, with power to nominate such subordinate Councils for preparing all things to be laid before him, as he should think fit. *Lewis XIV.* was succeeded by his Great Grandson *Lewis XV.* son of the Duke of

1715.
The Duke
of Orleans
made Re-
gent.

To the end there may be no mistake in so nice and important a matter, the Earl of *Stair* hath orders to demand an answer in writing to his memorial, which he is earnestly desirous may be such, as may contribute towards the restoring of a good understanding between the two Nations.'

The Regent's answer to this memorial was as follows:

'His Royal Highness, being unfeignedly desirous of advancing the glory and prosperity of the King of *Great Britain*, heard with so much the greater pleasure of the success of his arms in *Scotland*, because at the same time that this event secures the tranquility of the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, it will put a stop to the false reports that have been spread without foundation by the enemies of the public peace, with design to alter the truth and friendship, which the King is desirous to preserve with the King of *Great Britain*, and which hath always been one of the principal objects of his Royal Highness's views. And as he will punctually fulfil the treaty of *Utrecht*, he hath already employed the authority he is intrusted with to make the *Chevalier de St. George* depart the Kingdom, and will continue to make use of the same authority to oppose his coming into it again at any time, or under any pretence whatsoever.

As for the fugitives, who are come into this Kingdom from *England*, or who may hereafter come over, though no body is ignorant what the laws of refuge are in foreign States, His Royal Highness being desirous to convince the King of *Great-Britain* how far the King is from suffering any person whatsoever to abuse the sanctuary of his Kingdom, as to maintain in *Great-Britain* an intelligence capable of disturbing her tranquillity, he will in concert with the King of *Great-Britain*, enter into any measures, which shall be thought proper for preventing such an abuse, and for keeping up a good understanding, by removing every occasion of distrust. And to shew besides how far his Majesty is from bearing with the rashness of those, who dare to act contrary to his intentions, he has caused the ordinances to be strictly executed against such of the Officers of his troops as went out of the Kingdom without his leave.

If it be true what the Earl of *Stair* says, that *England* was disarmed upon the faith of treaties, it is no less certain, that no person whatsoever can say with truth, that ever his Majesty had a mind to take that opportunity to disturb it, nor that he hath granted any favours to the *Chevalier de St. George*. It is well known on the contrary, that his Royal Highness hindered the suspected armaments and embarkations, when he had notice of them; and nothing better proves, that the *Chevalier de St. George* was not assisted by *France*, than the condition he was in in *Scotland*, destitute of all things necessary for such an enterprise.

His Majesty sees with pleasure the marks of a perfect intelligence between the King of *Great-Britain* and his Parliament, since this must be the most solid foundation of the glory of that Prince, and the happiness of his Subjects. His Royal Highness will always have a great concern therein. As he very truly desires to keep his *Britannic Majesty's* friendship, so he will omit nothing, that may shew him how glad he is of the testimonies he receives thereof; neither will he interpose, directly or indirectly, to hinder the Duke of *Lorraine* from granting upon the instances of the King of *Great Britain*, what he shall be pleased to ask of him with relation to the *Chevalier de St. George's* residence in his territories. And, as he hath a real concern for the satisfaction of his *Britannic Majesty*, he will see, with a great deal of pleasure, whatever may contribute towards it. But his Royal Highness is persuaded at the same time, that the King of *Great-Britain* will not desire him to take any measures with a Prince, over whom the King hath no authority, which cannot be grounded on any solid foundation, and which would add nothing to the rendering effectual the powerful instances of his *Britannic Majesty*. An answer conceived in terms so plain and particular, ought to evince to all mankind, what are the true intentions of the King; and leaves no manner of doubt or obscurity in relation to the sincere desire his Royal Highness has always had carefully to preserve the amity of the King of *Great-Britain*, and to contribute in whatever depended upon the authority he is intrusted with, to the establishment and preservation of a good correspondence and perfect friendship between the King and that of *England*.'

(1) These letters were printed at *London*, 1735, in 8vo. but immediately suppressed. As they contain several curious particulars, it may not be improper to insert them at large with the prefixed charge against the Lord *Bolingbroke*, sent from *London*, *March* 16, 1716, by the Agents of the Pretender, in relation to the affairs of *Scotland* during the Rebellion of the late Earl of *Mar*, as contained in the following letters between his Lordship's Secretary, and *Mr. Murray*. By the afterism [*] is to be understood the Pretender.

The articles against Lord *Bolingbroke* are as follow:

I. Lord *Bolingbroke* was never to be found by those, who came to him about business. If by chance, or stratagem, they got hold of him, he affected being in a hurry, and, by putting them off till another time, still avoided giving them any answer.

II. The Earl of *Mar*, by six different messengers, at different times, acquainted Lord *Bolingbroke*, before the * came from *Dunkirk*, of his being in distress for want of arms and ammunition, and prayed a speedy relief; and though the things demanded were in my Lord's power, there was not so much as one pound of powder

1715. of *Burgundy* who was Dauphin after the death of his Father) and of *Maria Adelaïda of Savoy*. *Lewis XV.* was born the 15th of *February* 1710, and was between five and six years old when his Great Grandfather died. He was the third successive Minor that came to the Crown of *France*, since the death of *Henry IV.*

The Duke Regent was Son of the Duke of *Orleans*, brother of *Lewis XIV.* and was then in the 41st year of his age. He was married, in 1692, to one of the late King's natural Daughters.

He began his Regency with an act of justice and prudence. The edicts of the Kings of *France* formerly had not the sanction of laws, before they were registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, whose undoubted right it was to examine them; and in case they contained any thing against the laws of the Realm, to remonstrate against them. But the late King had deprived the Parliament of that liberty in the year 1667, since which time they had been compelled to register all his edicts, without being permitted to make any representation against them. The Regent restored this privilege to them by an edict, which was registered a few days after the King's death. At the same time he caused to be registered a declaration, containing a

scheme of Government to be observed in the Kingdom during the King's minority. Pursuant to which he named, besides the Council of Regency, six other Councils, and, by that means, a new way of Administration in the Government was introduced.

By the death of *Lewis XIV.* the affairs between *Great-Britain* and *France* stood upon a very different foot than before. The Regent by virtue of King *Philip's* renunciation, and the death of all the Princes in *France*, sprung from *Lewis XIV.* was become next heir to the minor King, and consequently it was his interest to cultivate the friendship of such States as were likely to support his title against the King of *Spain*, and particularly of *England*. It was his business to seek all means for weakening the only Prince in the world, that had any right to dispute his Succession, or oppose his views. Hence his Accession to the quadruple Alliance; his promoting, or at least conniving at the destruction of the growing naval power of *Spain* in 1718; his stipulation in favour of *Don Carlos*, in order not only to divert *Spain* from forming designs against his power in *France*, but to weaken *Spain* by increasing her expences. To these measures, the Regent was carried, in order to divert and weaken King *Philip*, and King
George

powder sent in any of the ships which by his Lordship's direction parted from *France*.

III. The * himself, after his arrival, sent General *Hamilton* to inform him, that his want of arms and ammunition was such, that he should be obliged to leave *Scotland*, unless he received a speedy supply. Lord *Bolingbroke* amused Mr. *Hamilton* twelve days together, and did not introduce him to any of the French Ministers, though he was referred to them for a particular account of affairs, or in all that time so much as communicated his letter to the Queen or any body else.

IV. The Count de *Castel Blanco* had for several months at *Havre* a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition, and did daily ask his Lordship's orders how to dispose of them, but could never get any, even to the hour the * landed in *France*.

V. The *'s friends at the French Court had, for some time past, no very good opinion of his Lordship's integrity, and a very bad one of his discretion.

VI. For at a time, when many Merchants in *France* would have carried privately any quantity of arms and ammunition into *Scotland*, my Lord desired a public order of the Regent for the embarkation; which, being a thing not to be granted, is said to have been done, in order to beg a denial.

VII. The * wrote to his Lordship by every occasion, after his arrival in *Scotland*; and, though there were many opportunities of writing in return, yet from the time he landed there, to the day he left it, he never received one letter from his Lordship.

The Lord *Bolingbroke*, in his first letter, after he received these articles, wrote as follows:

'The * and Earl of *Mar*, and the others, who came from *Scotland*, are so much in want of any excuse for their flight, that they have thought fit to have my Lord *Bolingbroke* discharged the *'s service in the most abrupt and injurious manner, under the pretence, that the want of powder, which he delayed to send, forced them to abandon *Scotland*. His Lordship says, publicly, 1. That he is able to prove, that, if they wanted powder, it was not by his fault. 2. That, according to what the * and Earl of *Mar* both say in their letters, they must have come away as they did, had they had all the powder in *France*. 3. That, if they had pleaded to have staid in *Scotland* a few days longer, they would have received near ten thousand

arms, and above thirty thousand weight of powder, and other Stores in proportion. And, lastly, That the true reason flows from another source, and that he knew and spoke of the design to inform him, long before the want of powder was so much as talked of. That he is unwilling to enter into the particulars of those general heads for reasons that may be easily guessed, since he is persuaded, that he shall neither pass for a Driveller nor Traitor among his friends.'

The second letter was wrote by Lord *Bolingbroke's* Secretary in the following terms:

April 4, 1716.

I have communicated to his Lordship what you wrote to me; and it is by his Lordship's order, that I give you the following answer:

The charge that you have sent over, is so full of improbable lies, that his Lordship can hardly imagine it can have any other effect, but the shame and confusion of those that brought it; which is the effect of that villainous and ungrateful treatment, that those people have given, and my Lord has met with in that Country, where they are equally despised for their folly, and detested for their immorality, by all the people of consideration.

My Lord has hitherto had two other reasons for his silence.

The first is, That he cannot very fully explain the articles of his not sending arms and ammunition into *Scotland*, without betraying the secret of those, by whom he has been trusted, and under whose protection he lives.

And the second is, That he cannot give the true reason of the ill usage he has received, without exposing some characters in such a light, as will shock every body. However, you shall have as much as can be at present given of the state of things on this side of the water; of the method *English* business is put into; and of the hands that are trusted with it. After which you will pity my Lord, and not blame him.

When he returned last Summer out of *Dauphine*, and at the desire of his friends engaged in this business, he found himself immediately exposed to a daily struggle with difficulties of three sorts. The first arising from the rivetted prejudices of one person. The second, from the impossibility of keeping the Queen, and the

1715. George undoubtedly went into all his ambitious views, as the only means to retrieve the fatal mistakes of the treaty of *Utrecht*. But the fruits of all these proceedings were entirely lost by the death of the Regent, and the birth of a Dauphin, and instead of facilitating the Succession of the House of *Orleans*, and thereby dividing the House of *Bourbon* for ever, they proved the foundation of all the expensive disputes, which subsisted many years between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, as will appear in the course of the History.

Proceedings of the Irish Parliament.

A Parliament having been called in *Ireland*, and the Duke of *Grafton* and the Earl of *Galway* (who had been appointed Lords Justices upon the Earl of *Sunderland's* resignation of the post of Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom) being arrived at *Dublin*, the two Houses met there on the 12th of *November*, and Mr. *Connolly* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. The Peers began with a bill for recognizing the King's title to the Crown, and the Commons with several bills for the further security of his Person and Government; namely, a bill to attain the Pretender and give a reward of fifty thousand pounds for his head; and for attaining the Duke of *Ormond*, giving the Crown his cf-

tate, and ten thousand pounds reward upon his head.

These bills were followed by a retropect upon the Councils of the late Reign; and a resolution was unanimously passed against those, who advised the Queen to prorogue the late Parliament, at a time when a bill to attain the Pretender was depending; and they were voted to be enemies to the Succession, and favourers of the Pretender and Popery. They proceeded in the next place, to bring in a bill to prevent tumults, rebellious and riotous assemblies. All these bills, together with the Supplies demanded, went through the houses in the usual forms, without the least opposition; and, being ratified in *Ireland*, received the Royal Assent. But they did not end here: For, on the 17th of *November*, the Commons, while the public accounts which were ordered to be laid before them, were preparing, entered into an inquiry, which brought a great many of their Members on their knees. The last House of Commons, in the Queen's time, had addressed her against Sir *Constantine Phipps*, at that time Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, and one of the Lords Justices of the Kingdom, desiring her to remove him from his employments. But, as this address seemed not to be very

whole rabble of the Court of *St. Germain's*, from meddling in business. And the third, from the cabals of *French* and *English*, men, women and children, people for the most part of no name in the world, or else of very bad characters, who had been let into the most secret parts of business, and expected to continue so.

To get over the first of these difficulties, my Lord saw would be the work of time; but he saw likewise, as the later it was begun, the harder it would prove; and that any yielding to those prejudices, increased and strengthened them. He therefore began upon the first, and continued upon every occasion to combat them with great decency, but with great firmness, contrary indeed to the opinion of others, who imagine it will be time enough to talk of those things, when his Lordship thinks it will be too late.

As to the people of the Court of *St. Germain's*, my Lord knew enough of *England*, and *France* too, to know they would be a load upon business, but no help to it. In *England* they are odious, and in *France* in contempt. The first is not very strange; for you may depend upon it, that twenty-eight years experience had not made them wiser in any degree. And the latter is so true, that my Lord affirms, that he never yet spoke of *English* business to any man of figure on this side the water; but, before he would give any answer, he excused, that the Court of *St. Germain's* (no one person excepted) should not know any thing of it.

With this set of people, and a whole tribe of *Jesuits*, my Lord therefore avoided all sorts of commerce before the Duke of *Ormond* arrived. He would not so much as see any of them, before his Grace came, and thought fit to open his door to them. My Lord could no longer avoid seeing them; but he never would enter into any familiarity with them. He chose three or four persons of sense and activity. Some of them were Protestants, and others were very indifferent Roman Catholics. Those he employed were as many as he wanted. During the time that my Lord, much against his will, was obliged to reside at *St. Germain's*, he observed the same conduct, and never associated with any one man there but the Duke of *Berwick*, who is not to be reckoned of the Court, though he has lodgings in the house, who has a hundred times more capacity and credit than all the rest put together, in concert with whom my Lord all along acted, and by whose judgment he is willing to stand or fall.

With the other cabal of people, that I mentioned in

the third place, my Lord had at first some little communication, for he was thrown into their hands; but as soon as he knew their persons, and informed himself of their characters, he broke all measures with them, and the rather as they were made use of as people, who intended to do nothing, only to amuse those on this side the water, and by that means our friends on the other side: And for this use they were indeed very proper, since they are so inconsiderable, that they may be at any time disavowed, without the least consequence.

But the thing, that principally shocked my Lord, was to find the source of all business, and even the heads of the best and dearest friends, trusted to the keeping of a multitude of people, some of whom, both men and women of the vilest characters.

The third letter was as follows:

April 8, N. S. 1716.

It is easy to imagine all those nests of hornets flew about my Lord's ears immediately, and that with the greater spirit, because the Duke of *Ormond* observed a quite contrary conduct. It was more than six weeks before the return out of *Scotland*, and consequently long before the six articles mentioned in your letter were prepared, or any other of the pretences against my Lord invented, that we knew of the union of the several cabals in order to get rid of him; and that he spoke to several of his acquaintance of it. He was not much concerned at it, being from the first resolved to serve upon a Protestant and English bottom, or not to serve at all; and he confesses, that he did not imagine, that the Duke of *Ormond*, for whom he has always had a very particular respect, would ever have been drawn in to put himself at the head of a party on this side the water, and indirectly (for he is far from designing any such thing) to do the work of the factions above-mentioned. My Lord knew indeed, and knew with great sorrow, that his Grace gave too much ear to them, and suffered the stories they had told him, to make so great an impression upon him.

When the resolution was taken of leaving *Scotland*, and the principal persons returned hither, it was judged a proper time to make the utmost effort against my Lord; and perhaps there were people, who thought that the loading of him would excuse the precipitation wherewith *Scotland* was abandoned, if that precipitation needed any excuse. Then were these articles against

1715. very acceptable to the Queen, or to the coun-
fells of that Reign, there were many counter-
addresses procured, and sent up from the several
Counties and Towns in *Ireland*, in favour of
Sir *Constantine*, desiring he might not be re-
moved, notwithstanding the address of the Com-
mons. This the House esteemed a breach of
the privilege of Parliament, and resolved to shew
their resentment against these Addressers, espe-
cially such as were Members of the sitting Par-
liament. Accordingly, they appointed a Com-
mittee to inquire who had signed these addresses,
and many were censured or brought to acknow-
ledgment upon that account. Then they ad-
dressed the Lords Justices for a proclamation a-
gainst the Popish inhabitants of *Limerick* and
Galway, who, presuming upon the construction
they thought fit to put upon the articles of ca-
pitation made with King *William*, for the sur-
render of those places, had claimed an exemp-
tion from the penalties and process upon the
other laws against Papists. Upon complaint
whereof to the house, this address was founded.

Whilst the bills were sent to *England* to be
ratified, the Parliament adjourned to the 6th of
January. Upon their meeting on that day, the
Lord Viscount *Dillon* came into the house of
Peers, and delivering his writ, took the oath of
allegiance; but, being asked, Whether he could
take the other oaths? He said, *He would con-*

der of it, and then withdrew. Upon this, the
Lords resolved, that no Peer should have Par-
liamentary privilege, till he had taken and sub-
scribed the other oaths in the act to prevent the
further growth of Popery. This done, the Lords
entered into an association to defend the King,
and the Protestant Succession; against the Pre-
tender, and all his open and secret Abettors. The
Commons likewise entered into the like associati-
on; and also resolved, That, whatever forces
the King should think fit to raise, or what ex-
pences he should think necessary for the defence
of the Kingdom, they would inable him to make
good the same. It was strongly reported, that
the day the association was brought into the
House of Peers, two Lords, one of whom was
the Earl of *Anglesey*, embarked for *England*, to
avoid signing it. The Archbishop of *Armagh*
and the Bishop of *Corke* refused also to sign.
Soon after the Commons resolved, That who-
ever advised the disbanding or breaking a great
part of the army, immediately after the unfea-
sonable prorogation of the late Parliament, when
a bill to attain the Pretender was under confide-
ration, were enemies to the Protestant Succes-
sion, and designed to bring in the Pretender
and Popery. After which it was voted, That
the Earl of *Anglesey* was one of the principal
Advisers to break the army, and prorogue the
late Parliament, and was therefore an enemy to
the

gainst my Lord formed, and false reasons invented,
where the true ones were not to be owned. My Lord
was discarded with all the circumstances of provoca-
tion possible; He was treated as far as it lay in the
power of those whom he served, with an affectation
of indignation and contempt: As soon as the step was
made, the tongue of every fellow, that could be en-
couraged to slander, was let loose.

Having thus given a general view of the state of
things on this side the water, and the true account
of the animosities against my Lord, I shall in very
few words, refute the six articles you sent me over.

That my Lord was seldom to be found with any
direct answer to their business, is true, if by people is
meant any such, as, in the former part of what I have
writ, are designed; if by people is meant any one
man, who could be of use, or was, or fit to be trust-
ed, the accusation is false. My Lord never looked
upon himself to be under any obligation of conversing,
in order to carry on business, with a set of people, a-
gainst whom he would have done his utmost to have shut
the door, if the business had gone prosperously on.

As to the second it is true, that my Lord *Mar* wrote
for arms, for ammunition, for money, for officers,
and last, for a body of troops; but, till the arrival
of Mr. *Hamilton*, my Lord did not understand there
was any particular want of powder, more than of
any other species. My Lord used his best endeavours
to procure all that was desired, as well as other assis-
tances, much more considerable, which had never been
asked for, or thought of, and which would have been
procured, had the business of *Scotland* kept alive a
little longer, and had other people done their part as
my Lord did his. Most of the vessels sent to *Scot-*
land were barks, fit only to carry passengers, and
not capable of transporting arms and ammunition. By
these conveyances however, several sums of money were
sent, and particularly sixty thousand livres in gold at
one time, of which so good care was taken, that
every farthing of it was lost: Arms and ammunition
were to be got but two ways. They were either to be
bought and sent into *Scotland*, or such quantities, as
had been before promised, were to be made use of.
That there was not one farthing to buy them with,
is so true, that my Lord may appeal to those of St.

Germain's, who had the management of the money,
upon this head. The little cash that was procured,
was either sent in specie to *Scotland*, or employed in
answering the bills that were constantly drawing
from the coasts. And besides, if money had not been
wanting, the necessary orders for buying, conveying
to the coasts, and imbarcking, could not have been
procured. My Lord imagines, when the Duke of
Ormond reflects, he cannot but be sensible of this
truth, since he cannot be ignorant, that a quantity
of arms, he thought himself sure of in *October*, were
in *February* still in the same place, and no nearer be-
ing sent than the first day. As for sending such arms
and stores as were already provided, my Lord knew
of but two parcels; one, and that a small one, might
have been in *Scotland* in *October* or *November*, had
the directions given by my Lord been pursued. Why
they were not, he will not say; but the fault is, that
those arms and stores are at this hour rotting in a ma-
gazine at *Morlaix*, where they have lain these five
months. As to the other parcel of arms and stores,
it is that which you call Count *Castel Blanco's*, and
contains a very large quantity of both. This *Castel Blanco*
is a Spaniard, who, by the merit of marrying Lord
Melfort's daughter, sets up for a manager of *English*
business. But that those arms and stores belonged to him,
is no more true, than that other report, equally current,
of his having advanced one million and seven hundred
thousand livres for the service of *England* and *Scotland*.
His name had indeed been made use of for buying those
arms and stores in the late King of *France's* time;
and his name was to be made use of again, if, at
last, on that pretence, the *French* King would let
them go; which is still a doubtful point; and to cover
them as arms and stores going for *Spain*, and intend-
ed for the *West-Indies*. It is silly to say, that orders
from my Lord were wanting to send them. These
orders could not have been of another kind; and such or-
ders could not be got sooner, or in any other manner
than they were got. This is a point my Lord cannot
speak plain upon; and it must therefore rest here,
whether this *Castel Blanco*, one Mr. *Franc*, and such
other meddling people, deserve the best credit. I
think it proper, however, to add, that in a fortnight's
time, after there was the least appearance of being able
to

1715. the King and Kingdom. This was followed with an address for the Earl's being removed from the King's Council and Service; which was complied with. The Lords Justices also thought fit, at that juncture, to secure several suspected persons, as the Earl of Antrim, the Earl of Westmeath, the Lord Nutterville, the Lord Calbir, the Lord Dillon, and some others, and then adjourned the two Houses to the 8th of March.

The Parliament met in England on the 9th of January, when the King made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE zeal and affection to my Government, and the vigilant care for the safety of the Nation, which you have shewn in your respective Counties, have not only fully answered my expectations, but give me assurances, that you are met together, resolved to act with a spirit becoming a time of common danger, and with such a vigour as will end in the confusion of all those, who have openly engaged in this Rebellion, and in the shame and reproach of such, as by secret and malicious insinuations have fomented, or, by an avowed indifference encouraged this traitorous enterprize.

"It is, I doubt not, a great satisfaction to you, to have observed, that the powers,

you intrusted me with for the preservation of the public safety, have been employed in the most proper and effectual manner, and made strictly subservient to those purposes only, for which you intended them. And you must have had the pleasure to reflect with me, that as the measures taken for our defence have been just and necessary; so it has pleased the Divine Providence to bless them with a series of suitable success. And I cannot but take this opportunity of doing justice to the officers and soldiers of the army, whose brave and faithful discharge of their duty, has disappointed our enemies, and contributed so much to the safety of the Nation.

"I did hope, that the detestable and preventing the designed insurrections in some parts of the Kingdom, and the defeating in others those, who had taken up arms against me, would have put an end to this Rebellion. But it is plain, that our enemies, animated by some secret hopes of assistance, are still endeavouring to support this desperate undertaking; and the Pretender, as I have reason to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

"It is however with pleasure I can acquaint you, that notwithstanding these intestine commotions, Great-Britain has, in some measure, recovered its influence and reputation abroad. The treaty for settling the barrier for the Netherlands is now fully concluded between

to send away the stores and ships, and all other measures necessary, were got ready and prepared, without any noise or the least suspicion, they might have been in Scotland, had they not been at last stopped by the French (which I still say is a doubtful point) in five or six days time, when my Lord Mar and his company from Scotland landed at Gravelin; from whence orders, as I afterwards heard, were sent to every place, to stop all manner of embarkation.

What is said under the second head, may serve as an answer to the fourth, as well as to the second letter.

As to the third article, upon General Hamilton's arrival, my Lord represented where it was proper, all that he brought by letter and by word of mouth, the very next morning. It is therefore a simple lie, and worthy of those, who scribble from this side of the water, to say, that General Hamilton was amused for twelve days, as if, during all that time, the purport of his message had been kept a secret. It is to be supposed, that the Regent's and the *s Ministers would not have conferred with a man of his circumstances, and who came on such an errand; but if supposing they had not these scruples, of what use was it for them to see him, when he could tell them nothing more than they knew already? But, be that as it will, I can assure you, that my Lord, if he could have given him the opportunity, would, which, it seems, so much weight is laid upon.

The fifth article of that letter contains the most impudent falsehood that ever was invented. Without money and the orders above said, no merchant could or would undertake to transport any quantity of arms or ammunition; and I am able to cite some very great bargains of this kind, which my Lord brought to bear, which failed at last for want of money, and the necessary countenance. The latter part of the article is an accusation of incredible weakness; my Lord is said to have insisted on a public order, and to have declined making use of private methods for the embarkation of arms and ammunition. I remember indeed, that when preparation was made for sending away the arms and ammunition from Haere, as if they were going for Spain, and a ship had been provided for that purpose by my Lord, which no man living suspected, he had the

greatest difficulties imaginable to keep these wife people from imbarcking part of the stores aboard a vessel, which every body knew to belong to the Chevalier. As to the sixth article, no body is better able to answer it than myself, since I entered all the letters which my Lord writ; and there was no less than five dispatched before Mr. Hamilton came into France, by whom my Lord received the first letter of business after the *s landing there. Some of those were lost at Sea, and the three last packets were brought back to my Lord, the Gentlemen, that carried them, being arrived too late in Scotland.

This, Sir, I give you by my Lord's direction. He ordered me to add, that he employed the utmost diligence he was master of; and he believes it sufficient to carry him through such work as he has been concerned in of late, since it carried him formerly through his business of another-guest sort. That he all along saw, there was nothing but mortification to be met with, and reputation to be lost, among the people with whom he had to do; and that it was impossible for a man to act upon the principles he brought out of England with him, and have kept his ground here. That he never had any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with my Lord Marlborough, or any man belonging to the Court of England, since he engaged in this business. That he defies his worst enemies to advance the least shadow of proof of any thing of this kind. That, as he was incapable of betraying a trust while it subsisted, so it is with the utmost reluctance, that, in his own justification, he is obliged to say what he has said; and that he shall be very sorry, if the same necessity oblige him to say more. That nothing shall ever oblige him to repair his fortune at the expence of betraying any man; but that, since he is treated in this violent manner, he thinks himself at liberty to give his friends a true state of the fact, and to declare, that he never will, upon any account, or upon any solicitation, serve the same people again: That he has withdrawn himself almost intirely from the world; and that in his retreat he shall heartily pray for the prosperity of his Friends and of his Country; and, without very much fear of what is to come, comfort himself with the testimony of a good conscience.

The

1715-16. " the Emperor and *States-General* under my guaranty. The King of *Spain* has agreed to a treaty, by which that valuable branch of our commerce will be delivered from the new impositions and hardships, to which it was subjected by the late treaties; and will stand settled for the future, on a foot more advantageous and certain than it ever did, in the most flourishing time of any of my Predecessors; and the treaty, for renewing all former Alliances between the Crown of *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, is brought very near to its conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I must rely on your affection to me, and your care and concern for the safety of the Nation, to grant me such Supplies, as may enable me to restore, and to secure the peace of the Kingdom; and I will order estimates of the necessary expences to be laid before you.

" Among the many unavoidable ill consequences of this Rebellion, none affects me more sensibly, than that extraordinary burden, which it has and must create to my faithful subjects. To ease them as far as lies in my power, I take this first opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the estates, that shall become forfeited to the Crown by this Rebellion, to be applied to-

wards defraying the extraordinary expence incurred on this occasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" It is matter of the greatest uneasiness to me; that the first years of my Reign, the whole course of which I wished to have transmitted to posterity, distinguished by the fair and endearing marks of peace and clemency, should be clouded and overcast by so unnatural a Rebellion; which, however impotent and unsuccessful a due care may render it in all other respects, does most sensibly afflict me, by the calamities it has brought on many of my faithful subjects, and by those indispensible returns of severity which their sufferings, and the public safety do most justly call for. Under this concern, my greatest comfort is, that I cannot reproach myself with having given the least provocation to that spirit of discontent and calumny, that has been let loose against me, or the least pretence for kindling the flame of this Rebellion.

" Let those, whose fatal counsels laid the foundation of all these mischiefs, and those, whose private discontents and disappointments disguised under false pretences, have betrayed great numbers of deluded people into their own destruction, answer for the miseries in which they have involved their fellow-subjects. I question not, but that, with the continuance of

The fourth letter was as follows:

Paris, April 14, 1716.

I hope you have received my last of the 9th instant, which, with my former, will give you a light into affairs here, and be an answer to the articles you sent. There are abundance of things more my Lord could say to clear himself, but he rather chuses to be silent.

Those on this side, who first raised the storm, begin to be sensible of their folly. My Lord all along has acted like a wife, prudent, and honest man: They quite the contrary. And would they have staid a very few days longer in *Scotland*, (which every body now agrees they might have done) they would have had such afflictions, which in all probability must have restored them.

There are many more circumstances, which I am not at liberty to mention. All is referred to, &c.

A reply to the foregoing letter:

S I R,

I had the favour of yours, and return you thanks for the copies you inclosed of the letters writ by the Lord *Bolingbroke's* orders, the first of which was without a date; the rest of the 4th, 8th and 18th of *April*. I was pleased to find the *'s conduct, in removing his Lordship, thoroughly cleared by the weakness of his defence. And when I read the scurrilous passages of his letters, as that he was turned out in the most abrupt and injurious manner, and had met with villainous and ungrateful treatment, I was filled with indignation to see the best of Princes insulted by an unworthy subject, a negligent Minister excusing his faults at the expence of his Master's honour, and wiping off his own guilt by throwing it on the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*, who had given such unquestionable proofs of their P—y and loyalty.

Though you desire a particular answer to his Lordship's letters, I am persuaded, that it is your opinion, that they do not deserve it. However, to gratify your

No. 88. VOL. IV.

curiosity, I will put his management of the *'s affairs in so true a light, as must convince every loyal subject of the necessity of displacing him.

His Lordship's letters are not calculated so much to clear himself, as to weaken the *'s interest in *England*, and to discourage all correspondence with him. He has given general answers to particular charges. There are evident marks of guilt and concern at the discovery of his actions in every line; and an innocent man with his Lordship's pen, could have made a more plausible defence. Before I enter into particulars, I cannot but observe, that his narrative of facts is as true as the accounts he gives of himself, that he was 'with-drawn from the world: That in this retreat he will heartily pray for the prosperity of his friends, and comfort himself with the testimony of a good conscience.' The goodness of his conscience will appear from the discharge of the trust reposed in him: And they, who are acquainted with his Lordship's character, must be surprized at his reflection on the immorality and bad characters of others.

The substance of his Lordship's apology for himself is, 'That, if they wanted arms and powder in *Scotland*, it was not his fault: That he had neither money to buy them with, nor could he obtain orders for imbarcking them. That without money, and the necessary orders to the Officers of the ports, no private Merchant could or would undertake to ship off any quantity. That the * and Duke of *Mar* say in their letters, they must have left *Scotland*, had they had all the arms and powder in *France*: And that, if they had staid a few days longer, they would have had ten thousand arms, thirty thousand weight of powder, and other stores in proportion.' And he modestly concludes, 'That he has all along acted like a prudent, honest, and wise man, and they (that is, the * and Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*) quite the contrary.'

There are other particulars observed by his Lordship, which shall be remarked in their proper place; and you may be assured, that I will give you an impartial narrative of facts: That I will mention nothing but what the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar* will attest upon

1715-16. " of God's blessing, who alone is able to form good out of evil, and with the cheerful assistance of my Parliament, we shall, in a short time, see this Rebellion end, not only in restoring the tranquillity of my Government, but in procuring a firm and lasting Establishment of that excellent Constitution in Church and State, which it was manifestly designed to subvert; and that this open and flagrant attempt in favour of Popery, will abolish all other distinctions among us, but of such as are zealous assertors of the Liberties of their Country, the present Establishment, and the Protestant Religion, and of such, as are endeavouring to subject the Nation to the revenge and tyranny of a Popish Pretender."

Proceedings of the Parliament.

The Lords and Commons presented severally very loyal addresses of thanks for this speech. The Commons declared, they thought themselves obliged, in justice to their injured Country, to prosecute, in the most vigorous and impartial manner, the Authors of those destructive counsels, which had drawn down these miseries upon the Nation. They began with expelling Mr. Forster, General of the Northumbrian Rebels, and after a remarkable speech, to shew the necessity of proceeding by way of impeachment, Mr. Lechmere impeached the Earl of Derwentwater of High-Treason, and undertook to make the impeachment good. Mr. Pulteney impeached the Lord Widdrington; Mr. Boscaawen, the

Earl of Nithisdale; Mr. Hampden, the Earl of Wintoun; the Lord Finch, the Earl of Carnwarth; the Earl of Hertford, Viscount Kenmare; and Mr. Wortley Montague, the Lord Nairn. Then Mr. Lechmere, and the rest, were ordered to carry up their several impeachments to the Lords; which being done, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles against the seven impeached Lords. Mr. Lechmere, Chairman of the Committee, in less than two hours reported, that the articles were drawn up: which being agreed to, were carried by him to the Lords the same day.

The next day, the impeached Lords were all brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where the articles of impeachment against them were read, and they were ordered to put in their answer on the 16th, and, upon their request, such persons, as they should think proper to assist them in their defence, were allowed to come to them.

The impeachments being lodged, the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, to continue the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act for six months longer; which was opposed by Mr. Shippen. He said, 'It invaded the most valuable right of *Englishmen*; encouraged malicious informations, and gave a handle to those in power to oppress innocent people.' Mr. Secretary Stanhope appealed to the whole House, Whether the King or his Ministry had made an ill or wanton use of the power which the Parliament

upon their honour: And if there wanted any additional proof, that the truth of every article might be confirmed by the testimony of several Gentlemen of probity, who were employed.

The printed letter from an Officer in the *'s army, after it had marched Northwards from *Aberdeen*, will inform you of the state of affairs in *Scotland*; and the extreme want they were in of arms and ammunition. The Duke of *Mar*, by six several expresses, solicited Lord *Bolingbroke* for an immediate supply. In all his letters he assures him, that numbers of men would join him, if he had arms for them; and that he wanted powder for the few arms that he had. His Lordship's excuse, that, till General *Hamilton's* arrival, he did not know, that there was a particular want of powder, more than of any other species, is false and frivolous; for the want of powder was specified in several letters; and his Lordship understands *English* too well not to know, that powder is principally intended by the word ammunition.

The want of money to provide arms is as groundless, as his other pretensions. For, though the * did not abound in money, there was always a sufficient sum for that service. Ten shillings is the price of a new musket, and, since the reduction of the troops in *France*, serviceable arms were to be had at 20 *d.* a piece; and his Lordship probably means such second hand arms by the great bargains he brought to bear, but failed for want of money.

His Lordship declines answering the charge of his infitting on a public order, and neglecting private methods of embarkation; and slides off into an idle story of a ship at *Hevre de Grace*, which, supposing it true, is nothing to the purpose. He knew, that a public order would not be granted; and he owns, that a connivance from the Officers might be depended upon; and therefore it may be presumed, that his conduct in this case was to amuse the *'s friends in *Scotland*, and cover his wilful neglect of them. His Lordship's first excuse, though not mentioned in any of his letters, for not sending arms, was, 'left the going of many ships through the channel should draw the attention of the enemy's fleet that way, and endanger the *'s pas-

sage.' But, what reason can be given why arms and ammunition were not sent in the ships, that went to *Scotland* before the *, or in those that followed him? Why some arms and powder were not put in every one of them that parted from *France*? And as a dozen ships arrived safe, they might have carried a sufficient supply of every thing that was wanting. The smallness of the ships is a poor plea; for, if they were fit to transport passengers, they might also have carried some powder, and some arms; and supposing they could not, why were such useless vessels provided for that service? Of what moment was it to send Officers to command men, who, as his Lordship knew, were neither furnished with powder nor arms? Besides, those ships, which arrived in *Scotland*, were each of them of sufficient bulk to carry arms and ammunition.

His Lordship appeals to the Duke of *Ormond* for the truth of a passage in his third letter, 'That a quantity of arms, which his Grace thought himself sure of in *October*, were in *February* still in the same place, and no nearer being sent than the first day; and that a small parcel might have been in *Scotland* in *October* or *November*, had the direction given by his Lordship been pursued; and that these arms and stores are now rotting in a magazine at *Morlaix*.' Though his Lordship pretends an unwillingness to mention where the fault of not sending this supply lay, he strongly intimates, that the Duke of *Ormond* was blameable in it; and with what sincerity that reflection on his Grace was made, will be best judged from a true account of the circumstances of that affair.

The ship laden with the arms above-mentioned arrived in the river of *Morlaix* the 24th of *December*, when the Duke of *Ormond* returned from his second attempt to land in *England*. *W—n*, the master of the vessel, said he was too deeply laden, and too small to undertake a voyage to *Scotland* in that rigorous season of the year. It was then resolved to put them on board of another ship, commanded by *H—s*, and the only vessel that could be procured in that port at that time. *H—s*'s ship was foul, and hauled ashore to be cleaned. His crew were afraid of being taken at sea, and on that account

continued,

1715-16. Parliament had thought fit to intrust his Majesty. And Mr. Hungerford himself owned *The Government had used that power with great moderation.* After which, the bill passed both Houses.

On the 16th of January a bill was brought in to attain the Earl of Mar, William Murray, commonly called Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, and John Drummond, commonly called Lord Drummond. The bill was prepared by Mr. Smith, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Lord Coningsby, and Mr. Lechmere, and had an easy passage through both houses.

On the 21st of January the King came to the House of Peers, and gave his assent to the *Act for continuing the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.* Then the Lord Chancellor read the following speech of his Majesty to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Had reason to believe, when I spoke last to you, that the Pretender was landed in Scotland. The accounts I have received since put it beyond all doubt, that he is heading the Rebellion there, and does assume the style and title of King of these Realms. His adherents do likewise confidently affirm, that assurances are given them of support from abroad. This Parliament hath on all occasions expressed so much duty to me, and so true a regard for the religious and civil rights of my people, that I am persuaded, this day

ring presumption of our enemies will heighten your just indignation against them, and begot such further resolutions, as, with the blessing of God, will enable me to defeat their attempts.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The most effectual way to put a speedy end to these troubles will be to make such a provision, as may discourage any foreign power from assisting the Rebels. I do therefore hope, that every sincere Protestant, and true Briton, will look upon the extraordinary expence, which a preparation may require, to be the best husbandry; since it will, in all human probability, prevent that desolation and those calamities, which would unavoidably ensue, if the Rebellion should be suffered to spread, and be supported by Popish forces from abroad.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The world must be convinced by all you have already done, that you have nothing but the honour and interest of your Country at heart: And, for my own part, I rely intirely upon you, and doubt not but you will take such resolutions at this juncture, as will be most for the present safety, and future ease of my people."

Both

mutinied, and most of them deserted; and while another crew was providing, on the 3d of January, the *Adventure*, and the *Charles-Galley*, two English men of war, came into the river, and anchored near her. Information was given to the Captains, that *H—'s* ship belonged to the *, and that *W—'n* was laden with arms for his Majesty's service. Whereupon *W—'s* vessel was unloaded in the night, and the arms were privately conveyed to a magazine. The two men of war remained in the river till the beginning of March; and it was impracticable for *H—'s* to sail while they were there, because out of the river is narrow, and it was impossible to pass the men of war unobserved, even in the night. In the mean time, the utmost endeavours were used to remedy this accident: It was resolved to carry the arms a few leagues by land, and an agreement was made for a ship, that lay out of the reach of the men of war to carry them to Scotland; but afterwards the owner's heart failed him, and he peremptorily refused to stand to the bargain. The truth of these particulars is attested by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and Captain Gamcock's journal; and when his Lordship recollects himself, he cannot be ignorant of them.

Thus you see the true reasons of the miscarriage of the supply, that the accidents could neither be prevented nor remedied; that this 'parcel of arms might have been in Scotland in October or November, if his directions had been pursued,' though these directions were dated from Paris the 16th of December, and the ships that were to carry them, arrived in the port the 24th: That his Lordship's exactness in other points may be judged of by this small instance; and that a mistake of two months in a fact of so late a date can hardly be excused as a failure in point of memory.

That ships might have been privately sent without a public order, is evident, because that quantity of arms, which Lord Bolingbroke lays were still rotting in a magazine at Morlaix, were sent by the * to Scotland soon after his return to France, and a month before the date of his Lordship's letter; and two other ships laden with arms and stores were also sent from another port.

And this was done at a time when the *'s affairs were desperate, and without the privacy and consent of the French Court.

In short, Lord Bolingbroke's defence on every particular of this head is weak and superficial. Several private Merchants would have supplied the * with arms, if they had been applied to by his Lordship. Neither the * nor the Duke of Mar affirm in their letters, that they must leave Scotland, though they had all the arms and ammunition of France. The eight thousand arms, &c. lying at Havre, would have been sent by a Gentleman, who was zealous for the *'s success, if he had not been amused for several months, and diverted from applying for an order, by his Lordship's saying, that he would obtain one: And the ten thousand arms, and the thirty thousand weight of powder, which he says would have been sent to Scotland, if they had staid a few days longer, were not procured by his Lordship, but by a Gentleman, who was sent by the * from Scotland, and who, being convinced of his Lordship's former neglects, applied for a supply of arms elsewhere, and upon his own credit obtained it.

About the same time the Duke of Ormond procured fifteen thousand arms with a proportionable quantity of ammunition without the privacy or assistance of the Lord Bolingbroke.

Another remarkable circumstance of his Lordship's conduct was, the variety of excuses he made to those Gentlemen, who came express from Scotland, for not sending arms and ammunition. In September and October he said he was providing them. In November, that the sending them through the channel would endanger the *'s passage: In December and January, that the Court of France would neither grant arms nor ammunition; and his Lordship had probably pretences in reserve for every month in the year. What reason then had his Majesty to expect a supply of arms after so many repeated delays? And with what injustice does his Lordship charge the * and the Duke of Mar with precipitation in leaving Scotland, when the necessity they were in of coming away was intirely occasioned by his neglect?

His

1715-16. Both Houses presented addresses to his Majesty; full of expressions of duty and affection, and the most hearty assurances of their assistance against the daring presumption of the Pretender and his Adherents.

The impeached Lords plead guilty.

The impeached Lords having, on the 16th of January, petitioned the House of Peers for longer time to put in their answers to the articles of impeachment; they were allowed time till Thursday the 19th, upon which day all of them, except the Earl of Wintoun (who upon his petition had till the 23d allowed him) were brought from the Tower to the bar of the House of Peers, where they severally pleaded guilty to the articles of their impeachment, but urged some things, by way of answer, to extenuate their guilt. The Earl of Derwentwater's answer was in writings, as were also the answers of the Lord Widdrington, and the Earl of Nithsdale. The answers of the Earl of Carnarvon and the Lord Kenmore were delivered *viva voce* ; and the Lord Nairn delivered in a petition to the Lords in writing. Having thus pleaded guilty, the 9th of February was appointed for their receiving sentence. Upon which day they were all brought to the bar of the Court erected in Westminster-Hall, and had sentence, as in case of High-Treason, pronounced against them by the Lord Chancellor Cowper, Lord High-Steward on that occasion.

They are condemned, Feb. 9.

The Commons having put the case of the Rebel Lords in a course of Justice, they turned their thoughts to the rest of the *Prætor* prison-

ers, who were brought up to London; and, to prevent the formality of sending them into *Lancashire* to be tried, they brought in a bill to remove those difficulties, which obstructed the course of justice; and, as this was only to be a temporary law, so the occasion was specified in the title, which was, *An Act for the speedy trial of such persons, as have levied war against his Majesty during the present Rebellion.*

About the same time Mr. Lechmere moved for an address to the King, for a proclamation, offering a general pardon to such as were yet in arms in Scotland, who should lay them down within a certain time, with such restrictions and limitations, as the King should think fit. This motion was strongly opposed by Mr. Pulteney, the Lord Coningsby, and some others, who represented the ill effects which such a proclamation might have both at home and abroad, in the present juncture of affairs. What had most weight in this debate was urged by Mr. Walpole, who contented himself with saying, he would not inquire into the reasons of this motion, but he had been offered sixty thousand pounds for the life of one single person. This gave Mr. Lechmere an occasion to vindicate his integrity and honest intentions; but finding, what he had proposed was not thought consistent with the King's and the Nation's service, he did not insist upon it. The next day, Major Stuart, Aid de Camp to the Duke of Argyle, and Captain Morton, Aid de Camp to General Cadogan, arrived at St. James's with advice, that the Rebels

His Lordship answers the articles of accusing General Hamilton by calling it a simple lie. Whether his Lordship represented the contents of his message, where it was proper, depends upon his own word. 'Tis probable, that the person hinted at by his Lordship would not have scrupled to have the state of affairs in Scotland from the mouth of one, who was so fully instructed in it; and that such an interview would have been attended with a good effect. And it may reasonably be inferred, that his Lordship was faulty in that case, because he did not communicate the *s letters, which that Gentleman brought, to the Queen or the Duke of Ormond, for several days after he had received them, though the * had commanded him to shew them to her Majesty; and before he went to Scotland, had given his Lordship positive instructions to act in concert with his Grace, and to communicate every particular of his affairs to him.

His Lordship endeavours to refute the charge of his being often denied to those, who came about business, with a groundless and malicious distinction; for he was seldom to be found by those who were sent by the Duke of Mar to him, by Officers of distinction, who daily pressed him to be dispatched to Scotland, and even by persons, whom he himself employed. And were it proper to mention names, particular instances might be given of his conduct in this point.

His Lordship, in what he falsely calls a general state of things on this side the water, has represented the Duke of Ormond in the blackest terms, that malice could devise, 'as an associate with a nest of hornets; as heading a faction composed of persons of the vilest characters, who are despised for their folly, and detested for their immorality'; and he qualifies this heavy charge with a profession of a very particular respect for his Grace, and by saying, 'that his Grace was drawn indirectly in to do the work of the faction here, and was far from designing any such thing.'

With what view this virulent slander on his Grace was framed, may be easily conjectured, and to beat down his Grace's reputation, if it were possible, would be acknowledged by the— as a considerable service to

him. His Grace's character is too well known in England to stand in need of a justification, and what Lord Bellingbrooke intended as a reflection on the Duke of Ormond will be acknowledged by every honest man here, that his Grace observed at Paris a quite contrary conduct from his Lordship. His Grace, it is true, opened his doors to every Gentleman, who came to wait upon him: He thought it was for the *s service to receive those persons with civility, who cheerfully offered to embark in it: That those Gentlemen, who were ready to hazard their lives in the same cause with his Grace, ought not to be treated with contempt: And that his Lordship's conduct was imprudent and unseemly.

The sincerity of his Lordship's profession of respect for the Duke of Ormond will appear from his behaviour to his Grace here; and you are not a stranger to the design, that was formed by his Lordship in July 1714, to set Lord Churchill at the head of the army. His Lordship laboured upon all occasions to vilify his Grace, and to paint him in the foulest colours to his Majesty. Upon his Grace's first expedition into England, he endeavoured to persuade a Gentleman, who had promised to accompany him, not to go; he told him, that the Duke of Ormond would certainly be never heard of more; and that it was a rash and foolish enterprise he was going upon: And by the discovery of his Grace's designs at that time, and his Lordship's conduct since, it may be presumed he had good reasons to be assured, that the attempt would miscarry.

When the Duke had returned from his second voyage to England, and waited on the coast of France, for another opportunity, Lord Bellingbrooke wrote to him to come nearer Paris, and promised to meet his Grace, in order to concert measures with him. His Grace complied with the proposal, named a place at twelve leagues distance from Paris, and was punctual to the time appointed. Lord Bellingbrooke came about ten days after: Instead of discoursing about business, he drank to excess, and early on the second day after his coming, he returned to Paris, without saying any thing to the purpose. Though his Grace had great reason to resent this,

1715-16. bels had abandoned *Perth*, and were flying before the King's forces: And therefore the publishing a proclamation for a general pardon, at such a juncture, would have shewed a weakness in the Government, and encouraged foreign powers to support the Rebels. About this time the Pretender sent a letter to the Lord-Mayor of London, with orders to proclaim him King of Great-Britain; which was communicated to the Secretary of State.

Mr. Baron *Bury*, Mr. Justice *Eyre*, and Mr. Baron *Mountague*, having been appointed to try the Rebels at *Liverpool*, there were a considerable number found guilty; and *Richard Shuttleworth* of *Presfon*, a Papist; *Roger Moncaster* of *Garfham*, an Attorney; *Thomas Cowpe*, *William Butler*, and *William Ackworth*, were executed at *Presfon*, on the 28th of January; and *John Rowbotham*, *James Blundel*, *James Burne*, *James Knub*, *William Whalley*, and *John Mac Gillivray*, were executed at *Wigan* on the 10th of February; *Richard Charley*, Esq; *James Drummond*, *William Black*, *Donald Macdonald*, *Rorie Kennedy*, and *John Ord*, executed at *Presfon* on the 9th of February; and *Thomas Sydal*, *William Harris*, *Stephen Seager*, *Joseph Porter*, and *John Finch*, executed at *Manchester* on the 11th of February.

About one thousand of the Rebel prisoners at *Lancaster*, *Liverpool*, and *Chester*, submitted to the King's mercy, and petitioned for transportation.

In the mean time, great solicitations were made with the Court, and with the Members of both Houses of Parliament, in behalf of the six condemned Lords, particularly in favour of the Earl of *Derwentwater*. On the 13th of February, the Counts of *Niubisdale* and the Lord *Nairn's* Lady, watching an opportunity, when the King went thro' the apartments of the palace at *St. James's*, behind a window-curtain, without being presented by the Lord of the Bed-chamber in waiting, as usual, on a sudden threw themselves at the King's feet, begging mercy for their husbands. This abrupt and irregular application could not but surprize the King, and those about him, and therefore proved as ineffectual as those which had been made in a more becoming and less artful manner. For, a few days after, a resolution was taken in Council, to cause the sentence passed on these Lords to be executed; for which purpose, the necessary warrants and orders were, on the 18th of February, sent, both to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to the Sheriffs of the City of London and *Middlesex*. The next morning, the Counts of *Derwentwater*, attended by her Sister, and accompanied by the Duchesses of *Cleveland* and *Bolton*, and several other Ladies of the first rank, was by the Dukes of *Richmond* and *St. Albans* introduced into the King's Bed-chamber, where she humbly implored his clemency for her unfortunate consort; and then withdrew.

It

this usage, he resolved at that juncture to submit to it, and complied with another proposal of his Lordship's to come to *Paris*, because that the thought, when he was in the same place with his Lordship, he could not easily find an opportunity to amuse him longer. His Grace, was for four days in *Paris*, before he had a visit from his Lordship, tho' he sent repeated messages to him. At length he came, when dinner was on the table. Before dinner was half done, he rose up hastily, and pretended urgent business to call him away. For some days after his Grace could not possibly find him out.

Can it be imagined, that such insolent treatment of his Grace could proceed from any person, who had not a quite different interest in view? And, as the Duke of *Ormond*, it was a stronger motive to induce his Majesty to remove him.

I am not surprized at the Lord *Bolingbroke's* appealing to the Duke of *Berwick*, and that he is willing to stand or fall by his judgment; for I believe that Duke will for the same reasons appeal to his Lordship to clear himself. No part of his behaviour is more wonderful than his sudden intimacy with the Duke of *Berwick*. He formerly mentioned, on all occasions, that Duke with disregard, and would neither allow him capacity for business nor credit. But, soon after his Grace had disobeyed his Sovereign's commands to go to *Scotland*, there became a close union betwixt them, which still continues, though the Duke had commanded his Lordship not to communicate any part of his business to him; And it may be observed, that his Lordship did not reside at *St. Germain's*, where he owns that he held the closest friendship, till two months after his Grace's refusal to go to *Scotland*. If his Grace had a hundred times more capacity and credit than the rest of the Duke's subjects in *France*, he has lost some part of his credit by his undutiful behaviour to his Royal Master; and a person, who refuses to serve in his province at a time when his service is required and wanted, may be reputed not to be of that Court, as his Lordship observes, though he has lodgings in it; and he should have added, that he had at that time a considerable pension from it. I am persuaded, his avarice, as he calls it, with the Duke of *Berwick* owes its original

No. 88. Vol. IV.

to another cause, than the opinion he had of his Grace's capacity; and that his Grace was the channel of correspondence betwixt his Lordship and a certain Lord in *England*. For though his Lordship denies his having any correspondence with him, or any of the Court of *England*, there are good reasons to suspect him of it, as the old intimacy between them; his Lordship's leaving *England* upon his advice; and the visit he paid him the evening before he left *London*; not to mention the sneaking letter, he sent from *France* to Mr. *Stanhope*: And even his Lordship qualifies the denial of such a correspondence, by saying, that he held none since he engaged in the Duke's business, which, by the way, was three months after his coming to *France*.

This correspondence with a person, who had upon several occasions betrayed the Church of *England*, and sacrificed his own Country to a foreign Prince, is a pregnant instance of his Lordship's resolution to serve the Duke upon a Protestant and *English* bottom, or not to serve at all.

His Lordship's assertion, 'That the source of all business, and the heads of his best friends, were trusted to the keeping of a multitude of people, some of whom were of the vilest characters,' is as groundless as his other calumnies; and it may be easily guessed for what end this slander was invented. And though his Lordship is pleased to charge others with want of secrecy, I can assure you, that in the midst of his wine he discovered secrets of the greatest importance to some of the very persons, whom he now represents in such black characters, and that they expressed a concern at his imprudence.

I am confident his Lordship's design to cut off all correspondence with the Duke's subjects at home will fail of success, when they consider they are in less danger by his removal; and that his Majesty has been pleased to chuse one in his stead, who is not only incapable of betraying a trust, while it subsists, as his Lordship speaks, but an inviolable observer of a trust for ever, and of tried prudence and secrecy in business.

His Lordship, to heighten the charge on the conduct of business, is here pleased to add, that it passes through the hands of a whole tribe of Jesuits, though his Lordship cannot be ignorant, that no person of

that

1715-16.

It is very probable, the Countess of *Derwentwater* received no favourable answer from the Court; for, on the 21st of *February*, she, with the Ladies of some other condemned Lords, and about twenty more of distinction, went to the Lobby of the House of Peers to beg their intercession: But the Lords did not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning, the Ladies in distress, with a still greater attendance than the day before, went to *Westminster*, to petition both Houses of Parliament, where, by this time, not a few Members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir *Richard Steele*, among the rest, offered one of these petitions, and made a long speech upon that subject, and was seconded by Mr. *Farrar*, Mr. *Shippen*, and some others; but they were opposed by all the leading Members of the prevailing side; and, though a great many, who used to vote with them, went over on this occasion to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the question put for adjourning to the 1st of *March*, the adjournment was carried by a majority of seven voices only, a hundred and sixty two, to a hundred and fifty-five.

The Ladies of the condemned Lords were more successful with the Peers than with the Commons. The Duke of *Richmond*, a near relation of the Earl of *Derwentwater*, and one of the Lords allowed by the House to assist him, could not refuse presenting a petition in his favour, but at the same time he declared, he would be against it. The Earl of *Derby*, out of pity for the numerous family of the Lord *Nairn*, charged himself with a petition in his behalf, as other Lords did upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The question be-

ing put, Whether these petitions should be received and read, there arose a great debate, in which the Lord *Townshend*, and several other Lords, who upon all occasions had given undoubted proofs of their affection to the present settlement, were against it, but the Earl of *Nottingham*, to their great surprize, declaring for it, his weight, as President of the Council, drew to that side several Peers; so the question was carried by nine or ten voices. After the reading of the petitions, the next question was, Whether, in the case of an impeachment, the King has any power to reprieve? This being also carried in the affirmative, the same was followed by a motion for an address, to desire the King to grant a reprieve to the Lords, who lay under sentence of death. This was opposed by the firmest friends of the Government; and even an Earl, who was for the two first questions, represented, 'That though clemency was one of the brightest virtues that adorn and support a Crown; yet, in his opinion, the same should be exercised with discretion, and only on proper objects.' And therefore moved, 'That they should address the King to reprieve such of the condemned Lords, as should deserve his mercy.' This, after some further debate, was carried. Then the Earl of *Stamford* moved, That the time of respite be left to the King, which was readily agreed to; and then the address with these amendments was carried by a majority of five voices only. To this address the King answered, 'That on this and all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his Crown, and the safety of his people.'

This wise and resolute answer proved, the next day

that order was ever employed in business by the * or Queen.

His Lordship's insinuation, of the riveted prejudices of one person, has the same malicious view; and tho' his Lordship affirms, that from the very first, he began to combat them with great decency and firmness, it is certain he never spoke of his having such a design, till a few days before the * had fixed his departure for *Britain*. And it must be owned, that several worthy men, who were then at *Paris*, thought it an improper time to press his Majesty on that head, when he had not leisure to inquire into it; and that his Lordship was not the most proper person to talk of religion.

Another slander, in his Lordship's letter, is, that he was * discarded with all the circumstances of provocation possible, and treated, as far as it lay in the power of those whom he served, with an affectation of indignation and contempt; for the * dismissed him by a letter, without assigning any reason for his pleasure, and commanded the Duke of *Ormond* to carry it. His Majesty, in tenderness to his Lordship, of whom he had once a good opinion, took this course; and, besides, he thought it below his Royal dignity to descend to a paper quarrel. And if his Lordship had followed the advice that was given him, to lie quiet, his Character would not so soon have been exposed in its true light.

I could give many other instances of his Lordship's neglect of the *'s business, at a time when he had the sole management of it; and to name but one: His Lordship for ten days neglected to send the Duke of *Mar*'s new commission, to command in *Scotland*, which was so much wanted, upon an idle pretence of sending a long and trifling memorial in cyphers along with it.

His Lordship's behaviour to his equals and inferiors was not only contemptuous, but his treatment of the Queen was insolent to the last degree. To insult Majesty in distress aggravates the crime; and such a carriage to the *'s mother is an evident proof of want of

duty to his Majesty. And though his Lordship's friends industriously reported, that he was dissuaded by her advice, and from thence drew malicious inferences; you may be assured, that it was the concurrent opinion of the Duke of *Ormond*, and all the *'s friends here, to displace him, and that her Majesty had no hand in his removal.

What the principles were, his Lordship says, he brought out of *England* with him, I don't know, having never had reason to believe, that he gave himself much trouble about any. That they were not the principles of the *Tories*, is plain, from his representation of that party to the *French* Court, and his expressions in conversation, that he never expected much good from the *Tories*.

His Lordship concludes, that there are abundance of things more, that he could say to clear himself, but, by the scurrility of his letters, it may be presumed, that he has omitted nothing, in tenderness to any person whatsoever. And the reason given for saying no more, that those on this side, who first began the storm, are sensible of their folly, is notoriously false. And, as his actions are better understood here, than they possibly can be on your side, every honest man in *France* is thoroughly convinced of his ill conduct, and that his Majesty had just and wise reasons to remove him.

This letter has swelled to a greater bulk than at first I imagined. Upon the whole, I leave you to judge, whether the *, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Mar*, or his Lordship, deserve most to be credited. And, if so many instances of his mismanagements have been proved, it may be concluded, they would appear more clearly, if it were reasonable to speak plain upon several of them. I have avoided all unnecessary bitterness of expression against his Lordship, and the least imputation of flattery to others; and I shall embrace every opportunity of shewing you, that I am, &c.

1715-16. day, a great mortification to the Jacobite and discontented party, who were extremely elated by the inclinations to mercy, which appeared in both Houses, and which occasioned various reflections. Whatever was the secret spring of these inclinations, it is certain, that in the Council, held the same evening, about the execution of the condemned Lords, there was a contest between the Earl of Nottingham and some other Lords; and, four days after, that Earl was removed from being President of the Council, the Earl of Aylesford, his brother, from being Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; the Lord Finch, son to that Earl of Nottingham, from being one of the Lords of the Treasury; and the Lord Guernsey, his cousin-german, from being Master of the Jewel-Office. This change however sudden, was not unforeseen by men of observation; and it justified Mr. Hampden's reflection, not many days before, in the House of Commons, on a *Motley or mixed Ministry*.

The Earl of Nottingham and Aylesford removed.

Three Lords ordered to be executed, and three reprieved, Feb. 23.

Derwentwater and Kenmure executed, Feb. 24.

Pursuant to the resolution taken in the Council, orders were dispatched for executing the next morning, the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithisdale, and the Lord Kenmure; and for respiting the Lord Widdrington, the Earl of Carnwarth, and the Lord Nairn, till the 7th of March. The same evening the Earl of Nithisdale found means to make his escape out of the Tower in a woman's apparel brought to him by his mother who came to visit him with some relations. The next morning, early, three detachments of the guards took their several posts round the scaffold erected on Tower hill, and, a little before ten o'clock, the Earl of Derwentwater and the Lord Kenmure were carried in a hackney coach from the Tower to the Transport-Office, on Tower-hill, where there was a room hung with black for their reception. From this room to the scaffold (which was also covered with black) there was a passage or gallery railed in. The Earl of Derwentwater was first led to the scaffold; and it was observed, that in his going thither, and ascending the steps, his countenance appeared very pale. But, after he had been a few minutes on the scaffold, his behaviour appeared resolute and sedate. Having spent some time in prayer with a book, he then addressed himself to the Sheriff, and desired, he might have liberty to read a paper, which he had drawn up. This request being readily granted, he went to the rails of the scaffold, and read what follows:

“ Being in a few minutes to appear before the Tribunal of God, where, though most unworthy, I hope to find mercy, which I have not found from men now in power; I have endeavoured to make my peace with his Divine Majesty, by most humbly begging pardon for all the sins of my life: And I doubt not of a merciful forgiveness, through the merits of the passion and death of my Saviour Jesus Christ; for which end I earnestly desire the prayers of all good Christians.

After this, I am to ask pardon of those, whom I might have scandalized by pleading guilty at my trial. Such, as were permitted to come to me, told me, that having been undeniably in arms, pleading guilty was but the consequence of having submitted to mercy; and many arguments were used to prove there was nothing of moment in so doing; among others, the universal practice of signing leases, whereof the

preambles run in the name of the person in possession.

But I am sensible that in this I have made bold with my loyalty, having never any other but King James the Third, for my rightful and lawful Sovereign. Him I had an inclination to serve from my infancy, and was moved thereto by a natural love I had to his person, knowing him to be capable of making his people happy. And, though he had been of a different Religion from mine, I should have done for him all that lay in my power, as my ancestors have done for his predecessors, being thereunto bound by the laws of God and Man.

Wherefore, if in this affair I have acted rashly, it ought not to affect the innocent. I intended to wrong no body, but to serve my King and Country, and that without self interest; hoping, by the example I gave, to have induced others to do their duty; and God, who sees the secrets of my heart, knows I speak truth. Some means have been proposed to me for saving my life, which I looked upon as inconsistent with honour and conscience, and therefore I rejected them; for with God's assistance, I shall prefer any death to the doing a base unworthy action. I only wish now, that the laying down my life might contribute to the service of my King and Country, and the re-establishment of the antient and fundamental Constitution of these Kingdoms; without which no lasting peace or true happiness can attend them. Then I should indeed part with my life, even with pleasure. As it is, I can only pray, that these blessings may be bestowed upon my dear Country; and, since I can do no more, I beseech God to accept of my life as a small sacrifice towards it.

I die a Roman Catholic. I am in perfect charity with all the world, I thank God for it, even with those of the present Government, who are most instrumental in my death. I freely forgive such as ungenerously reported false things of me; and I hope to be forgiven the trespasses of my youth, by the Father of infinite Majesty, into whose hands I commend my soul.

J. A. DERWENTWATER.

P. S. If that Prince, who now governs, had given me my life, I should have thought myself obliged never more to have taken up arms against him.*

After the reading of this paper, he delivered it to the Sheriff, telling him he might do with it as he pleased; and that he had given a copy of it to a friend. Then turning to the block, he viewed it close, and finding in it a rough place, that might offend his neck, he bid the executioner chip it off; which uncommon presence of mind was observed with admiration by some of the standers-by. Having prepared himself for the blow, by taking off his coat and waistcoat, he laid down to fit his head to the block, telling the executioner, that the sign he should give him was, *Lord Jesus receive my soul*; and, at the third time repeating it, he was to do his office; which he did at one blow. It was reported, that, the night before, the Earl of Derwentwater having sent for Mr. Stephen Roome, an undertaker for funerals, and discoursing with him about his own; he told him, he would

1715-16. would have a silver plate upon his coffin, with an inscription importing, *That he died a sacrifice for his lawful Sovereign*; but, Mr. Roome, scrupling to comply with it, he was dismissed. This was the reason, no hearse was provided for him at his execution; so that his head was only taken up by one of his servants, and put into a clean handkerchief; and, the body being wrapped in black cloth, they were both together carried to the Tower.

Soon after the Lord Kenmore was brought to the scaffold in the same manner, accompanied by his Son, and some Friends, and attended by two Clergymen of the Church of England. He shewed a great resolution and firmness in his gate and countenance, though some nice observers pretended he was not so calm within as the Earl of Derwentwater; which however was contradicted by others. On the scaffold he said, 'He had so little thoughts of dying so soon, that he had not provided a black suit, that he might have died with the more decency; for which he was sorry.' He appeared very sincere and fervent in his devotions, often lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven; but (contrary to what he had declared in his speech to the Lords, when judgment was pronounced against him) he prayed for the Pretender, and repented of his having pleaded guilty. He embraced and kissed very tenderly most of the Officers and Gentlemen on the scaffold, and his Son and some Friends twice of thrice. He had with him Mr. Roome the Undertaker, who was to take care of his body, and a Surgeon, who was to direct the Executioner in doing his office. Having prepared for the block, he laid down his head upon it, then raised it up again, still continuing on his knees; gave the executioner some money, and told him, 'He should give him no sign, but, when he laid his head down again, he might do his work as he saw good.' Then, having lifted up his hands in prayer a short time longer, he laid down his head again, which the executioner severed at two blows. Both the head and body were put into a coffin, and conveyed in a hearse to Mr. Roome's, where

they were embalmed, in order to be sent into Scotland, and buried with his ancestors. He neither made nor delivered any speech on the scaffold; but in a letter found after his execution, which he wrote to the Pretender, (by the title of King James) he declared, 'That he died for his faithful services to his Majesty, but hoped the cause he died for would thrive and flourish after his death: And as he suffered for his service, he hoped his Majesty would provide for his wife and children, who were in a miserable condition.'

On the 15th of March, the Earl of Win-The Earl of Win-toun's trial came on. The long trouble and de-toun can domed. lay he had occasioned by petitions for time, upon the pretence of witnesses being on the road, made people expect, that a considerable defence would be made, and something very particular be urged in his behalf, either by himself, or his Council; but they were surprized; that when he came to the bar, and the Managers of the House of Commons had spent two days in opening and enforcing the articles against him, and replying to what was offered, his answers were so weak, and what his Council had to offer so trifling, that it could not be called a defence. This gave some confirmation to what had been suggested, that he was a lunatic. However, the Lords were unanimous in their judgment, and brought him in guilty; and, on the 19th of March, judgment was pronounced against him by the Lord-Chancellor Cowper, Lord High-Steward upon this occasion.

Two days after, the King having received advice of the Pretender's flight out of Scotland, came to the House of Peers, and giving his assent to the land-tax bill (1), made the following speech to both Houses of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Take this opportunity of acquainting you, that my forces have obliged the Pretender to fly out of Scotland; and he is since, as I am informed, landed near Gravelin. But I do not yet know, whether any Country in amity

(1) This bill had like to have raised a dispute between the two Houses. The bill being sent up to the Lords, a debate arose about the preamble, which was in these words:

'We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having hearts filled with the utmost gratitude to your Majesty, for the tender concern your Majesty, on all occasions, expresses for the extraordinary burden this unnatural Rebellion makes necessary to be laid on your faithful subjects, for preserving all their rights, both sacred and civil, and for your Majesty's unprecedented goodness in giving up all such estates for the use of the public, and in ease of your people, as shall be forfeited by this Rebellion; the raising, or the dreadful consequences whereof, cannot, by the most implacable of your Majesty's enemies, be ascribed to any one act done by your Majesty, since your happy accession to the Throne of your Ancestors; but even they will allow, that all the mischiefs, burdens, and calamities, which shall attend this horrid Rebellion, are, in truth, owing to the fatal and pernicious counsels given by some persons in the late state-administration, when, under pretence of procuring peace abroad, the present destructive war was projected to be brought into the very bowels of our native country at home, when a Popish army (part of which God has delivered into

your Majesty's hands) was designed to be the Protector of our holy Religion; and when, under the false colour of paying the public debts, though their true design was to deliver us bound into the power of the antient Enemy of these Kingdoms, the same evil Counsellors contrived unnecessarily to incur, for a long time to come (if not for ever) several considerable branches of the public revenues, which, for many years past, had, from time to time, been useful to support the public expence; which revenues, in former administrations, had been carefully reserved for that purpose, to the end that, upon the conclusion of a happy peace, which we had then reason to expect, the subjects of these Realms might have reaped the fruit of a successful, though expensive war: And we, your Majesty's said dutiful and loyal subjects, being fully resolved to maintain your Majesty's just title to the Imperial Crown of these Realms, against all enemies and traitors whatsoever; and, for that end, purposed to raise such supplies, as are necessary to defray your Majesty's public expences, have cheerfully and unanimously given and granted, &c.'

Some Lords being offended at this preamble, the Earl of Abingdon moved, that all the Peers in town might be summoned to attend the Committee; which was done accordingly. And, on Monday, the 13th of February, the Lord High-steward went early to the House of Peers,

1715-16. " amity with us will give him protection,
" after having so publicly invaded our King-
" doms.

" The dangers, to which the Nation was ex-
" posed, made me determine, that neither the
" extraordinary rigour of the season, nor any
" fallacious proposal of the Rebels, should di-
" vert me from using all possible endeavours
" towards putting a speedy and effectual end to
" this unnatural Rebellion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I must return you my thanks for the great
" progress you have made in the supplies. The
" necessary dispositions are made for raising ad-
" ditional forces. But, as I shall always consult
" the ease of my people, as far as is consistent
" with their own security, I shall not make use
" of the confidence you have placed in me, un-
" less the restless malice of our enemies should
" make it necessary to go on with those
" levies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I promise myself, from the zeal and wif-
" dom of this Parliament, that the future hap-
" piness and tranquillity of my subjects will be
" established on a solid foundation; and such
" measures taken, as may deprive our enemies
" at home of the power (since that alone can
" deprive them of the inclination) again to at-
" tempt the disturbance of my Government.
" This therefore is what I think myself oblig-
" ed to recommend to you, as a deliberation of
" the utmost importance to the future safety,
" ease, and prosperity of my people."

From this time to the 9th of *April* (when

the Septennial Bill was brought in) little else
was done in both Houses, but presenting such
bills as were ready, and voting for the sup-
plies.

In the mean time the new Commission for try-
ing the Rebels met on the 7th of *April*, the
first time, at the Court of *Common-Pleas*. Sir
William Thompson, Recorder of *London*, opened
the meeting with a speech to the Grand-Jury,
by whom Bills of High-Treason were found
against *Forster*, Brigadier *Mackintosh*, and twenty
others (1).

It was on the 14th of *April* that *Forster* was
to have been arraigned, in order to his trial; but
on the 10th, about midnight, he made his escape
out of *Newgate*, with one servant only.
The manner was variously reported; and Mr.
Pitts the Keeper of *Newgate*, was not only
committed for it, but was afterwards indicted
for High-Treason, as being wilfully guilty of
the escape, and tried for his life at the *Old-
Baily*; but was acquitted. There was a pro-
clamation immediately published, offering a re-
ward of a thousand pounds for the apprehending
Mr. *Forster*; but it appeared afterwards, that
his escape was so concerted, and all other things
prepared, that as soon as he got out, he had
horses ready; and riding directly to *Lee*, near
Rockford in *Essex*, he had a vessel laid ready also,
which took him on board, and landed him in
France the very same day.

However the Court sat according to its ad-
journalment, and Mr. *Forster* being absent, Mr.
Mackintosh, Mr. *Gascoigne*, Mr. *Charles Wogan*,
and others, being arraigned, pleaded *not guilty*;
and upon a motion for time, had three weeks
given them to prepare for their trials; which
favour, on the contrary, some of them made
use of to prepare, not for their trial, but for
their escape.

Peers, and caused the Journals to be diligently searched
for precedents of amendments, made by the Lords, to a
money-bill. But few, if any, could be found, at least,
since the Restoration; from which time the Commons
would never suffer the Lords to make any amendments
to bills of that nature. When the Grand Committee
was sat, several Lords spoke against the preamble in
question, as 'pre-judging matters of a very high and
important nature, the cognizance and determination of
which properly belongs to the House of Peers.'

Upon this, an expedient was proposed and admitted,
that they should enter in their Journal a kind of *Protest*
or Declaration, importing in substance 'That though
the preamble was derogatory to the privileges and au-
thority of the House of Lords; yet their Lordships in
consideration of the King's and Nation's service, in
this dangerous conjuncture, were willing to give their
concurrency to the bill, without amendments; but

that the same should not be drawn into a precedent for
the time to come, or construed to be any diminution
of the judicial authority of the House of Lords.' The
Lord Chancellor *Couper* and the Lord *Harcourt* were
appointed by the Lords to draw up the *Protest* or *Decla-
ration*, which was entered in the Journal of the House.

(1) *William Shaftoe*,
Robert Talbot,
Henry Oxburgh,
Charles Wogan,
Thomas Hall,
Richard Gascoigne,
Alex. Menzies,
James Menzies,
John Robertson,
James Hughs,

— *Miller*,
— *John Farquarson*,
— *Farquarson*,
— *Thomas Douglass*,
— *Farquarson*,
— *Douglass*,
— *Scrimshaw*,
— *Maclean*,
— *Skeen*,
— *Imii*.

T H E
HISTORY of ENGLAND.

B O O K XXVII.

S E C T. II.

From the End of the Rebellion to the Death of King GEORGE I.

30. GEORGE I.

1716.
The Sep-
tennial
Bill pro-
posed

THE Rebellion was now quelled, and the strength of the Rebels intirely broken, but the disaffection of the people was not yet conquered. The Parliament was the Bulwark of the Crown; the vigour and unanimity of the King's friends, and their superiority in the House, was the support of the whole affair. But the Parliament being only of three years continuance, by virtue of the *Triennial Act*, made in the 6th year of King William and Queen Mary; all the hopes of the other party seemed to be centered in this, that the Parliament would expire; and that they should be able by their influence in the Country, to chuse a majority of their party at the next election; or raise such a ferment at that juncture, as might make way for a successful Invasion from abroad. This the persons at the helm observed with concern; and therefore resolved to baffle these hopes of the enemies of the Government, by prolonging the sitting of the present Parliament. It is said, it was first proposed only to suspend the *Triennial Act* for once, whereby this Parliament would have continued three years beyond the time, at which it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought, that a bill for enlarging the time of continuance of Parliaments, in general, would be less liable to exceptions. The next thing, that fell under consideration was, Whether this intended bill should be set on foot in the House of Lords, or in the House of Commons? The first was judged the properer for several reasons, particularly because, the Court being more sure of a majority in the House of Commons, if the bill miscarried with the Lords, the odium of this project, which carried a face of unpopularity, would not rest upon the Commons, nor consequently prejudice future elections.

On the 9th of April in the evening, about thirty of the Court Lords met at the Duke of Devonshire's, where, after a short consultation, it was resolved to begin this matter the very next day; and the Duke was desired to move

it in the House of Lords. The Duke readily complied with the desire of the assembly; and the next day, after the Lords had dispatched some private business, the Duke stood up, and made a speech on the inconveniencies, that attend Triennial Elections, suggesting, in particular, that they keep up party divisions, raise and foment feuds and animosities in private families; occasion ruinous expences; and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign Princes. It therefore became the wisdom of that august assembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil, which might be attended with the most dangerous consequences, especially in the present temper of the Nation. For, though the Rebellion was happily suppressed, yet the spirit of it remained unconquered, and seemed only to wait for an opportunity to shew itself with more violence. That, the election of a new Parliament, which by the *Triennial Act* was not far off, being the most favourable juncture, which the disaffected could expect, he thought it absolutely necessary to deprive them of it. For which purpose he had a bill to offer to the House for enlarging the continuance of Parliaments, and moved, that the same might be read. The Duke was seconded by the Earl of Rockingham, and supported by the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Dorset, the Lord Townshend, and some other Lords. The Duke of Bucks, the Lord Trevor, the Earls of Nottingham and Aylesford, and some Peers of the other side did not directly oppose the bill, but made long speeches for putting off the reading of it to another time. They owned, that every Member has the privilege of offering what bill he thinks fit, without asking leave; but that the House is likewise at liberty either to read it or not, as they think convenient; and that the matter now offered was of so high a nature, that it well deserved to be maturely weighed and considered before the same was debated: And therefore they moved, that the bill might lie for some days on the table. To this it was answered, that nothing was farther from their thoughts,

1716.

1716. thoughts, than to carry any thing by surprize: That, by the ordinary method of proceeding, every Member has sufficient time to weigh, and consider what is offered in the House; and to shew how fairly they intended to act in this affair, the Earl of *Dorset* proposed, that, after the bill had been once read, the second reading of it should be put off for some days, and that all the Members in and about *London* should be summoned to attend. The Lords of the opposite side, finding themselves the weaker, acquiesced in this motion; so the bill was read the first time, and ordered to be read a second on the 14th of April.

Debate
upon it.
Fr. H. L.

On that day the bill was read (1), and a warm debate arose which lasted five hours (2). The Earl of *Abington* said, 'The bill was of a very extraordinary nature, since it repealed the *Triennial Act*, which the people justly looked upon as the great security of their rights and liberties; and that, if it passed this House, and the Commons agreed to it, the same would be a breach of that trust, which was reposed in them by those whom they represented.' The latter part of this assertion was denied by the Duke of *Kingston*, who urged, 'That the business of the Legislature was to rectify old laws, as well as to make new ones.' Earl *Powlet* declared, 'That he would be for it, if he thought it for the King's service and interest; but that, before they went any farther in so important an affair, some method should be taken to know the sentiments of the Nation.' He urged, 'That this bill shewed a distrust of the affection of the people, without which no King can be either safe or easy. That King *William* gained the hearts of his subjects by the *Triennial Act*; and it would look somewhat strange, that the most popular of our laws should be repealed a year after the Protestant Succession took place.' After this he endeavoured to answer what was suggested in support of this bill, viz. 1. That frequent elections occasion ruinous expences. 2. That they raise a great ferment, and foment animosities, which are of the most dangerous consequence after the late Rebellion: And 3. That they obstruct foreign Alliances. He said, 'That no stress ought to be laid on the first of those objections, expences at elections being voluntary. That, as to the second, he was sorry there had been a Rebellion; but that the same was now happily suppressed. And, as to the third suggestion, the same was of no weight with him, it being his opinion, that in a matter, which so nearly concerns our Constitution, we ought to have regard to ourselves only, and not to foreigners.' Upon all which considerations he was a-

gainst the committing of this bill. The Earl of *Dorset* said, among other things, 'That they, who now spoke against this bill, would be for it, if it served their turn. That the *Triennial Act* was a new law, and an alteration of the old Constitution. That, the experience of twenty years having shewn a thousand inconveniences, attending that law, they ought to apply a remedy to it. That it sowed the seeds of corruption, it being notorious, that great numbers of persons had no other livelihood, than by being employed in bribing Corporations. That we had lately a sad experience of it; since by those methods a Parliament was procured by the last Ministry, which gave sanction to most of their ill measures, and went near to give up the trade and liberties of the Nation. That Triennial Elections destroy all family interest, and subject our excellent Constitution to the caprice of the multitude: And, in short, that by Triennial Elections we have but a Triennial Government, which is little better than no Government at all.' For which reasons he was for the bill. The Lord *Trevor* said, That the question now lying before them was, Whether the law they were going to make, tended to the good or prejudice of the Constitution? That, for his own part, he looked upon the *Triennial Act* as an essential part of our ancient Constitution, according to which frequent and even annual Parliaments were to be held. That he might easily prove, that long Parliaments were always pernicious. That, when King *Charles I.* had given up his prerogative of dissolving Parliaments in 1640, he gave himself up into the hands of traitors, and had nothing but destruction to expect from them. That after the Restoration, King *Charles II.* that very good Prince, found the inconvenience of a long Parliament. That, as soon as the Nation had opportunity, by the Revolution, to assert their just rights and liberties, the *Triennial Act* was insisted on, and gained, at last, with a great deal of opposition. That there were very good and cogent reasons for making a law, to support the Constitution, and prevent incroachments, either of Parliaments on the Crown, or of the Crown on the rights and liberties of the People; and to correct abuses and exorbitances committed through the ambition and avarice of Ministers. That he would not be thought to reflect on the present Administration; but that, in his opinion, frequent elections were a necessary right of the subject to remedy abuses. That, for his own part, he had ever been against the bill for limiting the number of Officers in the House of Commons: But, if the *Triennial Act* were repealed,

1716.

(1) The substance of the bill was: It has been found by experience, that Triennial Parliaments are grievous, by occasioning much greater and continued expence, and more violent and lasting heats, than were ever known before. And if the Triennial act continue, it may probably, at the present juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing to renew the Rebellion at home, and an Invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and the security of the Government. Be it therefore enacted, that this present and all future Parliaments shall have continuance for (seven) years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of summons, unless this or any such Parliament shall be sooner dissolved by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors,

(2) The Speakers were as follow:

- | Against the Bill. | For the Bill. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Earl of <i>Abington</i> , | 2. Duke of <i>Kingston</i> , |
| 3. Earl <i>Powlet</i> , | 4. Earl of <i>Dorset</i> , |
| 5. Lord <i>Trevor</i> , | 6. Lord <i>Carteret</i> , |
| 7. Duke of <i>Bucks</i> , | 8. Earl of <i>Cheshamley</i> , |
| 9. Lord <i>Foley</i> , | 10. Duke of <i>Newcastle</i> , |
| 11. Earl of <i>Aylesford</i> , | 12. Earl of <i>May</i> , |
| 13. Earl of <i>Peterborough</i> , | 15. } Duke of <i>Argyle</i> , |
| 14. } Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> , | 17. } |
| 16. } | 19. Lord <i>Parker</i> , |
| 18. Duke of <i>Sherburn</i> , | 20. Lord <i>Cowper</i> . |
| 21. Earl of <i>Aylesford</i> , | |
| 22. Bishop of <i>London</i> , | |
| 23. Earl of <i>Anglesey</i> , | |
| 24. Duke of <i>Bucks</i> , | |

1716. ed, he thought that bill would become very necessary, because the long sitting of Parliaments would give the Crown both an opportunity and temptation to multiply the number of Officers. That some reflections had been cast on the last Parliament: But that, in his opinion, that Parliament was chosen by the same method, as the present was, by great expences. That he owned this to be a great abuse; but that laws might be made to rectify the same. That if this bill passed, How could any Member of the other House expect to preserve his interest with those, who chose him, when this bill would certainly be interpreted both a violation of their right, and a breach of the trust reposed in him? That if this House of Commons continued themselves beyond the time, for which they were chosen, they were no more the Representatives of the people, but a House of their own making. That he was sorry there were dissenters in the County; but he apprehended this bill would rather increase than abate them. He owned, that the majority of this House of Commons were honest Gentlemen, who had the interest of their King and Country at heart; but that, in his opinion, those, who went before them, did not come short of them in point of duty and affection to his Majesty; for it was they, who established the King on his Throne, and settled his revenue with all clearness imaginable. That what he had suggested flowed from the dread of the ill consequences of this bill, which might rise to such an height, as to render the Crown uneasy to his Majesty. That he owed so much to the Protestant Succession, that, if he could believe this bill to be of any service to the King and Royal Family, he would be intirely for it; but, as he was of a contrary opinion, he would not have a bill, obtained in the best of reigns, repealed in the first year of this Protestant reign. And therefore he was against the committing of this bill.' Lord Carteret, who spoke next, owned, 'That frequent Parliaments are a great security of the people's rights and liberties; but he observed, that this bill was not against frequent Sessions, but only against frequent elections. That they ought maturely to weigh and consider what was suggested in the preamble of the bill, That there is a restless Popish faction designing and endeavouring to renew the Rebellion within this Kingdom. That of all Rebellions this last was the most monstrous and unnatural; for all other Rebellions were carried on under pretences of liberty, whereas this last was a Rebellion for slavery. That, as to our Allies abroad, though he could not say, that they expected this bill, yet it was reasonable to suppose, that they would be glad to see it pass into a law; for having found by sad experience, that great changes may be made in the best concerted measures by different Parliaments, inflamed by different Ministries; so, if they had not some security for the treaties his Majesty was now entering into with them, a strong tide might come upon a new election, that might overturn all. That in short, this bill would fix the King, and the present happy Settlement, on a lasting foundation; and therefore he was for committing it.' The Earl of Cholmondeley said, 'That he made no doubt, but the Legislature is vested with a supreme power to rectify any inconveniences, to which any former law may, by experience, be found to be subject; and this being

the case of the *Triennial Act*, they ought to remedy the same. That what had been suggested, in relation to the Long Parliament in King Charles the Second's Reign, was, in his opinion, rather an argument for, than against the bill. For though, in that Parliament, the King had many pensioners, who, at first, complimented him with money, yet at last, when the interest of the Nation came to be at stake, they voted for a war with France, and prosecuted the Popish Plot with the utmost vigour. That they had lately seen what a corrupt Parliament may do, and by what means such a Parliament may be got: And every one might guess how there came to be a debt of 500,000 *l.* upon the Civil List. That he did not mention this to irritate against persons, but against things. That, in his opinion, there was no better remedy against corruptions, than the suppressing frequent elections. That he thought this bill the more necessary, because our Allies will thereby have a security, that they shall not again be left in the lurch. And, in consideration of the great benefits that will accrue from it both at home and abroad, he was for the committing it.' Lord Foley made a long speech, in which he enlarged upon the excellency of our Constitution; took notice, that the different branches of the Legislature are to check one another, which prevents exorbitancies in the Administration, and dragging as in Turkey and other arbitrary Governments; suggested, that the pensionary Parliament made King Charles II. uneasy, by making him neglect the affections of his people; and concluded, that he was afraid, that the repealing the *Triennial Act* would have the same effect and therefore he was against it.'

The Duke of Newcastle answered, 'That it had already been rightly observed, that, though the Long Parliament of King Charles II. at first complimented that Prince, yet they afterwards vigorously opposed destructive measures, and insisted on a war with France.' Then passing over less material objections, which had been fully refused, he urged, 'That the present happy settlement could not be maintained without taking away the seeds of corruption. That no cause ever miscarried in so many instances as that of the Rebels. But, notwithstanding their defeat at Preston and Dumbain, their being driven out of Scotland, with their King at their head, their disappointments in other parts, and the execution of some of their leaders, the Jacobites were as insolent as ever. That this was the reason, why in a late debate in this House he was against lenity; and the rather, because no Prince was ever more naturally inclined to mercy than his present Majesty; for no Prince ever had so many Rebels in his power, and never were so few punished. My Lords (added he) you must now strengthen yourselves, and disarm your enemies. It is not to be doubted, but the late unnatural and monstrous Rebellion was raised and fomented by large contributions of a restless Popish faction. The same means, my Lords, will be used to renew the Rebellion as soon as a proper opportunity offers. Their emissaries are busy every where to keep up the spirits of the people for a year longer, and then they hope to retrieve all by a new election.' He concluded, 'That, though the Allies would not make any thing done among us an article of their treaties, yet, having the sad experience

1716. of being left in the lurch, they would certainly enter into Alliances with us with more confidence, if they saw, that our Government was not precarious.' Upon all which considerations he was for the bill (1).

The Duke of *Strebury* spoke with some vehemence against the bill; after which the Lord *Parker* enlarged on the Constitution with relation to the calling, election, sitting and prolonging of Parliaments. He was followed by the Lord-Chancellor *Cowper*, who resumed all the arguments that had been urged in the debate; rectified some mistakes as to the constitution and nature of Parliaments; gave a clear account of the Triennial Act; and vindicated the King and the Government as to the present disaffection; appealing to the Lords and Commons, 'Whether the least provocation had been given either by his Majesty or his Ministers?' and asserting, That, if there was any fault on the King's side, it was too much lenity; and that the only crime that could be charged on his Ministers, was their zeal and vigilance in de-

fence of his Majesty's Person and Government.'

The Earl of *Aylesford* having answered part of the Lord Chancellor's speech, the Bishop of *London* said, 'That, when he came to the House, he knew not which way he should give his vote, and hoped to be guided and determined by what should be offered on both sides on this important subject: But, now he owned he was confounded between dangers and inconveniencies on one side, and destruction on the other.'

The Earl of *Anglesey* spoke next with great vehemence against the bill; and the Duke of *Bucks* closed the debate with saying, 'That he was for the bill, but did not think it seasonable.' At last, the question, *That the bill be committed*, being put, it was carried in the affirmative by ninety-six voices against sixty-one. But thirty Lords entered their protests (2).

Two days after, the Lords considered of the bill in a Grand Committee, and most of the former Speakers exerted themselves for and against it; and among others, a Bishop, who had not yet spoken on the subject, said, 'If this bill

was

(1) After several other speeches, the Earl of *Nottingham*, having made large professions of duty and affection to the King, said, 'That he was against this bill, because he thought it would rather exasperate than quiet the minds of the people. That this bill shewed a distrust of the affections of the people, and an intention of governing by fear, which, in his opinion, was the worst way of government: And God forbid his Majesty should have no prospect of gaining the affections of his subjects. That the King came in universally beloved, and was received with general acclamations of his people; and, though he could not assign the true cause of the present dissatisfaction, yet some secret cause must have been given for it. That he hoped, the people's dissatisfaction was not so great, as it was represented. That the Rebellion was intirely suppressed, and at an end; but, if any ferment yet remained, this bill was a very improper way to allay it, and would rather rivet the disaffection in their prejudices against the Government, than make them change their opinion. That one of the arguments urged for this bill was, that it would encourage foreign Princes and States to enter into Alliances with us; but that, in his opinion, the same might have a contrary effect. For foreign Potentates may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed by the preamble to this bill, that the popish faction is so dangerous, as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the Government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the Government is so weak as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; which seems to imply, that the Gentlemen of *Great-Britain* are not to be trusted in a new election, and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number as that, of which the present House of Commons consists. That frequent and new Parliaments are required by the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom; and that the practice thereof, for many ages, was sufficient evidence of this Constitution. That this bill was so far from preventing corruptions, that it would rather increase them; for, the longer a Parliament is to last, the more valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the Members of it. That, whatever reasons there may be to continue this Parliament for several years, they will be at least as strong, and, by the conduct of the Ministry, may be made much stronger, before the end of seven years, continuing it still longer, and even to perpetuate it, which would be an absolute subversion of the third estate of the Realm.' But, what was most taken notice of in his Lordship's speech, was, that, in order to shew the danger of enlarging the prerogative, he instanced in the precedent of King *Henry VIII.*, who persuaded his Par-

liament to give him the Abbey-lands, under pretence, that they would bear part of his expences, which would ease them of taxes, and improve trade; but that, soon after, he demanded and obtained great subsidies, and made use of those lands to inflame the Nation.

The Duke of *Argyle* answer'd among other particulars: 'That he could by no means agree with the noble Lord that spoke last, either as to the beginning or end of the Rebellion. That it had been suggested, that the King had been received with the general acclamations of his people; but that it was certain, and has since manifestly appeared, that, whatever arts were used by the last Ministry to blind and deceive the people, designs had been laid to bring in the Pretender, long before the King's happy accession to the Throne. That the disappointment of these designs was intirely owing to Providence; for, had the Conspirators thrown off the mask sooner, and improved the ferment their emissaries had raised in the Nation, at the Election of the last Parliament, it is very probable their wicked schemes for setting aside the Protestant Succession had taken place. That he wondered, therefore, that his Lordship could be puzzled to find out the cause of the present disaffection, for it was plain, it proceeded from the false representations of things and persons, that were industriously spread abroad both before and since his Majesty's coming in.' As to what had been suggested, that the Rebellion was at an end, his Grace observed, 'That the Rebels had only shifted their head-quarters from *Perth* to *Paris*, or *St. Germain's*; but that their emissaries were still as busy and insolent as ever in *Great-Britain*, and wanted only an opportunity to renew the Rebellion, and favour an Invasion.' As to what had been hinted, that this bill would rivet the Jacobites in their opinion, he said, 'That was no good argument against it, for he had seen some persons shift sides often, and change their opinions, and be very zealous for both.'

The Earl of *Nottingham* taking this reflection to himself, readily owned, 'That he was for some time against the *abjuration oath*, because he thought a multiplicity of oaths would make the Nation unsafe; but, that, as soon as he was convinced of the necessity of that oath, he readily came into it.' The Duke of *Argyle* thereupon stood up, and said, 'He was sorry that noble Lord took to himself what he said only in general.'

(2) They were as follow:

Dissentient.

I. Because we conceive, that frequent and new Parliaments are required by the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom, and the practice thereof, for

1716. was never so good in itself, it was very unseasonable, because very unpopular, and altogether useless, the Rebellion being crushed, and the power of France not to be feared; now especially, when we have a glorious standing Army, and a Ministry, that knows how effectually to engage the affections of the people.' The Committee having gone through the bill, and ordered the blank before the word *years* to be filled up with the word *seven*, the question was put, Whether the same should be reported, in order to be ingrossed, which was carried by seventy-four voices against thirty-nine. The next day the bill was reported, and, without dividing, ordered to be ingrossed, and being read the third time, on the 18th of April, there arose a debate, which lasted about two hours. Near half of that time was taken up by the Earl of Nottingham, who, among other things, by a long historical detail, endeavoured to shew, 'That Counsels for enlarging the prerogative were ever pernicious to the Crown.' To this the Duke of Argyle answered, 'That, not being so well read in history as that noble Lord, he would confine himself to what had happened in his own time; and, that he had observed, that his Lordship had, by turns, opposed all that had been offered, either for the interest of the Crown, or the liberties of the people; of which he might easily produce several instances.' adding, 'That he did not much wonder there appeared already so much joy a-

mong a certain party over a repenting sinner.' Upon the whole matter, the question being put, *Whether this bill shall pass?* It was carried in the affirmative by a majority of sixty-nine voices against thirty-six; but twenty-four Lords protested against it.

The bill being sent down to the Commons, the Lord Guernsey moved for the rejecting of it without being read; but his motion was declared to be unprecedented, and the bill read. Upon the question for a second reading, there arose a debate, of which the most remarkable passage was, that an eminent Member, who had been in the most difficult times very zealous for the Protestant Succession, spoke against the bill, and, among other things suggested, 'That it was an imposition of the Lords to take upon them to direct the Commons in a matter which solely concerns them, as Guardians of the rights and liberties of the people.' He was seconded by Mr. Shippen; but the Lord Coningsby made them sensible, 'That their objection was altogether groundless, and the result of their want, either of experience or memory; for, had they, like himself, been Members of that House, when the Triennial Act was made, they might have remembered that the same was begun in the House of Lords, who, as part of the Legislature, are no less Guardians of the liberties of the subject, than the Commons themselves.' Mr. Fuller and the Lord Guernsey spoke afterwards

many ages (which manifestly appears by our Records) is a sufficient evidence and proof of this Constitution.

II. Because it is agreed, that the House of Commons must be chosen by the people; and, when so chosen, they are truly the representatives of the people, which they cannot be so properly said to be, when continued for a longer time than that for which they were chosen; for, after that time, they are chosen by the Parliament, and not by the people, who are thereby deprived of the only remedy, which they have against those, who either do not understand, or, through corruption, do willfully betray the trust reposed in them; which remedy is to choose better men in their places.

III. Because the reasons given for this bill, we conceive, were not sufficient to induce us to pass it, in subversion of so essential a part of our Constitution.

1. For, as to the argument, that this will encourage the Princes and States of Europe to enter into Alliances with us, we have not heard any one Minister assert, that any one Prince or State has asked, or so much as insinuated, that they wished such an alteration.

Nor is it reasonable to imagine it; for it cannot be expected, that any Prince or State can rely upon a people to defend their liberties and interests, who shall be thought to have given up so great a part of their own; nor can it be prudent for them to wish such an experiment, after the experience that Europe has had of the great things this Nation has done for them under the Constitution, which is to be altered by this bill.

But, on the other hand, they may be deterred from entering into measures with us, when they shall be informed by the preamble of this bill, that the Popish faction is so dangerous, as that it may be destructive to the peace and security of the Government; and may apprehend, from this bill, that the Government is so weak, as to want so extraordinary a provision for its safety; which seems to imply, that the Gentlemen of Britain are not to be trusted or relied upon; and that the good affections of the people are restrained to so small a number, as that, of which the present House of Commons consists.

2. We conceive, this bill is so far from preventing expences and corruptions, that it will rather increase them, for, the longer a Parliament is to last, the more

valuable to be purchased is a station in it, and the greater also is the danger of corrupting the Members of it. For, if there should be a Ministry, who shall want a Parliament to screen them from the just resentment of the people, or from a discovery of their ill practices to the King, who cannot otherwise, or so truly, be informed of them, as by a free Parliament, it is so much the interest of such a Ministry to influence the elections (which by their authority, and the disposal of the public money, they, of all others, have the best means of doing) that, it is to be feared, they will be tempted, and not fail to make use of them; and, even, when the Members are chosen, they have a greater opportunity of inducing very many to comply with them, than they could have, if not only the Sessions of Parliament, but the Parliament itself, were reduced to the ancient and primitive constitution and practice of frequent and new Parliaments; for, as a good Ministry will neither practise, nor need corruption, so it cannot be any Lord's intent to provide for the security of a bad one.

3. We conceive, that whatever reasons may induce the Lords to pass this bill, to continue this Parliament for seven years, will be, at least, as strong, and may, by the conduct of the Ministry, be made much stronger before the end of seven years, for continuing it yet still longer, and even to perpetuate it; which would be an express and absolute subversion of the third Estate of the Realm.

Somerset,
Shrewsbury,
Aylesbury,
Osborne,
Compton,
Bristol,
Tadcaster,
Nottingham,
Abingdon,
Guilford,
Aylesford,
Foley,
Albournham,
Manjell,
Gower,

Bathurst,
Wotton,
Bruce,
Willingby de Breke,
Paulet,
Dartmouth,
Bingley,
Stratford,
Trevor,
Montjoy,
Northampton,
Fr. Roffess,
Fr. Hereford,
Fr. Ceftrianf,
Salisbury.

(1) Mr.

1716. wards against the bill, but were answered by the Lord Stanhope, eldest son to the Earl of Chesterfield; and a second reading was at last carried by a majority of two hundred and seventy-six against a hundred and fifty-six.

In the mean time, several petitions were prepared in the Country, and presented to the House against the bill, particularly from *Hastings, Marlborough, Cambridge, and Abingdon*. Then the bill being read the second time, there arose a warm debate, which lasted from about two in the afternoon till near eleven at night.

Mr. Lyddal spoke a long speech for the bill, and, among other things, said, 'If this opportunity be lost, you may possibly never have another, or at least so good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that spirit of Jacobinism, which has dwelt long amongst us, and has more than once brought this Nation to the very brink of ruin and destruction. Since, therefore, with much danger and difficulty we have at last secured our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, when all was at stake from the treachery of the late Ministry, and the unaccountable proceedings of the last Triennial Parliament, why should you run the risk of having a new one so soon, first chosen by *French* money, and then voting by *French* directions, since the King and his Parliament exert their united power for the good of the Public, and to retrieve the honour of the Nation? Why should they not continue longer together, that they may finish what they have so unanimously and happily begun? Upon the whole, the Electors and People of all the Boroughs in *England* having, for several years passed, been bribed and preached into the Pretender's interest, and a dislike of the Protestant Succession, it becomes rather necessity than choice, to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extraordinary disease.'

After this and several other speeches, it was carried for committing the bill (1); and, the next day, a petition from the Borough of *Horsham* was presented to the House, setting forth, 'That they looked upon the bill as an overturning the Constitution, and an infringement of their Liberties; at which expressions the House being offended, it was resolved, that the petition should be rejected. Then Mr. Lechmere moved, 'That the Committee have leave to receive a clause, to disable persons from being chosen Members of either House of Parliament, who have pensions during pleasure, or any number of years.' But Mr. Secretary Stanhope having represented, that such a clause would but clog the bill, and endanger its miscarriage, part of it being derogatory to the privileges of the House of Lords; and that, if any jealousy were entertained of the Members of the House of Commons having pensions from the Crown, a bill might be brought in, to exclude them; the motion for the clause was rejected, and a separate bill against Pensioners sitting in the House was ordered to be brought in, which, having passed both Houses, received the Royal Assent. When the Septennial Bill had gone through the Committee of the whole House, it was read the third time, and the question for passing it being put, a debate of two hours ensued. Those, who spoke against the bill, were Mr. Freeman, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Wykes, the Lord Finch, eldest son to the Earl of Nottingham, and some others. They were severally answered by Sir Richard Steele, Mr. Comptroller, Sir William Thompson, Captain Erle, Mr. Tufnel, Mr. Morris, and Sir John Brownlow (2). After which, the bill passed by a majority of two hundred and sixty-four, against one hundred and twenty-one; and, being sent back to the Lords, received, soon after, the Royal assent.

On

(1) Mr. Haddon, a Scotch Member, having spoken for the bill, Mr. Snell, one of the Representatives for the City of *Glocester*, said, 'It was no wonder, that they, who had betrayed the liberties of their own Country, should be so ready to give up their's.' Mr. Smith animadverted upon this injurious reflection, and said, 'That the Member, who made that speech, would not be so bold as to utter those words any where else.' He was seconded by Lord Coningsby; and, the dispute being like to grow warm, the Speaker interposed, and said, that, all the Members of the House having the privilege of explaining themselves, Mr. Snell ought to enjoy the same. Hereupon Mr. Snell said, 'That he meant no personal reflection on Mr. Haddon, and that he only spoke of the *Scots* Nation in general.' By which pretended excuse Sir David Dalrymple being provoked, said, 'That this explanation, instead of extenuating, did but aggravate the offence; for which he demanded satisfaction. Some other Members calling to the bar, Mr. Snell prevented any further proceeding, by begging pardon for any unguarded expression he might have let fall.'

(2) Mr. Hampden spoke for the bill, part of whose speech was as follows:

'A principal argument for continuing the Triennial Bill is, that it is agreeable to the antient laws of this Nation, that there should be frequent Parliaments. I find, by the laws I have looked over, that Parliaments ought to be frequently held: But I found it no where laid down as a fundamental position of the nature of this Constitution, that there should be frequent elections. If Gentlemen will look to the beginning of Parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th

of *Edward III.*, that, for redress of divers mischiefs and grievances which daily happen, a Parliament shall be holden every year, or oftner, if need be. Let it then be considered, in what manner those Parliaments were held: When a King met his Parliament, they used to sit ten or twenty days, and then were prorogued or dissolved; and there were frequent intermissions of Parliaments, none being called for several years. By looking over the Journals, we find the prorogations and dissolutions of Parliaments.

To come down to the time of *Henry VIII.*, few of his Parliaments sat more than twenty days, though there was not a Parliament met every year; and, from the 7th to the 25th of *Henry VIII.*, there are no Journals, and consequently we cannot tell in what manner Parliaments were held. Afterwards, there were several Parliaments, but not every year, to the end of his Reign.

A Parliament was called the first year of *Edward VI.*, and, in five years, sat but four months. In *Philip and Mary* there were four Parliaments, but the Sessions extremely short. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of *Queen Elizabeth*, no Parliament met; and, from the 14th to the 25th of *Queen Elizabeth*, the Parliament sat only from the 8th of *May* to the 30th of *June*; and, four years after, from the 8th of *February* to the 8th of *March* following; and, in eight years after, never sat to do business, but were then dissolved. There were six other Parliaments called in *Queen Elizabeth's* time; but never sat long, unless that in the 39th of her Reign, which sat four months.

The Parliament, the first of *James I.*, sat about four months, and, in three years after, sat about eight days.

That

1716.
Death of
Lord Som-
mers.

Mackin-
tosh and
others ef-
cape out of
Newgate,
May 4.

On the 26th of April, died that great man, and great patriot, the Lord Sommers, whose character is drawn with great force and elegance by Mr. Addison in his *Freeholder*.

The escape of the Earl of Mithildale, and of Mr. Forster, had given sufficient warning to the Government, and ought to have doubled the vigilance of the Jaylors; yet Brigadier Mackintosh, John Mackintosh his son, Charles Wogan, James Talbot, Robert Hepburne, William Dalma-
boy, Alexander Dalma-
boy, and John Tasker, servant to Mr. Butler, having knocked down the Keeper and Turn-key, and disarmed the Centinel, broke out of Newgate between eleven and twelve at night. Six more of the Rebels went

out of the prison with them; but being unacquainted with the streets, and turning into Warwick-Court, where they found no passage, they were forced to return into Warwick-Lane, and so fell into the Hands of their pursuers. Mackintosh and some others were to have been tried the day after. The Judges met in Westminster-Hall for that purpose, but, receiving a message, that the Keepers of Newgate were employed in searching after the Rebels, who had made their escapes, the Court and Juries adjourned. James Talbot, one of the fugitives, was retaken at an house in Windmill-Street in Piccadilly, and sent back to Newgate.

When

That Parliament was not dissolved till the 9th of James, but sat twice or thrice only. There were three other Parliaments in his Reign, but they met very seldom.

The Sessions in King Charles I. were much shorter than of late days, and very frequent prorogations; and, in the 16th of his reign, an act was passed, for preventing inconveniences by long intermission of Parliaments; by which it was provided, that a Parliament should meet every three years; which law we find repealed in the 16th of Charles II, by reason that the provisions in the former law were looked upon as a derogation to his Majesty's just and undoubted Prerogative for calling and assembling Parliaments, and might be an occasion of manifold mischiefs, and might endanger the peace of his People. This said Act is repealed, and a provision made therein, that because, by the ancient Laws of this Realm, in the Reign of Edward III, Parliaments are to be held very often, the sitting and holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted above three years. In this King's Reign, the Long Parliament was held; and, whatever corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accused of favouring the Cause of France, or attempting to inflame their own Country.

In King James II, that unfortunate Prince, a Parliament was held in May 1685, and sat about two months, and was, at several times, prorogued to November 1687. Then the happy Revolution took place; and, in the Bill of Rights, 1. *Guil. & Mar.* it is declared and enacted, That all the Rights and Liberties, asserted and claimed in the said Declaration, are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this Kingdom, and ought to be firmly and strictly maintained. And, in the same bill, among this long catalogue of grievances, which precedes the said Declaration, there is not the least mention made of want of frequent elections, but only, that Parliaments are to be held very often. In the sixth of King William, this now-favoured bill for Triennial Parliaments was passed; and, upon this occasion, I cannot help observing, that it is some satisfaction, that the people abroad, who look upon the Reign of that Prince, as an Usurpation, should be fond of any one act that was passed in that time; and, I hope from hence, they may in time, be more reconciled to the Protestant Succession, which is in consequence of that happy Revolution.

If Gentlemen will look over the writs of summons, and the returns to those writs, they will find no mention how long any Parliament is to last; but the return makes mention of the persons who are to serve in the Parliament that is to meet and be held at such a time at Westminster. But it must be allowed, that the Parliament is subject to the Triennial Act while it subsists; and therefore the advantages or inconveniences of that law ought chiefly to be considered, in the matter now before us: And, in case an act be found prejudicial, if such a veneration is to be paid to a law, as not to alter it from any conviction of its being insufficient, or attended with ill consequences, I think the Legislature will become, in a manner, useless. I take the principal matter to be, to examine what benefit has accrued to the Nation by virtue of

this bill, and if the inconveniences do not outweigh the advantages?

It is pretended, that by Triennial Elections, the people have an opportunity of laying aside those persons with whose behaviour, in Parliament, they are dissatisfied, or such, whom they apprehend to be under Court-influences: I desire it may be considered, how very few examples there are, of persons who, having accepted places, have not been re-elected. The reason is very obvious; because the people who love expences, judge, that a man, who has a place of profit, is much more capable of making an expence, than he that has none. But, supposing any Gentleman so wickedly disposed, as to sacrifice his opinion to the lucre of a place; does not such a person who has spent five or six hundred pounds at his election, and his circumstances not very able to bear it, come more prepared for a Court-temptation, than if he had enjoyed his seat in Parliament, and been free from the trouble and expence of frequent elections? I appeal to Gentlemen, if expences are not increased? And, if any instance can be produced, where they are abated, many more may be, where they are increased; so that the end of the bill, in this respect, is no way answered.

It is said, that, expences being voluntary, it is the fault only of those, who make them; but, when we observe the contagion of expences to be universally spread in the Kingdom at the time of elections, and a dissolution of manners occasioned by such expences, it is time for the Legislature to interpose, and prevent the dangerous consequences of such an evil. Do, Gentlemen, consider the distractions occasioned by elections, and the impossibility, considering the small interval of elections, to heal up those wounds, which the animosities of parties have occasioned; so that it is little better than living in a continual state of warfare. This is a no less fatal, than undeniable consequence of this bill, which was calculated for the ease of the subject.

It is said, the reason of this Expedient, as it is called, is, because the majority of this Parliament are Whigs: And, though it is allowed, that this Parliament has acted for the service of his Majesty and the Nation, the proceedings of the last Parliament are said to be as meritorious of the King's good opinion, and the Nation's, as what this Parliament has done.

It is much insisted on, That the Tories gave the Civil List: That is true; but, had they not given it, I believe, the King would not long have been deprived of it. It is said, the King was received here with the universal joy of his people: Why did that satisfaction cease so soon? Has the King done any thing to lose the affection of so many of his people? or, Have his Ministers? If his Ministers, Why has the spirit of Patriotism been so much wanting in Gentlemen, as not to represent to the King, or in this House, the crimes of those he employs in his service? But, if no real handle for these discontents has been given, by King, or Ministers, then those who pretended such a zeal for the King and his Service, at his arrival here, acted a hypocritical part, and meant nothing less than what

1716. When the Court sat the next time, thirteen of the Rebels (1) were arraigned, and pleaded not guilty; but upon application for time, some of them setting forth, that they had evidence upon the road, they had three weeks allowed to prepare for their trial.

Rebels tried. Mr. Richard Gascoigne was set to the bar, but by the indulgence of the Court had ten days allowed him for bringing witnesses to town. His trial came on the 17th of May; and besides the evidence of Mr. Patten, Mr. Forster's Chaplain, who deposed that he saw Mr. Gascoigne in Mr. Forster's company at Preston, Mr. Wye made oath, 'That, coming once to the Duchess of Oamond's, he saw the prisoner Gascoigne in her Grace's closet. That being introduced, he told her Grace he was just come from France, and had seen the Duke but six days before, who was well, and would be here quickly from Bayonne, and the Pretender from some other place. Upon which her Grace called for a map, to find whereabouts St. Sebastian lay. That he was asked by her Grace what people said at Paris, especially in relation to Sir William Wyndham; and asked Mr. Gascoigne, Whether it was true, which was said in the public news, that he had letters found in his pocket of dangerous consequence? Mr. Gascoigne said, He could not tell, but if it were so, a school-boy would deserved to be whipped for carrying such papers in his pocket.' It being at that time generally discredited about town, that Sir William Wyndham had surrendered himself, Gascoigne said, 'He had sent or carried him one of the Proclamations (but the evidence could not be positive which) and added, If he was taken, their design was ruined, for there were an hundred Gentlemen, who waited only for a signal, and Sir William would be at the head of eight or nine thousand men.' That the Lady Rochester having asked him (Mr. Gascoigne) where Sir William was? The prisoner replied, 'Whether, if he should tell her Ladyship, she would not make use of it to persuade him to surrender? But, if it were only to give Sir William notice of the Proclamation, he told her, that he had already sent him one.' Mr. Wye further declared, 'That, when he was in the Duchess's closet, he saw a Gentleman dressed in laced

scarlet clothes; whom he understood to be one of the Cotton's; and, having since seen Mr. Cotton, knew it to be the same person.' There were some other circumstances, which Mr. Wye said Mr. Gascoigne told him, particularly, that the prisoner said, 'He came to London to learn whether Sir William Wyndham made any discovery.' The Jury, after a considerable stay, brought in Mr. Gascoigne guilty of High-Treason.

Henry Oxburgh was tried May the 7th, and made a very weak defence. His Council, Serjeant Darnel and Mr. Kettleby endeavoured to serve him by insisting on a misnomer in the indictment, wherein he was called Oxborough, whereas his true name was Oxburgh: But that being overruled, the Jury brought him in guilty of High-Treason.

On the 26th of May, Mr. John Hall of Otterburne in Northumberland was brought to the bar. This Gentleman had been a Justice of the Peace in his Country, and taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration. He was found guilty by the Jury, and gloried in his guilt at his execution. Oxburgh was the first of those who suffered at Tyburn. Gascoigne had been a common sharper, and having been bubbled by gamesters out of the money he had raised by the sale of a small estate in Ireland, supported himself afterwards by defrauding others. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn on the 25th of May, and died a Papist.

John Hume, brother of the Earl of Hume, was tried, and found guilty, May the 8th; John Farquharson not guilty; and Alexander Menzies guilty. On the 12th Thomas Farquharson and John Ennis were brought to their trials. There was a great uproar in the Court upon the Jury's bringing in Farquharson not guilty, though the evidence was positive, 'That he was in arms with the Rebels at Kells, and at Lancaster, where the Pretender was proclaimed, and also at Preston.' Two persons who clapped and shouted were apprehended. One of them, who was summoned as a Juryman, was fined 100l. the other 50l. and a year's imprisonment. The same Jury, contrary to as full evidence as that against Farquharson, acquitted Ennis likewise.

The

what they now make professions of. Let us consider the present situation of the minds of the people, how exasperated one set of them are at the necessary prosecutions of those who so fatally concerted the ruin of their Country; and to what degree that restless spirit influenced the people in the late Rebellion; and how industriously a false and mistaken Cause of the Church has been of late propagated in this Nation.

From these and many other circumstances of affairs, and symptoms of the ill temper of the Nation, I think the disposition of the people's minds far from being suitable to the business of an election, but rather for a reformation of that Person, who, the deluded people have been taught, has alone a right to the Crown, and came to free you from the oppressions you now lie under.

He concludes with saying, 'The reasons why I am now for the bill are, To dispose the people to follow their callings, and to be industrious, by taking from them, for a time, the opportunity of distracting one another by elections. To prevent such who have the will, from the power of giving any new disturbance to the Government. To prevent another Rebellion;

No. 89. VOL. IV.

there being just as much reason to expect one this year as there was the last. To check that evil spirit in those who have sworn to the King, and rose in arms against him, or abetted such who have. To discountenance that spirit, which lately did so far prevail in this Nation, as to approve of a most ignominious conclusion of a successful war, by a ruinous peace. To render fruitless any concerted project of the Regent, or any other foreign Princes, to disturb this Nation, at a time, when elections, or the approach of them, have raised a ferment in the minds of the people; and to procure to the Clergy an interval from being Politicians, that they may be better able to take care of their flocks, in the manner the Scripture has prescribed.

(1) Charles Radcliffe,
Charles Widdrington,
Pergrine Widdrington,
Elquires,
John Thornton,
Robert Shaw,
Thomas Errington,
6 K

Philip Hodgefot,
Donald Robertfot,
James Swimburne,
William Mackintosh,
Angus Mackintosh,
James Mackintosh,
Alexander Macrusder,

1716. The same day five Rebel prisoners pleaded guilty; the two Mr. Douglas's, Captain Macquean, Mr. Scrimshaw, and Mr. Skean, who received sentence of death. Three days after came on the trials of Richard Townley and Edward Tildesley. It was sworn against Mr. Townley, that he was not only among the Rebels at Preston, 'but that there was a troop called Mr. Townley's troop, in which rode his Coachman, his Butler, and Postilion. It was sworn against Mr. Tildesley, 'That a troop of the Rebels went by his name also; and that he rode at the head of them with his sword drawn.' These two Gentlemen had nothing to say for themselves, but that they were forced to do what they did; and upon this slight defence, the Jury acquitted them both.

Two days after Mr. Baron Montague came to the Marshalsea Court, and discharged the Surrey Jury, after having reprimanded them for their behaviour in the late trials, especially in the case of Mr. Townley and Mr. Tildesley. The same day Mr. Wogan was tried, and found guilty; and Major Blair, retracting his former plea, pleaded guilty. Captain Lancelot Mackintosh and Charles Kadeliffe, brother to the late Earl of Derwentwater, were likewise found guilty, and received sentence of death.

Alexander Menzies petitioned the King for mercy, and was relieved, as were the rest of the persons hitherto condemned on the like submission, or the intercession of their friends, excepting those who are already mentioned to have been executed.

On the 30th of May came on the trial of Mr. John Dalton. The evidence against him being positive, the Jury found him guilty; upon which he desired the Court to intercede with the King for mercy.

Mr. William Tinsal pleaded guilty as to the being taken in arms, but not, as in the Indictment, of any design of murdering the King, which (he said) never entered into his heart. But the Court told him, 'That he, being a man of sense, could not but know had the Rebellion succeeded, it could not have ended otherwise, since it was certain that his Majesty would not have run away, as the Master they had declared for had already done.' The Lord Chief Justice Parker advised him to draw up the state of what he had to say in a petition, and he would recommend it to the King.

The next day Philip Hodgeson, uncle to the Lord Widdrington, Charles Widdrington, Peregrine Widdrington, Donald Robertson, Alexander Macruder, Thomas Errington, John Nairne, son to the Lord Nairne; George Seaton, who, before the battle of Dunklaim, went by the name of the Earl of Dunferling; John Stewart, Dr. Patrick Blair, James Robertson, William Grierson, son of Sir Robert Grierson, of Lagg; and John Carnegie, pleaded guilty to their Indictments. But Francis Anderton, Basil Hamilton, Archibald Rutter, William Shaftee, and William Paul, Clerk, pleaded not guilty; which plea some of them afterwards retracted, and pleaded guilty, while others were tried and found guilty. The condemned Rebels were reprieved from time to time; but, on the 13th of July, John Hall, and William Paul the Clergyman, were executed at Tyburn.

Hall in his dying speech declared, 'that he died a true and sincere member of the Church of England, but not of the Revolution Schismatical Church, whose Bishops had so rebelliously abandoned the King, and so shamefully given up the Rights of the Church, by submitting to the unlawful, invalid Lay-deprivations of the Prince of Orange; but of the true Catholic Non-juring Church of England.' Mr. Paul likewise professed himself a son of the Church of England, but not of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. I declare, says he, 'that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the Nonjuring Church, which has kept itself free from Rebellion and Schism, and has preserved and maintained true orthodox principles, both as to Church and State.' Yet this same man, in a petition to the Lord Chief Justice King, after sentence, had declared, 'That, through the Grace of God, he had a deep insight into, and a lively sense of his crimes; which he did now at last detest and abhor from the bottom of his soul, and begged pardon of God, and King George, and his native Country, against all which he had highly offended, and did now sincerely repent, and declare his unfeigned sorrow, in having been instrumental towards encouraging and promoting the same.'

And, in a petition to the King, 'He humbly begged leave, in all sorrow of heart, to acknowledge his great and heinous offence, and did, from the bottom of his heart, ask pardon of God, his most sacred Majesty, and the Church and Nation.'

General Cadogan, whom the Duke of Argyle had left in Scotland, had now extinguished all remains of the Rebellion, both by securing the Chiefs, and disarming their Dependants. About the middle of April, the Marquiss of Huntley, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, the Lord Rollo, Sir Thomas Calder, and the Laird of Tannaclue, were brought from the North of Scotland to Edinburgh, and committed to the Castle. Glengary, a famous leader of the Rebels, surrendered himself to the Duke of Athol, which inclined many of the Highlanders to submit, as did the greatest part of the Earl of Seaforth's vassals; and all the Clans, except those of the western Isles, being reduced, two detachments, one of six hundred, the other of three hundred men, were sent to those Isles, under the command of Colonel Clayton, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cholmondeley, upon which all the Rebels in the Isle of Skie submitted to mercy. The Rebels in the other Islands following their example, General Cadogan returned to Edinburgh, and from thence to London, where he arrived the 18th of May, having left the command of the forces in Scotland with General Sabine, and ordered the Dutch troops to march back into England, where they embarked for Holland, after having received, both officers and soldiers, marks of the King's bounty for their good services.

A Court-martial sitting at Edinburgh, made an order for the following Scots Officers, who had deserted from the Dutch service to the Pretender, to be hanged in effigy at the Market-Cross,

1716. Crofs, in the *Cannon-Gate, Edinburgh*, and their names to be infcribed round the Gallows (1).

Congratulatory addreffes were prefented to the King from the City of *London*, and moft of the Communities in the Kingdom, upon the intire fuppreffion of the Rebellion; and the 7th of *June* was appointed to be kept as a day of thankfgiving.

On the 3d of *May*, Mr. *Harvey* of *Combe*, who had been in the *Meffenger's* hands fince he flabb'd himfelf, was examined before a Committee of the Council, and fent to *Newgate*. About a week after, Mr. *Thomas Harley*, who had been formerly committed to the *Gatehoufe* by order of the Houfe of Commons, for his prevaricating answers to queftions, that were put to him concerning his Negotiations abroad, and was fupposed to have been ftill a prifoner, was found in a houfe in *St. Martin's-Lane* by *Meffengers*, who were fearching for fome of the Rebels, that had lately efcap'd out of *Newgate*. Mr. *Harley* had a great parcel of papers before him, which were feiz'd, and himfelf committed to the *Gatehoufe*.

The King
refolves to
go abroad.

The King, ftrengthened by his late treaty with *Spain*, and by that which he was now certain of concluding with the Duke of *Orleans*, and fecure of having fo faithful a Parliament for five years more, thought he fhould run no rifk in vifiting his *German* Dominions this fummer, where affairs of fecrecy and importance required his prefence. But it being provided, by the act for the further limitation of the Crown, &c. that no perfon, who fhould thereafter come to the poffeffion of the Crown, fhould go out of the Dominions of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, without confent of Parliament; the Court was fome time in fufpence, which way to get over that reftriktion. The afking the Parliament's confent by a meffage, or otherwife, being thought too derogatory to the Royal prerogative, and fome leading Members of the Houfe of Commons being made fenfible of it, Sir *John Cope* moved for repealing this reftriktion; which being agreed to, a bill paffed both Houfes for that purpofe (2).

The Par-
liament is
prerogued,
June 26,
P. H. C.

When the King came to the Houfe of Peers to pafs this, and many other bills, and to put an end to the Seffion, the following fpeech was by his order delivered to both Houfes by the Lord Chancellor.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's
Speech.

I Cannot put an end to this Seffion, without expreffing to you my fatisfaction in

the proceedings of this Parliament. The wholefome and neceffary laws, which have been paffed with fo much fteadinefs, refolution, and unanimity, will, I truft in God, anfwer thofe good ends, which, it is evident, you have had in view, by defeating the defigns, and reducing the fpirit of our enemies, by encouraging our friends, and raifing the credit and reputation of the Nation abroad to fuch a degree, as that I may reasonable expect the fruits of a fettled Government; efpecially being fupported by a Parliament, zealous for the profperity of their Country, and the Proteftant intereft of *Europe*.

"I am confident, my conduct hitherto in fuppreffing the Rebellion, and punifhing thofe concerned in it, has been fuch, as demonftrates, that I defire rather to leffen their numbers by reclaiming them, than by making examples; but I am forry to find, that the numerous inftances of mercy, which I have fhewn, have had no other effect, than to encourage the faction of the Pretender to renew their infults upon my authority, and the laws of the Kingdom, and even to affect, with the greateft infolence, to diftinguifh themfelves from my good and faithful fubjects, acting with fuch folly and madnefs, as if they intended to convince the world, that they are not to be reduced to quiet and fubmiffion to my Government, by fuch gentle methods, as are moft agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen of the Houfe of Commons,

"I return you in particular my thanks for the fupplies you have given; which, altho' they fall fhort of the fums you found neceffary, and have voted for the fervice of the whole year; yet, by the encouragement you have given to make them effectual, may, I hope, be fo managed, as to carry on the current fervice till another Seffion of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am very fenfible, there are matters of great confequence ftill depending before you; but, as they have hitherto been poftponed out of abfolute neceffity, by intervening affairs of a more preffing nature, and of the moft immediate concern to the peace and fafety of the Nation, I thought the feafon of the year required, I fhould defer your further proceedings till the next Seffion, rather than
"you

(1) Thefe were:

Captain *John Hepburne*, Ensign *Patrick Smith*, Ensign *Williams*, *Calderewood* of *Douglas's* regiment, Lieutenant *Fleming*, Ensign *Chalmers*, and Ensign *Carpe* of *Lauder's*; Ensign *William Craghton* of *Murray's*, Lieutenant *Murray*, Ensign *Dallas*, Ensign *Boftwal*, and Ensign *Robertfon* of *Collier's*, and Ensign *Owen* of *Wood's* regiment.

(2) Before the King went abroad, he made the following creations and promotions: *Thomas*, Lord *Coringby*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, Baron *Coringby*, of *Coringby*, in the County of *Lincoln*; Sir *Richard Onftow*, Baron *Onftow*, of *Oyftow*, in the County of

Salop; *Thomas Newport*, Baron of *Torrington*, in the County of *Devon*; *William Cadogan*, Baron of *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*; and Sir *Robert Marfham*, Baron of *Romey*, in the County of *Kent*; Viscount *Cafleton* in *Ireland*, Viscount *Cafleton*, in *England*; Sir *Henry St. John*; Viscount *St. John*; *George*, Lord *Newburg* of *Ireland*, Lord *Newburg*, of *Anglefey*, in *Wales*; Mr. *Edgcombe* was made one of the Lords of the Treasury; Mr. *Mathew*, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State; and Mr. *Hampden*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. *Baron Bury* was declared Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, in the room of Sir *Samuel Dadd*.

(1) At

1716. "you should be detained out of your respective Counties longer than could be consistent with your private concerns.

"I cannot doubt but that, during this recess, you will use all your best endeavours to preserve the peace of the Kingdom, and to discourage and suppress all manner of disorders, since, as the first scene of the late Rebellion was opened and ushered in by tumults and riots, so you may be assured, upon what pretence soever they are raised, they can have no other tendency, but to support a spirit of faction, restless and unwearied in their endeavours to renew the Rebellion, and to subvert the religion, laws, and liberties of their Country.

"I design to make use of the approaching recess, to visit my Dominions in Germany, and to provide for the peace and security of the Kingdom during my absence, by constituting my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm, and my Lieutenant within the same."

After this speech, the Parliament was prorogued to the 7th of August.

Ad-
dison's
Freehold-
ers.

Thus ended this long Session of the first British Parliament called by King George. This Parliament, by the excellency and reasonableness of the laws made by them, recovered their Country in a great measure, out of its confusions, and provided for its future peace and happiness, under the present establishment. Their unanimous and regular proceedings; the absolute necessity of some acts, which were passed, and their disinclination to extend them any longer than that necessity required; their manifest aversion to enter upon schemes, which the enemies of the Nation had insinuated to have been their design; together with that temper so suitable to the dignity of such an assembly at a juncture, when it might have been expected, that very unusual heats would have arisen in an House of Commons so zealous for their King and Country, were sufficient to quiet those groundless jealousies and suspicions, which had been industriously propagated by the ill-wishers to our Constitution.

St. H.

The King had but too just cause to complain of the fresh insults of the disaffected, notwithstanding the many instances of his clemency. For on the 29th of May (King Charles's Restoration) the Jacobite and Tory factions had distinguished themselves by wearing oaken boughs, and on the 10th of June, the Pretender's birth-day, by wearing white roses. But the spirit of disaffection shewed itself no where more openly than at Oxford. On the 28th of May, the King's birth-day, all the windows that were illuminated there, were broken to pieces, as were all the windows that were not illuminated the next day, being the Anniversary of

the Restoration. (1) To prevent the ill effects of this disaffection, soldiers were quartered there, who, as they were cheerfully and peaceably celebrating the Prince of Wales's birth day, were insulted by both the Scholars and Townsmen. Stones were thrown into the windows of the *Star-Inn*, where the Officers and some loyal Gentlemen were met, who were attacked by the disaffected party when they came out to drink the King's and the Royal Family's healths at the bonfire. Provoked by these affronts, the soldiers broke the windows of the disaffected, and committed some other disorders. When the Vice-Chancellor and the Mayor sent up their depositions to Court, they took no notice of the insults the Officers and Soldiers had met with, but only of what the soldiers had done by way of reprisals. As this affair came before the Parliament, it will be mentioned more largely hereafter.

On the 13th of June, General Maccartney, Maccartney who had returned to England, some time before, took his trial for the pretended murder of the Duke of Hamilton. Colonel Hamilton, who, in the Queen's time, had given such a positive evidence, that he saw General Maccartney give the Duke his mortal wound, now deviated from it, and only averred, that he saw his sword over the Duke's shoulder. The falsehood of which appeared by the evidence of the two Park-keepers, who stood firm to their former depositions, 'That they had taken the swords from General Maccartney and Colonel Hamilton, when they went to the relief of the Duke and Lord Mobun.' And one of them deposed, that he had been offered two handfuls of gold, and a place of 100*l.* a year, by the Lord Bolingbroke, if he would swear, that Mr. Maccartney killed the Duke. The Jury acquitted Mr. Maccartney of the murder, and he was discharged of the manslaughter by the formality of a cold iron immediately made use of to prevent appeal. He was soon after restored to his rank in the army, and had the Earl of Orrey's regiment given him.

The King before his departure appointed the Prince of Wales Guardian of the Realm, and his Lieutenant, during his absence. The titles of Duke of York, and Albany, and Earl of Ulster, were given to Prince Ernest, Bishop of Osnaburg, the King's Brother, who with Prince Frederick, was also made Knight of the Garter. The Duke of Devonshire was made President of the Council, and his place of Lord Steward of the Household was given to the Duke of Kent. The Earl of Portland was made Marquis of Titchfield, and Duke of Portland. These promotions were attended with unexpected disgraces. The Duke of Argyll and his brother, the Earl of Illy, were removed from all their employments (2). They had both distinguished themselves by their zeal and services for the Govern-

(1) At the next Assizes, among others, Wood, mancipal of Balliol, and Mr. Stirling of the same College, were tried for cursing the King: But Stirling was acquitted. Mr. Frank Nicholls, a Commoner of Exeter College, about fifteen years of age, was tried for crying out, *Ormond for ever*; and fined and imprisoned for the same. The *Political State* for July 1716, says, that he was tried for cursing the King and Government: But it is a mistake, for he was tried only for the fact above mentioned, as appears by the Record.

(2) A list of the Duke's posts and employments was made public, to this effect:

Governor and Commander in Chief, of all his Majesty's forces in Scotland; General of the King's armies; Lord-Lieutenant of the shire of Dumbarton; Lord-Lieutenant of the County of Surrey; Privy-Counsellor; Colonel of the Royal Blue Regiment of Horse; Governor of the Island of Minorca; Governor of Port Mahon, in the said Island; first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber,

1716. Government; and the King had in some measure put his Crown into their hands, by placing them at the head of his armies in *Scotland*. They had all along voted in the House of Lords on the Court-side; and therefore their removal was the more strange. Whatever might be the cause, their posts were disposed of, to shew there was no room to expect being restored. General Carpenter was made Commander in Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, and Governor of *Minorca* and *Port-Mahon*, and the Duke of *Montrose* was appointed Lord Clerk Register of *Scotland*, in the room of the Earl of *Illy*.

The King goes abroad.

On the 7th of July, the King set out from *St. James's*, took water at the *Tower*, and arrived about two in the afternoon, at *Gravesend*, where he went on board the *Carolina* Yacht (1). He was attended by Mr. Secretary *Stanhope*, Mr. *Boscawen*, Comptroller of the Household, the Officers of the Green Cloth, and most of his German Ministers, who embarked in other yachts. In *Margate Road* they met a squadron of men of war, commanded by Admiral *Aylmer*; and they all made the coast of *Holland* the 9th of July in the morning. About four in the afternoon, the King went ashore, and passed through *Holland incognito*; lay at *Voorts*, the Earl of *Albemarle's* seat, and arrived at *Hanover* the 15th of July; and on the 20th, set out for *Pyrmont*, to drink the waters.

Proceedings in the King's absence.

The King was absent six months, during which, the situation of affairs in *Great-Britain*

remained much the same, and all was at last quiet, as if he had himself been present. The Prince (doubtless by his orders) set several prisoners at liberty, and reprieved others (2). The passage from *Dover* to *Calais* was opened, and passports no longer required to go from *England* to *France*. The King's enemies affected to believe and give out, that these proceedings were all owing to the Prince's good disposition, of which he would have shewn many more proofs, had it been in his power. This was carried so far, that addresses were preparing at *Oxford* and *Glocester*, and other places, to be presented to the Prince, to extol his wisdom in the Administration of affairs, and in particular, his affability and graciousness to all persons without distinction of Parties. It was soon perceived, that this insinuated a reflection upon the King and his Ministry, and therefore it was declared, the Prince would receive no addresses that were not directly made to the Throne.

The papers and speeches of some of the Rebels that were executed, particularly of Mr. *Hall* papers and and Mr. *Paul*, made great impression on many people. Their execution, instead of lessening, rather increased the number of the Jacobites; nor were they deterred from declaring themselves. Seditious sermons were preached, and libels against the Government were published (3). By these means a spirit of mutiny and rebellion was kept up among the disorderly rabble. So great was the disaffection to the Government at *Oxford*,

ber, and Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales; and Knight of the Garter. Whether he was Governor of *Edinburgh Castle* at the time of his being thus dismissed, is a doubt; but to all these is to be added a pension of 2000 *l. per annum*, granted him by the King. His Brother was likewise Chief Lord of the Judiciary, and Lord Clerk-Register in *Scotland*. The hereditary Governments, Sherifdoms, &c. which the Duke and Earl possessed in *Scotland*, they could not be deprived of; neither could the Earl be removed from his place in the Judiciary, which was, as those of the Judges are in *England*, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, or rather, for life. Of these preferments, posts, and trusts, the Duke was dispossessed at once.

(1) The Duke of *Argyle*, it was observed, waited that morning on the King, and was for a few minutes in private Conference with him. *Pol. Stat.*

(2) On the 4th of August the Earl of *Wintoun* made his escape out of the *Tower*. On the 15th Mr. *Farquharson* of *Invercald* was set at liberty out of the *Marshalsea*, as was likewise the same day the Laird of *Mackintosh*, out of the *Fleet-prison*. Mr. *John Mackintosh*, a Lawyer, under sentence of death, was also released from *Newgate*; and Mr. *James Drummond*, who was taken prisoner at *Dumblain*, from the custody of a Messenger. About the same time pardons passed the Seals for some other prisoners, and in particular for *Charles Radcliffe*, brother to the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, and for Mr. *Wogan*; as likewise a further reprieve of three months was granted to the other Rebel prisoners under sentence of death. But Mr. *Radcliffe*, making some difficulty of accepting the pardon, was detained in *Newgate* till he made his escape from thence on the 11th of December following; as Mr. *Bruce* another of the Rebel prisoners had done on the 20th of August. The Lord *Duffus*, who, as Captain of a man of war, must have abjured the Pretender, and afterwards entered into his service, by joining with the Rebels in *Scotland*, was from *Hamburg* brought prisoner to *London*, examined by Mr. Secretary *Methuen*, and committed close prisoner to the *Tower*. Some time after fourteen of the Rebel prisoners were discharged out of *Newgate*, *George Seton*, *Charles Max-*

well, *Edmund Maxwell*, *William Dalnaboy*, *Alexander Forster*, *Alexander Milne*, *Francis Congleton*, *Alexander Congleton*, *Thomas Anderson*, *David Hall*, *George Skinner*, *William Dundas*, Merchants; and Mr. *Lyon*. The same day the following persons were released from the *Marshalsea*; Mr. *Winram*, senior, Mr. *Crow*, Mr. *Cunningham of Wall*, Mr. *William Scot*, Mr. *Carruthers*, Mr. *Murray*, Mr. *Grierison*, and Mr. *William Maxwell*. *Butler* and *Samburne*, two of the Rebel prisoners, died in *Newgate*; and another *Samburne* made his escape out of it.

(3) The most noted pamphlet was published by *Lawrence Houel* (a Nonjuring Clergyman) intitled, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*; wherein are the following passages:

'The authority of the Church of *England*, and consequently the Church of *England* itself, was with the deprived Bishops and Clergy, and remains still with their Successors, who alone have immediately adhered to her true constitutions and principles. That all, who depart from them, are at least, in a state of Schism.

That the canonical Metropolitan, Archbishop *Sancroft*, was not only displaced, but a Subject-presbyter of his (Dr. *Tillotson*) was hoisted into his room; and, when God had removed him, another (Dr. *Tennison*) was set up in his place, as head of the Schism. And under the Bishops, who actually did this, or those, who approved what they had done, by joining in communion with them, in opposition to the true canonical Bishops, have all the parochial Clergy acted, and joined with them, against the canonical Bishops; and being thus joined with them, they become Schismatics; and those, who have, or do still continue to join with these parochial Clergy, do join in the Schism, and thereby become guilty of Schism. Let them therefore have been never so canonically ordained, and placed over a flock, yet by cloving with Schismatics, they have forfeited all, and cannot dispense the Ordinances of God with any benefit; God's Grace and Influence, then and now, forsaking them. And to join communion with them is not only to lose the benefit of the Ordinance, but to join in the Schism, is to join with those, whom they ought to oppose with all their might, as viola-

1716. Oxford, that soldiers were quartered there, to keep the Scholars and Townsmen within bounds. Nor were these riotous proceedings confined to England; for the Pretender's Friends at *Edinburgh* had like to have freed a great number of Lords and Gentlemen imprisoned there on account of the Rebellion (1).

Progress of the Prince. Few occurrences happened during the King's absence worth noting. The Prince of Wales, in September, took a progress into the Country. He set out the 24th, from *Hampton-Court*, and arrived at *Knowle in Kent*, the seat of the Earl of *Dorset*, before noon, and at *Tunbridge-Wells* about five in the evening. From thence he went to *Halstead in Sussex*, the seat of the Duke of *Newcastle*, where he lay, and came to *Lewes* about ten the next morning, and about nine in the evening to *Stansted*, the Earl of *Scarborough's* seat. The next morning, he proceeded to *Portsmouth*, and, having viewed the fortifications,

docks, yards, and magazines, reviewed the regiments there, and went on board the guardship and bomb-ship, dined at Lieutenant-General *Erle's*, and returned in the evening to *Stansted*, where Archdeacon *Boucher*, one of the Canons Residentiary of *Chichester*, accompanied by the Prebendaries and Vicars of that Cathedral, with many of the neighbouring Clergy, were presented to him by the Lord *Lumley*. On the 27th, about nine in the morning, the Prince left *Stansted*, and, on a Common near *Rake*, reviewed *Wynn's* dragoons. He came to *Farnham* about one, and near that place reviewed *Evans's* dragoons. In the evening he arrived at *Guildford*, and, about eleven at night returned to *Hampton-Court*. Two days after, the Venetian Ambassador had a private audience, to notify the success of the arms of that Republic against the *Turks*, and the raising of the siege of *Cypris*, owing chiefly to the conduct of General *Seydlitz*.

tors and grand enemies of the unity and peace of God's Church.

In the conclusion, the Author cites the second Canon of the Church of England, and then proceeds to affirm:

That by King, mentioned in this Canon, is to be understood (according to the undoubted principles of the Church of England) that person, who is possessed of the Throne, according to the civil institution of the English hereditary Monarchy. Whosoever disowns his authority, &c. by the Canon, incurs the sentence of excommunication, *ipso facto*.

If King *James II.* had a Right, the Revolutionists and Compilers were excommunicated by this Canon; for, in depriving their rightful King, they disowned his Authority, &c. That he had a Right, and continued claiming to his death, none can deny: Witness his personal assertion of his Right in *Ireland*, his public Manifesto at the treaty of *Ryswick* (wherein he declares to the world, that that peace was founded upon the usurpation of his Kingdoms,) and other Declarations to the same purpose; and his Son (whose Right, as a Son, is as incontestable as his Father's) hath often repeated the same. Now, the violation of this second Canon, by the Revolutionists transferring their allegiance from their lawful King to an Usurper (which is disowning the lawful and rightful King's authority) renders them *ipso facto* Excommunicated; and the Nonjurors, who have faithfully adhered to the doctrine and principles, are the only true Church of England.

The State of the case plainly appearing, it is no difficulty to find out the guilty persons, who must be no other than those, that violated the Canon, by breaking through their allegiance, and consequently are in an immediate state of excommunication, and, as such, they ought to be deemed, and treated by all, though no declaratory sentence be pronounced by the proper Judges.

The words of the Canon being positive, there is no farther occasion to enlarge on it. The only question then is, Whether there is such a notoriety in our case? And, truly, I think, there scarce ever appeared in the world, a more notorious and manifest case. The matter of fact is evident to all; for, who is ignorant of the unnatural treatment of King *James II.* from his children and subjects? How his authority was trampled on, despised, and denied; and, after several attempts to recover his undoubted Right, how he was forced to live and die an exile? Nor is the case in the least altered now; for they, that pertinaciously continued and gloried in their sin then, do the same now; which makes the case so notorious, that these offenders ought to be treated as Excommunicated, *ipso facto*, upon the authority of the Canon, without waiting for the declaratory sentence of a Judge.

Let us now consider the state and condition of an excommunicated person, which is dreadful to any man;

but, when it falls to be a Clergyman's lot, it makes fatal work; for, 1st, it divests him of the power of exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction; which, if he should presume to do, it renders his acts invalid and null. 2. Excommunication renders a Clergyman, so long as he continues in that state, incapable of any ecclesiastical benefit, or promotion; and, if he assume any, his institution is void. 3. It makes the whole administration of his ministerial office ineffectual. You can expect no return of prayers with him, with whom you ought not to communicate. He cannot, authoritatively, bless the people of God, who is himself, under a curse, and excluded from being a part of them. And here, I think, all those, who have joined with such Clergymen, ought to consider what they have done, in communicating with them, hitherto, and, whether they think they can, with safety, continue therein; for, in communicating with them, as Schismatics, they make themselves Schismatics; and, in communicating with them, as Excommunicated, not only all their labour is lost, but, instead of a blessing, they get a curse.

Mr. *Howel* was apprehended in *Bull-Head Court*, *Tewin-Street*, and, with him, was seized a large impression of his pamphlet. Among his papers, was found an original instrument, of his being ordained a Priest, by Dr. *Hicks*, who fills himself Suffragan Bishop of *Thetford*; and also, the form of abolition and reception of Converts to Jacobitism. He was committed to *Newgate* for High-Treason. Upon the publication of this charge of Schism on the Church of England, a controversy arose between the Members of that Church, and the Nonjurors. *Howel* being brought to his trial, and the pamphlet proved to be his, he was fined 500*l.* and three years imprisonment, and sentenced to be twice whipped. Upon which, he asked if they would whip a Clergyman? And was answered by the Court, 'They paid no deference to his cloth, because he was a disgrace to it, and had no right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a Clergyman, in that he had produced no proof of his ordination, but from Dr. *Hicks* under the denomination of the Bishop of *Thetford*; which was illegal, and not according to the Constitution of this Kingdom, which knows no such Bishop.' As he received his sentence with an air of haughtiness, and behaved himself contemptuously to the Court, he was ordered to be degraded, and stripped of the gown he had no title to wear; which was done in the Court, by the Executioner. But, a few days after, upon his petition to the King, the corporal punishment was remitted.

(1) The most remarkable riot was that in *London* in the month of *July*. Some time before the breaking out of the Rebellion, many of the well-affected to the Government, in order to be ready on any proper occasion to quell the outrageous mob, that disturbed the peace

1716. *lenberg*, Commander of their army, though a Protestant, and brother to the Duchs of Kendal.

In the beginning of *November*, the Prince of *Wales* was in extreme danger, having been several days in labour, but at last was delivered of a dead Prince, who was privately deposited in a vault in *Henry VII's* Chapel.

About the same time the Duke of *Mariborough* was taken ill at *Blenheim-House*. His distemper being apoplectic, the fit so far impaired his health, that he never after could be said to be perfectly recovered.

The State prisoners that were in *Edinburgh* Castle being removed to *Carlisle*, a Commission was issued to try them at that place. The prisoners gave the Court little trouble, almost all of them pleading guilty. Some were condemned, and the rest discharged; but, however, not one was executed. In *December*, Brigadier *Colin Campbell*, the most obnoxious of all the prisoners made his escape in disguise. The last of the Rebels, who were executed at *Lancaster* and *Preston*, were Captain *John Bruce*, Gentleman of the Horse to the Duke of *Hamilton*, *Thomas Shuttleworth*, *John Minkley*, *George Hodgson*, and *William Charnley*; these were hanged in *October*.

On the 6th of *December*, an accident happened, which gave occasion to various conjectures. The Prince of *Wales* being in one of the Stage-boxes at the Theatre in *Drury-Lane*, to see the Tragedy of *Themistocles*, Mr. *Freeman* a Gentleman of *Surrey*, who had for some years past been troubled with fits of lunacy, came booted and spurred, and would have pressed into the Stage-box, near the place where the Prince was. Being in a mean riding habit, he was stopped by the Boxkeepers; and a Grenadier, who was upon duty; whereupon he drew out a pistol, and shot the Centinel in the shoulder. With great difficulty he was secured; and, being searched, two or three other loaded pistols were

found about him; which, together with his man's waiting for him with two horses, at the end of the Play House passage, did not a little increase the suspicion of a treasonable design against the Prince. The report of the pistol, and the disturbance that followed it, occasioned a great alarm within the house, particularly among the Ladies; and, none rightly knowing the cause of the confusion, the Gentlemen and Officers about the Prince, and almost throughout the house, drew their swords; so that the Players were a considerable time at a stand. But, Mr. *Freeman* being sent prisoner to the Guard at *St. James's*, all was quiet again; the Prince having all this while preserved a great presence of mind, and appeared to be under no apprehension. The soldier's wound did not prove mortal; but Mr. *Freeman's* attempt of forcing the Prince of *Wales's* Guard coming within the statute of treason, after he had been examined before the Council, he was committed to *Newgate*, the rather, because he was said to have either killed, or mortally wounded a man two days before, in the Country.

A considerable change began now to be made in the Ministry. The Earl of *Sunderland*, who had gone beyond sea, under pretence of travelling for his health, had taken the opportunity of waiting upon the King at *Hanover*, and by his intrigues with the German Ministers there, particularly the Barons *Brubner* and *Bernstorff*, and Monsieur de *Robelton*, infused a jealousy into him of the Lord *Townshend* and Mr. *Walpole*; so that, on the 11th of *December*, an express arrived in *England* from *Hanover*, and the next day it was publicly known that Lord *Townshend* was removed from his place of Secretary of State. This was however softened with an account that his Lordship was to be advanced to the post of Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; the Duke of *Grafton*, first Lord Justice of that Kingdom, being appointed Colonel of the Royal regi-

peace of the City of *London*, met in several public houses, which from the vessel in which the drink was sold, were called *Mug-Houses*. The two most noted of these societies were the *Mug-House*, in *Long-Acre*, and the *Red-Buck* in *Chancery*, being set up before the King's Accession. Their example produced several others of the like Houses in *Salisbury-Court*, *Tavistock-Street*, *Southwark-Park*, *Covent-Garden*, and other places. As these societies were a terror and mortification to the dissipated, so were they the object of their fury, of which they gave many instances. The day before Mr. *Paul*, the Clergyman, was hanged, they fell upon the *Mug-House*, in *Southwark-Park*, with their usual cry of *High-Church* and *Ormond*; but the society falling out upon them, after the windows of the house had been all broke, the mob retired. The execution of Mr. *Paul*, who declared himself at the gallows to be their Martyr, exasperated them yet more, and the society at Mr. *Read's* in *Salisbury-Court*, having distinguished themselves by demonstrations of duty and respect to the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, at their return from *Greenwich*; the Jacobites took so much offence at it, that on the 20th of *July*, they attacked Mr. *Read's* house, and would have demolished it, had not the company within sent for a reinforcement from *Tavistock-Street*, with which being joined, the mob fled with great precipitation. But they continued hovering about the house the following days; and hearing that Mr. *Archibald Butler*, a young Scots Gentleman, who had been in the Rebellion, but had received the King's pardon, was in the *Temple-Walks*, they ran thither crying out, *High-Church* and *Ormond*.

Mr. *Butler* got away from them as fast as he could; and presently one *Vaughan* a Small-coal-man, proposed to them to go and revenge the affront they had received three days before at the *Mug-House* in *Salisbury-Court*. The mob, assenting to his proposal, followed him to Mr. *Read's* house, on which they fell furiously; but, meeting with a vigorous resistance, they gathered recruits from the multitudes, that crowded thither. Upon this alarm, and hearing they were determined to demolish the house, Mr. *Read* appeared, and bid them keep off; otherwise he would shoot amongst them. The *Bridewell-Boys*, of whom *Vaughan* had been one, and the rest of the mob, regardless of this fair warning, pressing forwards with great clubs and sticks, Mr. *Read* discharged a musket, and shot *Vaughan*, their leader, who died on the spot. The riot continuing, the Sheriffs of *London* repaired to the place, who caused the Proclamation appointed by Act of Parliament against riots to be read; but this not availing, and the Rioters being become Rebels, a party of Horse-Guards was ordered by the Privy-Council to march to *Salisbury-Court* to suppress them; and, upon their appearance, the mob dispersed and fled from the pursuit of justice; which, however, overtook some of them; for *John Love*, *Thomas Bean*, a servant to *Cassils* and *Carnegie*, two condemned Rebels, then in *Newgate*, *George Price*, *Richard Price*, and *William Price*, five of the most active of the rioters, were seized, imprisoned, and tried upon the statute, which makes it felony to demolish, or begin to demolish any house. The evidence against them proved their breaking the windows with stones and sticks, pulling

The Duke of Marlborough taken ill.

Rebels tried, and some executed.

Accident at the Play-House.

1716. regiment of Horse-Guards, lately commanded by the Duke of *Argyle*; and the Earl of *Galway*, the other Lord Justice of *Ireland*, being to enjoy an honourable pension during life. Two days after, the Duke of *Roxburgh* was made Secretary of State, and Keeper of the King's Signet in *Scotland*. The Lord *Poleworth* was appointed Lord Clerk Register, in the room of the Duke of *Montrose*, who was made Keeper of the Great-Seal of *Scotland*. The Duke of *Kington* was appointed Keeper of the Privy-Seal, and the Earl of *Sunderland* sole Treasurer of *Ireland* for life.

In this disposition things remained till the King's return; and the Lord *Townshend's* removal affected no more for the present than himself; though the divisions in the Ministry seemed irreconcilable (1).

During these transactions at home, the King was not idle abroad. One of the principal ends of the King's journey to *Hanover*, was to provide against any future attempts of the Jacobite party, by endeavouring to make Alliances with all those powers from whence the Pretender might expect any support. But this was an impossible undertaking, in the then situation of the affairs of *Europe*. The King of *Spain* pretended to have numberless complaints against the Emperor. The evacuation of *Catalonia* had given great offence, as to the manner of doing it. A Tribunal had been erected at *Vienna* for the affairs of *Spain*, and the estates of the *Flemish*, who had served King *Philip*, were confiscated. But these were slight grievances in comparison of

Complaints
of Spain
against the
Emperor.

what was now in agitation. *Sicily* had been granted to the Duke of *Savoy*, by the *Utrecht* treaty, on condition of returning to *Spain*, in case of failure of heirs. The Emperor had looked upon this grant with the utmost concern. He had almost persuaded the Duke of *Savoy* to accept *Sardinia* in exchange, without the participation of the Court of *Madrid*, and without any regard to the clause of reversion. To all these occasions of rupture were added the pretensions of the two Courts to the Succession of the *Tuscan* Dominions.

As to *France*, with respect to *Spain*, the two Nations were united, but their Governors were not so. King *Philip* and the Duke of *Orleans* were ready to contend for the Crown of *Lewis* XV, in case death should remove him out of the world. *Philip* had renounced that Crown, and upon that alone was founded the Duke of *Orleans's* title. But, besides that, the Renunciation was generally considered in *France* as of no great force; the Emperor's constant refusal to cease styling himself King of *Spain*, seemed entirely to annul it, as it was not reasonable that one contracting party should be obliged to stand to mutual engagements, to which the other refuses to submit. King *George* therefore could not be attached to *France* without offending *Spain*, nor could he be united to *Spain*, without giving offence to both the others.

The case was much the same with the Northern Powers, and it was still more difficult for King *George* to manage them, so as to draw none of them upon himself. *Denmark* and *Sweden* were at war: The Czar had entered into

Negotiations
with the
Northern
Princes

ing down the sign, entering the house, fetching out the goods, treading upon them, and breaking them. It was sworn at their trial, that one of the mob brought three bottles out of Mr. *Read's* house, kneeled down, by the Swan Ale-house door, and drank the Pretender's health, by the name of King *James* the Third. The evidence against these five rioters being very strong, they were all found guilty, and received sentence of death. The Prince was very much inclined to shew mercy to one or two of the youngest of them; but, the dangerous consequences of riots and tumults, in the heart of the Metropolis, and the necessity of preventing the same, by exemplary punishment, being represented to the Prince, he acquiesced in the course of justice; which had the good effect, that was foreseen and intended, the putting a stop to the desperate outrages of an enthusiastical multitude. The five rioters were executed on a gibbet, erected, on the 21st of September, at the end of *Salisbury-Court*, near the place where the crimes, for which they died, were committed. *George Purchas* acknowledged himself greatly guilty, and his sentence just; praying God to forgive him this and all other his sins. This, he said, he rashly committed, not considering, then, the unlawfulness and dismal consequences of such a rebellious sedition, as that was, which so much tended, not only to the ruin of private persons, but to the great disturbance of, and dishonour to, the whole Government.

However, some party-zealots prosecuted Mr. *Read* for the death of *Vaughan*, who had led on the mob to destroy his house. The witnesses against him, at his trial, swore very strongly against him. *John Bill* deposed, That he believed, *Vaughan* did not belong to the mob in *Salisbury-Court*, and had no stick in his hand. *Charles Tuckey* swore, that *Vaughan* had no stick. The same was sworn by *Catherine Bennet*. *Joseph Harris* deposed, that *Vaughan* told him, He could not be concerned, but go to work. This being so directly contrary to the fact, known to so many hundreds of spectators, and fully proved by several of them, the Jury acquitted Mr. *Read*, who had 400 l. paid him at the Treasury, to make good his losses and

charges: And Mr. *Gill*, at the *Roebuck* in *Cheapside*, had 200 l. allowed him, on the same account, his house having been several times attacked by the mob, of whom, one, the apprentice of Mr. *Heptinstall*, a Printer, was shot, pressing on as *Vaughan* did, notwithstanding repeated warnings to keep off.

(1) The following particulars happened during the King's absence. *Thomas d'Aeth* and *Matthew Decker* were created Baronets. The pension of 2500 l. a year was taken from the Earl of *Nottingham*.

Edward Southwell, *James Vernon*, and *Andrew Carlton* were appointed Commissioners of the Privy Seal, in the absence of the Earl of *Sunderland*.

Mr. *Bruce*, a Scotch Prisoner, changing cloaths with his sister, made his escape out of *Newgate*.

In August there blew so strong a Westerly wind (which forced back the tide, and drove forward the ebbing water) that the *Thames* lay perfectly dry above and below bridge, except a narrow channel about four foot deep, and twelve foot over.

Several of the School-masters of the Charity schools, in *London*, were removed for disaffection to the Government. Dr. *Wolsten*, Rector of *White-Chapel*, was deprived also for disaffection to the Government, and was succeeded by Dr. *Shippin*, of *Brazen-nose-College* in *Oxford*.

Margaret, eldest daughter of the Lord *Comingsby*, was created Baroness and Viscountess of *Comingsby*, of *Hampton-Court*, in *Hertfordshire*, with limitation to her heirs male.

January the 4th, the triple league between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Holland* was signed at the *Hague*.

Three days after the King's return, January the 22d, came on the famous trial of *Francis the Jew*, for corresponding with the King's enemies. He was acquitted.

Thirty of the *Preston* Rebels having been put on board a ship to be transported, affidavits were made before the Mayor of *Liverpool*, that they had mastered the ship's crew, and carried the ship to *France*. One hundred of the same Prisoners who had been confined in the *Savoy*, were shipped off for the *West-Indies*.

1716. into a confederacy, which had taken from the *Suede* his German Dominions: The Princes of the Empire beheld with regret the *Russians* in their Country. It was the business of those who had called them in, and made use of them, to send them away. The acquisition of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which King *George* had gained as Elector of *Hanover*, had enraged King *Charles* of *Sweden*. He durst not as King of *Great-Britain*, declare war against him (though he had done it as Elector of *Hanover*) nor could he be reconciled with him, unless he restored the two Duchies. The only way therefore was to compel that warlike Prince to make peace. In this situation, it was necessary for King *George* to make Alliances, and unite with those who could most annoy him in case they became his enemies. Being sure of the good disposition of the Regent of *France*, he trusted to his Ministers the Negotiations with that Prince, and undertook himself the affairs of the North, where it is plain, he knew some enterprize was contriving in favour of the Pretender.

With France and the States. The Negotiation with *France* succeeded to his wish. The Duke of *Orleans*, who had still more need of a support to mount the Throne, in case of a vacancy, than the King had to maintain himself on that of *Great-Britain*, granted all that was desired. The *States-General*, who aimed only at peace and security, readily came into a treaty, which embroiled them with no Power they were concerned to manage, and which laid upon them scarce any fresh obligation. General *Cadogan*, the Abbot du Bois, and Pensionary *Heinsius* negotiated this affair with such secrecy, that the treaty was finished almost before it was known to be in hand.

The treaty with France. By this treaty, the Pretender, that his near-ade might not encourage commotions in *Great-Britain*, was to depart immediately from *Avignon*, and go beyond the *Alps*; nor was he to be suffered at any time to come to return thither, or to pass through the *French* Territories under pretence of going to *Lorrain*, or even to set his foot in any place within the Dominions of *France*, much less to stay there on any pretence whatsoever. This was accompanied with the renewing of the promises made at *Utrecht*, of absolutely refusing protection to the Chevalier de *St. George*, and of assisting him in any manner directly or indirectly. No refuge was to be given to the subjects of either party who should be declared Rebels. All that had been formerly agreed, concerning *Dunkirk*, was to be fully executed, and nothing was to be omitted that the King of *Great Britain* should think necessary for the intire demolition of the harbour, and for the removing all suspicion that a new harbour was intended to be made on the canal of *Mardyke*. This treaty referred to a memorial signed at *London* in *September*, by Monsieur *Iberville*, Resident of *France*, and the Lord *Townsend* and Mr. *Melbuen*, Secretaries of State, containing the particulars required by King *George* to make him easy, and cure his suspicions.

After these Preliminaries (which might be considered as the purchase given by *France* for this Alliance) it was added, that the true design of this treaty being to strengthen the friendship established by the late treaties at *Utrecht*, the articles of those treaties, as far as they concerned the contracting parties, were confirmed

Numb. XC. Vol. IV.

and ratified, particularly that the Succession, to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, in the Protestant Line, and to the Crown of *France*, in the family of *Orleans*, exclusive of the House of *Anjou*, should remain in full force. A mutual Guarantee was also given for the performance of these, and all the other articles, and for the defence of the Dominions possessed by the three powers at the time of signing the treaty. Then was settled the succours each should give the party attacked, after fair means had been used to induce the aggressor to desist from his enterprise. *France* and *England* were to furnish each eight thousand foot, and two thousand horse, and the *States* half that number. It was free to demand ships or money instead of troops, and, to prevent all occasion of dispute, it was agreed that a thousand foot should be valued at 10,000 *Dutch* florins a month, and a thousand horse at 30,000. The succours at sea were to be valued in the same proportion.

The chief end of this treaty being to support the Successions to the two Crowns, that article was very largely explained. It was agreed, that if the Kingdoms, Countries, or Provinces of any of the Allies were disturbed with intestine Divisions, or by Rebellions, on account of these Successions, or any other pretence, the Ally so disturbed should have a right to demand aid, as in case of being attacked by a foreign Power; that this aid should be sent within two months after demand, and the necessary expences advanced by those of whom it was demanded, and no repayment to be required till a year after the troubles should cease. In case this aid should not be sufficient, it was added, the whole forces of the other parties should be employed, and if, occasion required, war should be declared against the aggressors.

As soon as this treaty was made public, it raised great murmurings, especially in *France*, where it was openly said, that the Regent sacrificed to his ambitious views, the honour and advantage of the Nation; the condescension hitherto shewn for *England* on account of the Chevalier de *St. George* had been too great, but the present proceedings were shameful and mean: The demolition of *Mardyke* would be an eternal monument of the subjection of *France* to *England*: *Lewis XIV.* would never have consented to it, and the unsettled State of *Great Britain* did not put her into a condition to impose Laws: A Prince, who had no other interest but that of his people, would have taken the opportunity to finish a work so important and necessary: The expressions in the treaty, of doing whatever the King of *Great Britain* shall judge necessary to remove his suspicions, were of a very high strain, and derogatory to the sovereignty of the Crown of *France*.

The King of *Spain* was highly offended at this Alliance, and complained of it bitterly, affirming, it belonged to the States of the Realm, not to Foreigners, especially the *English*, perpetual enemies to *France*, to decide pretensions to the Throne, in case God should, in his anger, call the young King to himself: And from that time he took measures to disconcert this Alliance.

This strict Alliance with *France* was found fault with even in *England*, where it was pretended, that the Succession was sufficiently secured by the treaty of *Utrecht*, and there was no occasion

1716. occasion for so many foreign troops, which might be called in on pretence of an Invasion, and perhaps be used for very different purposes. The King and Regent disregarded these murmurs, being satisfied that their mutual interest would oblige them to an inviolable performance of their engagements. The character of these two Princes had a great resemblance in many particulars, they had both great talents for Government, and may be said to have equally had an occasion for them in their respective circumstances, which were much the same. Alike dissatisfied with the late Administration of affairs, they observed the same conduct. None of the friends and creatures of *Lewis XIV.* were in favour with the Duke of *Orleans*; as none of the friends and creatures of *Queen Anne* were in favour with *King George*. The difference, in their manner of treating them, entirely flowed from the different usages of the Nations they governed. *King George* delivered himself up to the Whigs, who had been persecuted in the late Reign: The Duke of *Orleans* seemed to give himself up to the *Janfenists*, whom *Lewis XIV.* had constantly ill-used: They changed Ministers almost as often one as the other: Their Competitors inspired them with the same views, and almost the same precautions: They were alike even in their death, for Both died suddenly. The Duke of *Orleans* is said to have had a more prompt and ready genius: The multitude and difficulty of his affairs never hindered him from pursuing his pleasures, whereas *King George* was always attentive, always serious, and seemed an enemy to all amusements; and therefore he was, beyond comparison, more regular in his manners and conduct; besides, he was more constantly attached to the party he had espoused, and was never seen to waver between the Whigs and Tories, as did the Duke of *Orleans* between the *Janfenists* and *Molinists*.

Negotiations in the North almost fruitless. General *Cadogan* had much better success in his Negotiations with *France*, than the King had in his with the Northern Powers. Notwithstanding all his endeavours, he could engage them neither to be reconciled, nor even to suspend their resentments. He seemed, however, to have succeeded in spite of the King of *Denmark's* desire to preserve his advantages, and the King of *Sweden's* eagerness to revenge and repair his losses. His *Swedish* Majesty had presented to the Emperor and the Diet pacific memorials, and even sent Plenipotentiaries to assist at the Congress of *Brunswick*; but all these hopes quickly vanished. *King George* had, however, made that Prince all the advances imaginable: Had strongly pressed the Emperor, the Kings of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, and even the Czar himself, that the *Russians* might march out of the Empire: Nay, it is said, he had proceeded so far towards a separate peace with the King of *Sweden*, as to offer to join with him against the *Muscovites*, on condition only that he would renounce all pretensions to the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*. *King Charles XII.* was intractable; incensed at the war made against him, when he could not defend himself; and still more at the peace, which they would compel him to make, on conditions, as he thought, both dishonourable and hard, he breathed nothing but revenge, and was as much offended with the King of *Great-Britain*, as with the Czar and the King of *Denmark*.

As *King George* could not obtain the cession he desired, he took the best measures to secure his new acquisitions, and compel the King of *Sweden* to remain quiet. It was given out, that the Confederacy he had entered into was formed purely for the sake of peace. It was agreed by the Confederates, that each should furnish a certain number of forces and ships, not to make new conquests upon *Sweden*, but to oblige his *Swedish* Majesty to sit easy under his losses, and not endeavour to recover them. This rupture with *Sweden* was not only detrimental to the trade of *Great-Britain*, but had like to prove fatal to the King; for, whilst he was labouring for a peace in the North, in order to secure his *German* possessions, a scheme was contriving to deprive him of his *British* Dominions.

The dissatisfied in *England*, still pursuing their designs in favour of the Pretender, turned their eyes on the King of *Sweden* to accomplish it. They knew how exasperated he was against *King George*, and how glad he would be of a revenge: Count *Gyllenburg* was the *Swedish* Resident at *London*. The Count was applied to, or perhaps made the first overtures. The affair was carried on not only at *London*, but by Baron *Gortz*, the *Swedish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, and by Baron *Sparre* at *Paris*, with the *English* Jacobites there, and other Friends of the Pretender. Baron *Gortz*, who was the projector of this plot, went to *France*, in order to bring things to the point he desired, and because the secret could be kept better at *Paris* than at the *Hague*. The Czar was also treated with, who was known to be offended with *King George*.

These Negotiations could not be so privately managed, but that they were suspected by the Court of *England*. In *April*, when the Septennial Bill was in hand, intimations had been given that a second Invasion was to be feared, and this apprehension was made one of the motives for continuing a House of Commons, in which the King had so much reason to confide. These suspicions were indeed not very clear, but, in the situation of *Europe* at that time, it was not difficult to guess from what quarter the danger was to come. The good disposition of the Duke of *Orleans* had removed all uneasiness with respect to *France*. The King of *Spain*, wholly intent on his projects against the Emperor, could not be suspected of quarrelling with *England*. The North therefore was the only Place from whence the storm could be thought to proceed: This conjecture, the only reasonable one that could be formed, determined *King George* to repair to *Hanover*, where he could best discover the intentions of his enemies. He succeeded in his design; at least the public was, in a few days after his arrival at *London*, informed of the plot, by the seizing of Count *Gyllenburg*.

The King, having finished all his affairs abroad, set out from *Hanover* the 19th of *January*, N. S. The King's return to England. and in ten days landed at *Margate*, from whence he proceeded to *London*.

It was expected, the Parliament would have immediately met, but their meeting was put off for some time, on account of a surprising event. On the 29th of *January*, Mr. Secretary *Stanhope* communicated to the Privy Council the informations, the King had received of a Conspiracy, which had, for some time, been carried on to excite a new Rebellion, and to favour a foreign Invasion. The same night Major *Smith*,
The Swedish Resident seized

1716-17. an *Irish* Officer, who was no longer in the service, and who, that very evening, had been playing at Basset at the apartments in *St. James's*, was seized at his lodgings; and, about twelve o'clock, Lieutenant Colonel *Blakeney*, with a detachment of the Foot-guards, secured the House of Count *Gyllenburg*, the *Swedish* Resident. Not long after, Major-General *Wade*, attended by the Colonel, went and knocked at the door of the *Swedish* Minister, and being admitted, found him making up some dispatches. Having, in a few words, made him a compliment, and acquainted him with his Commission to put a guard upon his person, and to secure his papers, he laid hold on such, as were on the table, and demanded those, that were in his scrutoire. Count *Gyllenburg's* surprize raised in him an extraordinary emotion, which made him expostulate with some warmth about the law of Nations being violated in his person; but having somewhat recovered his temper, he desired leave to send for the Marquis *de Monteleone*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, that he might consult with him, how to act on such an occasion. But General *Wade*, having positive orders not to let him speak with any person, could not grant his request. On the other hand, the Count's Lady having refused the keys of the scrutoire, upon pretence, that there was nothing in it but linen and plate, the General caused it to be broke open; and having found in it a great many papers, he sealed them all up, and left a strong guard upon the Resident. The same morning *Charles Caesar*, formerly Treasurer of the Navy, and Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Hertford*; and Sir *Jacob Banks*, formerly Member of Parliament for *Minehead*, were apprehended, upon suspicion of being in Confederacy with Count *Gyllenburg*.

There were several conjectures as to the means of this important discovery. Some affirmed, the King had long before notice of the design from *France*; others, that the discovery was owing to an intercepted letter from Count *Gyllenburg* to the Lord *Duffus*, prisoner in the Tower: And others asserted, the Lord *Duffus* accidentally revealed the Conspiracy to an *English* Lord, his fellow prisoner, who discovered it to the Government, and thereby merited his pardon. Be this as it will, it is certain, that the King and his Ministers had long before entertained suspicions of the Count's clandestine practices; which were not a little increased upon the publication of a libel about September 1716, intitled, *An English Merchant's remarks upon a scandalous Jacobite paper published in the Post-Boy, under the name of, 'A memorial presented to the Chancery of Sweden, by the Resident of Great-Britain.'* Of which libel Count *Gyllenburg* was suspected to be the Author, as afterwards appeared by his letters*.

The securing the person and papers of a public Minister being an affair of an extraordinary nature, and some foreign Ministers having expressed their sentiments of it at Court, they were given to understand, that in a day or two they should be acquainted with the reasons for proceeding against the *Swedish* Minister in such a manner. Accordingly, the Secretaries of State, Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Melbuen*, wrote a circular letter to the foreign Ministers of their respective districts, who were pretty well reconciled to the proceedings of the Court; only the Mar-

quis *de Monteleone*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, last, in his answer to Mr. *Stanhope*: 'That he was sorry no other way could be found out, for preserving the peace of his Majesty's Dominions, without arresting the person of a public Minister, and seizing all his papers, which are the sacred repositories of the secrets of his Master; and in whatever manner these two facts may seem to be understood, they seem very sensibly to wound the law of Nations.'

Not many days after the seizing of Count *Baron Gyllenburg*, Baron *Gortz*, Minister and Favourite of the King of Sweden, was likewise secured in *Guelderland*, in the following manner: Mr. *Leathes*, the *British* Resident at the *Hague*, received the King's orders to desire the Regents of that State to consent to the seizing of Baron *Gortz*, with his two Secretaries Mr. *Stamcke* and Mr. *Gustavus Gyllenburg*; the Baron having for some time been concerned in carrying on a correspondence, and concerting measures with the *British* Rebels in *France*, and with several persons in *England*, by means of Count *Gyllenburg*, for raising a Rebellion in *England*, to be supported by a foreign force. Mr. *Leathes* went immediately to *Amsterdam*, and disposed the Magistrates of that place to consent to the securing of Baron *Gortz*, in case he should come thither from *France*; and returned back to the *Hague*. The same night Baron *Gortz* arrived there, having heard at *Calis* of Count *Gyllenburg's* being put under arrest, which prevented his going over to *England*, as he intended. He had, on the 18th of February, a Conference with the Imperial Minister, wherein he extolled the inclination of the King of Sweden to peace, and insisted on a resolution about his last propositions; but the next day, he set out, a little before noon, in a post chaise, accompanied by General *Pontasowski*, having as it is believed, had some notice, that orders were given to secure him, which, indeed, he narrowly escaped. For upon Mr. *Leathes's* application, the Council of the States of *Holland* met, and passed a resolution for seizing the Baron and his Secretaries; but before it could be executed, the Baron and Mr. *Stamcke* were gone that morning for *Amsterdam*; so that only Mr. *Gyllenburg* was then taken. A party of horse was immediately sent after the other two, and Mr. *Leathes* followed them to *Amsterdam*, and learning where Baron *Gortz* was lodged, he went, accompanied with the proper Officers, to the house of M. *Teilsen*, a *Swedish* Merchant, and searched it; but the Baron had left it some hours before. However a box was found, in which were twelve large packets of letters; and informations being given which way the Baron had taken, some persons were dispatched after him, who seized him and Mr. *Stamcke* at *Arnhem*, by leave of the Magistrates of that place, as they were taking coach to go on from thence. Mr. *Leathes*, being returned to the *Hague*, waited on the Deputies of the Province of *Guelderland*, who thought fit to write a letter to the Magistrates of *Arnhem*, ordering them to cause the Baron and M. *Stamcke* to be kept in safe custody. On this occasion, all those of the Regency, who were applied to, entered readily into the reasonableness of the King's demands, and gave all the assistance and dispatch, that was consistent with the known forms of proceeding in that Country. It is observable, that, when Baron *Gortz* was seized, he

owned

1716-17. owned himself to have been the projector of the intended Invasion of *Great Britain* by the King of *Sweden*, and that he had actually provided ten thousand arms, and other necessaries for this service, valuing himself very much upon what he had done in this affair, as thinking it extremely for the interest of his Master, and a noble and glorious enterprize (1).

The second Session of the fifth Parliament of Great-Britain.

The Parliament of *Great-Britain* met on the 20th of *February*, according to their last prorogation; and the King being come to the House of Peers with the usual solemnity, and delivering a speech into the Lord Chancellor's hands, it was by him read to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech.
Pr. H. C.

"I Was in hopes, that the success which it pleased God to give us, in defeating the late Rebellion, should have secured to the Nation peace, plenty and tranquillity.

"My endeavours have not been wanting, during your recess, to improve the happy prospect, which was in view, by entering into such Negotiations, as I judged most conducive to those good ends: And it is with pleasure I can acquaint you, that many defects in the treaties of *Utrecht*, which very nearly affected the trade, and even the security of these Kingdoms, have been remedied by subsequent Conventions, the happy consequences of which have already very sensibly appeared by the flourishing condition of our trade and credit.

"By the Alliance lately concluded with *France* and the *States-General*, we are soon to be eased of all future apprehensions from *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*. The Pretender is actually removed beyond the *Alps*: His adherents are deprived of all hopes of support and countenance from *France*; and even the assistance of that Crown is stipulated to us in case of exigency.

"It seemed reasonable to expect, that such a situation of affairs at home and abroad should have recovered from their delusion all such of our subjects, as had unhappily been seduced by the craft and wickedness of desperate and ill-designing men, and thereby have afforded me the opportunity, which I desired, of following the natural bent of my own inclinations to lenity, by opening this Session with an Act of Grace. But such is the obdurate and inveterate rancour of a faction a-

"mongst us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and stir up foreign Powers to disturb the peace of their native Country: They will choose rather to make *Britain* a scene of blood and confusion, and to venture even the putting this Kingdom under a foreign Yoke, than give over their darling design of imposing a *Papish* Pretender.

"I have ordered to be laid before you copies of letters, which have passed between the *Swedish* Ministers on this occasion, which contain a certain account of the projected Invasion: And I promise myself from your experienced zeal and affection to my Person and Government, that you will come to such resolutions, as will enable me by the Blessing of God, to defeat all the designs of our enemies against us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I did hope, the putting an end to the late Rebellion would have so far secured the peace and tranquillity of the Nation, that I might, consistently with the safety of my people, have made a considerable reduction of the forces. But the preparations, which are making from abroad to invade us, oblige me to ask such supplies, as you shall find absolutely necessary for the defence of the Kingdom.

"You are all sensible of the insupportable weight of the national debts, which the public became engaged for, from the necessity of the times, the pressures of a long and expensive war, and the languishing state of public credit. But, the scene being now so happily changed, if no new disturbances shall plunge us again into treights and difficulties, the general expectation seems to require of you, that you should turn your thoughts toward some method of extricating yourselves, by reducing, by degrees, the debts of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have an intire confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to ask, but, that you would take such measures, as will best secure your Religion and Liberties. While you preserve those inestimable Blessings, I shall sit easy and safe on my Throne, having no other view but the happiness and prosperity of my people (2).

The

(1) To justify this Invasion, it was urged, that King *George*, as Elector of *Hanover*, had assisted the Princes in Confederacy against the King of *Sweden*, proclaimed war against him, aided the King of *Denmark* to take *Bremen* and *Verden*, and afterwards purchased these two Duchies of him. And this year had given instructions to Sir *John Norris* to join the *Danish* and *Russian* fleets in the *Baltic*; which the Admiral did accordingly.

(2) Besides the treaty of Commerce with *Spain* (by which the three articles tacked to the treaty of *Utrecht* were revoked, and all other grievances in trade removed) and the Triple Alliance between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and the *States*, the King had concluded another treaty with the Emperor, *May* 16, 1716, which he did not think fit to mention to the Parliament. By this treaty, there was to be perfect unity between them, and each was to reckon the advantages and losses of the

other as his own. They were to defend one another in the possession of all their present Kingdoms, Provinces, and Rights, and in case either of them was attacked, the other was to assist with eight thousand foot and four thousand horse, or with ships in proportion. No Prince was to be admitted without common consent; but the *States* were to be admitted, and even invited without delay, to accede to it. By a separate article this treaty was not to extend to the Emperor's wars with the *Turks*.

The design of this Alliance was to rouse the jealousy of *France*, and incline the Regent to hasten a treaty with *England*. Accordingly, when he heard of this treaty, he resolved to enter into an Alliance with *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, and the treaty (as hath been said) was concluded at *Hanover* the beginning of the next year.

(1) The

1716-17. The King being withdrawn, and the Com-
Scheme of an intend- ed Inva- sion and Rebellion.
mons returned to their House, Mr. Secretary
Stanhope laid before them copies of the letters
which passed between Count Gyllenburg, the Bar-
ons Gortz and Sparre, and others, relating to a
design of raising a Rebellion in Great-Britain, to
be supported by an Invasion from Sweden. By
these letters it appeared, that a design was form-
ed to dethrone King George, and conducted in
such a manner, as almost to warrant success. Art-
ful papers were published to foment and increase
discontent and division; the apparent tranquil-
lity, enjoyed in Great-Britain, was to be an occa-
sion of requiring and obtaining the reduction of
the national, and dismissal of the foreign forces;
ships, bought at different places, were to assem-
ble at Gottenburg by the end of March, when
the East-winds usually blow, on board of which
eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse
were to embark, with artillery, ammunition, and
arms for fifteen thousand men. The great num-
ber of the Disaffected had been so far relied on,
that the secret of the Negotiation had been trust-
ed in England but to very few persons; nothing
was transacted in writing; no treaty was made;
the mutual concern for the success of the under-
taking was, as it were, the warrant for the pro-
mises that were given.

This method of treating prolonged the Ne-
gotiation, but withal was a security against the
ill consequences of a discovery. Both sides were
equally desirous of being concealed. The King
of Sweden absolutely refused to appear in the af-
fair, till the time of execution; and the Pre-
tender's friends, with whom Count Gyllenburg
treated at London, would not engage for any
thing till they had his Master's word. They did
not care to labour in vain; but as soon as they
should have the assurance of his assistance, money

should not be wanting; nor means to support the
affair. Upon this, Baron Gortz spoke out more
plainly. He sent word, he had done nothing
but upon the knowledge of his Master's inten-
tions, and had lately been impowered in form
to prosecute the enterprize. He sent a copy of
his full powers which were unlimited, and it
was visible they were so extensive, only because
there might be no occasion to mention the affair,
which was to be concealed from the Ministers at
Stockholm.

This assurance removed all uneasiness and in-
resolution; money was given; views were ex-
plained; means of substituting the foreign troops
were particularised; a person was procured, who
was perfectly acquainted with the coasts where
it was resolved they should land; ships of war
were provided, from sixty to seventy guns; Mer-
chant-men, that were to carry corn to Gotten-
burg, were to serve for transports. The scheme
was well laid, and the execution seemed infalli-
ble; especially, if the army had been reduced,
and the Dutch forces sent home. Twelve thou-
sand chosen Swedes, in a condition to receive those
that were ready to join them, would have quick-
ly formed a powerful army: Encouraged by such
an army, the people would have risen on all sides:
The Highlanders would have all been in arms:
The torrent would have increased without
ceasing, and a battle would have decided the af-
fair. Thus much is certain, the project was in-
finitely better concerted than the last year's:
The continual motions of the Swedish forces
would have served to cover the true design, till
it would have been too late to oppose it; a few
days sufficed to convey them into Scotland or
England. But a timely discovery confounded
all these measures, and established King George
on the Throne (1).

The

(1) The reader may see all these particulars, at
large, in the following abstracts of the letters.

The first letter is from Baron Sparre, to Count Gyl-
lenburg, dated at Paris, September 25, 1716; in which
the Baron acquaints the Count, 'That three days
before, he was informed, that he [Count Gyllenburg]
had entered upon business with some Lords of the
chief of the Pretender's party: That they took it
for granted, he was authorized to do so, by the King
of Sweden; and, in a word, that he was inclined to
believe, that his Swedish Majesty would espouse the
interests of that Prince. In the first place, adds the
Baron, I will tell you, that I shall be charmed with it;
and then, that it is not from a motive of curiosity, that
I ask, whether what I have heard be true; but that I
may co-operate with you, though indirectly, till I have
powers like yours, with which, you know, we are
obliged to proceed very cautiously. Do me the friend-
ship to let me know, what there is in this matter, as
soon as possible. I flatter myself, you will find your
account in it.

The next is a letter from Count Gyllenburg to Baron
Gortz, dated London, Sept. 29, O. S. Octob. 9, N. S.
1716; which, being very material, deserves to be in-
serted at length. 'In answer to your Excellency's
letter, says the Count, of the 22d past, I now do my-
self the honour to acquaint you, that every body here
is of opinion, that either France is extremely weak, or
else that the Regent aims at the Throne, and is de-
sirous to purchase it of King George, at any rate; for,
otherwise, it is thought impossible, that France could
condescend to make so ignominious a sacrifice, as the
does, of a work [Marduke] which cost her so much,
and for which the late King would have undergone a
ten years war. People go so far here, as to lay wagers,
No. 90. VOL. IV.

that the young King of France will be dispatched, be-
fore a certain time, to make room for his Uncle. But,
if the report, which is current at present, proves true,
that the young King is fallen ill of the Small-pox, it is
very possible, that Providence may confound his vast
projects, which, among other things, tend to set up
the Court of Hanover to serve France, in our stead, as
a balance against the power of the Emperor: And it
was with this view, that France already offered, last
spring, to consent to guaranty to the Hanoverians the
possession of the Duchy of Bremen. If the Emperor
considers well the time, at which France takes these
steps, and England is so forward to answer them, he
will find, that his last advantage over the Turks has
begot a jealousy in those two Powers, and has made
them bethink themselves in good time of securing
one another mutually, against his power. I know not
with what design it is done; but the Ministry at pre-
sent give out, that the peace of the North is actually
in agitation, and that it will be concluded to the sat-
isfaction of the King of Sweden. My friends would
persuade me, that this is done, in order to quiet a
little the minds of those, whose eyes my paper [Re-
marks of an English Merchant, &c.] has opened. Be
that as it will, I can assure your Excellency, that never
any paper met with a more general approbation; and,
if I might venture to give my opinion, I should think
it would not be improper to cause it to be printed in
French, in Dutch, and even in English, at the Hague.
Your Excellency may be assured, that if these Gentle-
men here make any answer to it, I shall be ready to
baffle them intirely, and that there is nothing in the
world I should so much wish for.

Whether they do this, or not, I intend to have
several pieces ready against the meeting of the Parlia-
ment,

1716-17. The letters being read in both Houses, raised the utmost indignation in all the Well-affected to the Government, and addresses were presented, full of the most lively expressions of loyalty and zeal, and of resentment against the proceedings of the late Ministry. The Lords, in their addresses, said, 'We are sensible, that the gross defects and pernicious consequences of the late

treaty of *Utrecht* could not have been remedied, but by your Majesty's unwearied application for the good of your subjects, and by that just regard, which is paid by foreign Potentates to your known wisdom and integrity. It is with unspeakable satisfaction, that we see your Majesty's endeavours successful in such Conventions, as have already given new life to our trade and credit;

ment, and to publish them by a little at a time, the impatience of the people here not suffering them to read long deductions: And if I had wherewithal to defray the expence, I would cause some of them to be printed immediately, and the papers to be conveyed into such places, that it should not be in the power of this Court to hinder the impression. The intimations, which have been made me, terminate in bringing in the Pretender; but as I cannot enter upon that affair, without an express order from the King, my Master, I have avoided coming to particulars.

Ten thousand men, transported hither from *Sweden*, would do the business; and I believe, we shall not be at a loss for money.

I send you inclosed, the translation of the paper, which has been published here.

Baron Gortz, in his answer, dated at the *Hague*, *October 2^d*, 1716, is of opinion, 'That hitherto, they need not be much disturbed about the treaty between *France* and *Great-Britain*; and adds, 'That the Count's printed piece deserves the approbation it meets with: That he has sent it to the King, and will take care to get translations of it into other languages printed. He desires to know the expence of printing the other pieces of the Count's comping: Cautions him, not to make any mention, in his letters to the King, nor to his correspondents in *Sweden*, of what has been insinuated to him about the Pretender: But that in the mean time, he will run no risque, in acquainting him with all the particulars on that head; and that, above all, it will be necessary to make him clearly understand, how ten thousand men might do the business; that is to say, what scheme has been contrived, and what motive they propose to offer, to induce the King of *Sweden* to enter into this affair.'

Count Gyllenburg, in his answer, dated at *London*, *October 4th*, 1716, tells Baron Gortz, 'I say nothing to the Alliance lately made by *France*. Last spring, *France* offered the *Hanoverians* their guaranty of the possession of *Bremen*, and I doubt not, but they have now done it. How do we know, but this may produce good dispositions at *Vienna* towards us? It was in jest only, that Count *Palka* told M. *Petum*, that his Master would enter into that Alliance.

I am very glad, that my pamphlet meets with your Excellency's approbation. I assure you, that to print the pieces, that will be necessary, will cost me, at least, sixty pounds. Printers must be bribed to it, for they run great risques, in printing any thing, that displeases the Government: But I will keep an exact account of every penny.

I would begin with our treaty, and make short remarks upon it*. Afterwards, I will print extradits from the Custom-House, to shew the little necessity there is of the trade to *Petersburg* and *Riga*, especially this year. Then I will come to the *Hanover* declaration of war, and will examine it, if it be necessary. After that, I will proceed to every one of our enemies, and I doubt not, but to undeceive the Nation.'

For this letter Count Gyllenburg subjoins this remarkable postscript:

'Your Excellency will have seen, by my last to M. de *Mullart*, what I have written upon the subject in question. You will be pleased to send, or keep back, that letter, just as you shall judge convenient. However, I beg you would be pleased to inform me which you do.

There is no medium; either *Bremen*, or the *Hanoverians*, must be sacrificed. The latter is not so difficult, considering the general discontent. Ten thousand men would be sufficient. The malecontents re-

quire but a body of regular troops, to which they may join themselves. That body, being transported in the month of *March*, when the easterly winds reign, and when it will not in the least be dreamt on, will cause a general revolt. We must also have arms for between fifteen and twenty thousand men, and as many accoutrements as can be got; for as to horses, we shall have them here. Your Excellency may easily judge of what advantage this will be to the King; and, in my poor opinion, we have no other course to take, unless we are willing to give up every thing. My friends are not in town, but I shall speak with them some day the next week; and then your Excellency may expect their scheme: In the mean time, I should be of opinion, that, if the business could be done, without making use of a great many *English*, there would be the less risque run; for I do not know, whether I ought to touch upon what the King must have further, for, although they will endeavour to do every thing, that I ask; yet, as it must be by a contribution raised among a great many, it may happen, that there may be a false brother. Our men once landed, I answer for the rest. In the mean time, I beg you would remember what I had the honour to write to you, last summer, concerning one N———. No body knows the sea and the coasts, better than he, and he is a brave and honest man. In short, it will be a glorious enterprize, which will put an end to all our misfortunes, by ruining those, that are the authors of them. As to what I have to say of the time, the sooner the better, after the trade to *Gottenburg* is ended, or before it begins.'

The next letter is from Count Gyllenburg, to his brother, *Gustavus Gyllenburg*, Secretary to Baron de Gortz, dated at *London*, *October 5th*, 1716; in which the postscript to Baron Gortz, is only material, which is as follows:

'I have since spoken with two of the principals, who have assured me, that there shall be sixty thousand pounds, sterling, ready, as soon as I shall shew them a line from the King, which assurances under his own hand, that he will assist them. As for the scheme, I shall have it within a few days. One of them, who is the chief promoter of this affair, assured me, that we had nothing to apprehend from the Regent on this occasion.'

By a letter dated at the *Hague*, *November 3^d*, 1716. M. *Gustavus Gyllenburg* acquaints his brother, the Count, that he has given Baron Gortz his letter of the 2^d of *October*, to read, as well as the note therein inclosed; to which he made him the following answer: 'It is my repeated advice to forbear speaking any thing at all of money; but to hear people only, so as to learn clearly what they are able and disposed to do, and to acquaint me with it, without opening your self to them.'

The next letter is from Count Gyllenburg to Baron Gortz, dated at *London*, *November 4th*, 1716, as follows: 'In answer to what your Excellency has done me the honour to write to me in the postscript to your letter of the 15th past, I grant there would be no harm in hearing the insinuations of this Court, if they were made not only without my promising to make report of them to his Majesty, but also my giving them hopes of his Majesty's being resolved to be reconciled to the *Hanoverians*, and to sacrifice *Bremen* to them for some equivalent on the part of the *Czar*. But as, without that, they will make no overtures, for fear we should make use of them to increase still more the distrust which is between the Northern Allies, and so make an advantage of them; it is not in my power to get any

* This was done and sold privately.

1716-17. credit; and particularly in the treaty lately concluded with *France* and the *States-General*. As your Majesty has, by this treaty, recovered to us, in so great a measure, those advantages, which might have been expected from a glorious and successful War, and were given up by a treacherous and dishonourable peace; we beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon an Al-

liance, which opens to us so fair a prospect of 1716-17. an undisturbed Succession, an equal Balance of Power, and a flourishing Commerce.

We return your Majesty our most humble thanks, for your Majesty's most gracious condescension, in having laid before your Parliament the discoveries concerning the intended Invasion; and cannot but regard, with the utmost horror and

any thing particular out of them; nor am I able to say of what service to us their assistance against the Czar would be; but if I were to guess by their discourse, who have been talking with me about it, as from themselves, though I easily perceived it was by order of the Ministers, I should believe, that if the Preliminary concerning *Bremen* was settled, the *English* Ministers would be very well pleased to retrieve the little step they have made, by talking loudly of the defensive treaty between us, and by persuading the Nation to give us the succours therein stipulated either in money or ships. I should fancy also, that we might come to an agreement in relation to what they ought to help us to take from the Czar, by way of reprisal for our losses in *Germany*. On the other hand, and if we do not submit to them, your Excellency may be advised, that, as well to justify their past actions, as to force us to a compliance, they will prevail upon the mercenary Parliament which they have at present, to take vigorous resolutions, and even to declare war against us. This is what we must expect. The *English* Ministers do not mince the matter; and they have already made it appear, that they will stick at nothing. They are all furious persons. *Sunderland*, who is, in a manner, at the head of affairs, and who has got all the interest he has with the King of *England*, by having consented to what has been done against us (being besides our enemy) is at present at *London*, to take his instructions from the *Germans*, and your Excellency may depend upon it, he will execute them with all the boldness [*effronterie*] imaginable. Your Excellency will therefore find, we ought to make use of this opportunity to enter into measures against people, who certainly will not do things by halves. We must either ruin them, or be undone ourselves, that is, if it be in their power to bring it to pass.

Postscript. My friends are now in town. An express, which came to them yesterday from the Pretender, will put them in a better condition for forming a plan. To-day they are going about it. There are only five or six of the most considerable persons consulted. They would know, in case we agree, whether the money must be paid here or elsewhere, or if it must be sent over to *Sweden*. They have also asked me, if we had any occasion for Sea-Officers, for then they could furnish us with good ones.

In another letter at *London*, November 13, 1716, Count *Gyllenburg* made good his promise to Baron *Gortz*, about giving him his sentiments about the business contained in the Baron's last postscript. "The sum thereof," says the Count, is what I have already hinted, that we must determine some way or other, and that very speedily. We have not in my humble opinion, any time to lose in consultations. If we do not take advantage of their present animosity, it will cool; for the Court, that is to say, the Prince's party, does all that is possible to gain them. With the most considerable, it would perhaps be necessary to go on roundly. They run the hazard of their lives and fortunes in declaring themselves, so that they will not speak but upon good security. And as to the people of the second rank, besides that it would perhaps be dangerous so much as to hearken to their proposals, these proposals of theirs are of so little consequence, and so confused, that we should not be able from them to form any idea of the affair. I should likewise be of opinion, that, till I receive fresh orders from your Excellency, the safest way will be to avoid all conversations of that kind."

The next letter is from M. *Gustavus Gyllenburg* to the Count his Brother, dated at the *Hague*, November 17, 1716, the substance of which is as follows: "On Tuesday last arrived here a letter from Baron *Sparre*, importing, That he had hopes of succeeding in his solicitation to have M. *Lench* sent to the King. In his letter was inclosed one from the Duke of *Ormond* to Baron *Gortz*, in which the Duke says, that the King his Master had ordered him to let him [*Gortz*] know, that he expects shortly a supply of money; that he will then remit sixty thousand pounds sterling to his *Swedish* Majesty, leaving the disposal of it to him; and that he begs him to look upon this as an earnest of his good will to him. The bearer of this letter added, that the remittances might be made either to —, or to —. M. *Sparre* has since told the said Baron in confidence, of the men of war which we have bought in *France*, which will be ready and delivered. And that we are soliciting the Court of *France* to send a person to the Czar, to make advantage of the pacific disposition he is now in. But as this solicitation meets with many obstacles, and that besides *France* does not appear ever forward to do any thing for us, unless it be in concert with *England*, M. *Sparre* takes notice, that my Lord *Mar* has a Cousin-German, named *Briskine*, with the Czar, who is Physician and Privy-Counsellor to that Prince; which Favourite has wrote Letters to my Lord *Mar*, giving a very particular account of the Czar, viz. that the Czar will not attempt any thing more against the King of *Sweden*; that he has fallen out with his Allies; that he can never be friends with King *George*; that he hates him mortally; that he is sensible of the just cause of the Pretender; that he wishes for nothing more than a conjuncture, in which he may be able to restore him to his Dominions; that the Czar, having the advantage wholly on his side, cannot make the first step; but, if the King would make the least advance, there would be very soon an accommodation between them. The Pretender has sent to desire Baron *Sparre* to procure him leave to retire to *Stockholm*. M. *Sparre* has returned answer, that, as this would be the same thing as declaring war by found of trumpet, it would absolutely spoil the business in hand."

In this letter Mr. *Gustavus Gyllenburg* inclosed the copy of another letter from Baron *Gortz* to Baron *Sparre*, dated November 12, 1716, as follows: "I still look upon the sending M. *Lench* as very uncertain, because I am persuaded, that *France* will not take any step, that may give the least suspicion, or by which they may disgust *England*, before they have finished the treaty of Alliance, that is now depending. Yet methinks they might venture to intimate to the Court of *England*, that they have a mind to send a person to the King, to sound his Majesty's intentions more thoroughly touching a reconciliation, and in order to qualify themselves the better to do good offices."

As to the affair of *England*, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s letter to me, of which you have sent me a copy, I cannot forbear telling you frankly, Sir, that, if my scheme upon it be not approved and complied with, I cannot enter at all into that affair. It is upon the foundation of my scheme, that I have actually opened the matter to the King; and it would be directly to spoil all to make me depart from it. Any reasonable man will easily comprehend the impossibility, in this case, of settling a treaty in form. Doubtless it would be running too great a hazard on both sides, to depend upon its being kept secret. The best way is, to prepare on each side the materials necessary for the work before

1716-17. and indignation, the malice and ingratitude of those, who have encouraged such an attempt against their King and Country.

We are fit to find that your Majesty's lenity has been ineffectual towards reclaiming a faction, who have rendered themselves so obnoxious to your justice.

When this address was reported to the House,

a debate arose on account of the Lord Coningsby's 1716-17. urging it very earnestly, that the peace of *Utrecht* was treacherous and dishonourable. The Bishop of *London* asserted the contrary, and said, 'He himself drew up the instruments of that treaty, and, in his opinion, it was as good a peace, as had been concluded for these forty years past.' Lord Coningsby replied, 'He did not intend any

before us. When all is ready for execution, it will then be time enough to make treaties, if it be judged requisite.

I do not know even, whether it would be right to do what is desired under the name of lending assistance; and I am very much inclined to think, that it would be better to avow openly our own interest, and the concern we have for maintaining the *English* liberties.

Your friends must place so much confidence in us, as to furnish us with what we want to put ourselves into a condition of becoming useful to them. The sum required is not exorbitant: Three hundred thousand crowns may satisfy us at present, for we want nothing but to augment our naval force at *Gottenburg*.

I do not see what hazards your friends can run in this; I will give them sufficient security; and, from the humour all the world knows the King to be of, they may very safely conclude, that, if his Majesty should not be able to satisfy this loan by a real assistance, he would do all he possibly could to reimburse our friends, the rather, because his Majesty would not have it known, that he had touched any money for such a purpose as this is lent.

These Gentlemen might, however, the more to engage the King's affection, give their offer the turn expressed in my scheme; though, for my part, I will not accept it, on any conditions, that may distinguish it from a common loan. But all depends upon their determining speedily, and beginning forthwith, by furnishing the three hundred thousand crowns for the men of war, without which they must not flatter themselves, that any thing can be done. I am upon the scent of getting a fourth hundred thousand even in *England*.

France cannot reproach us with this agreement, while no treaty or convention can be produced to prove it. What I said above, of the cautious behaviour of the Court of *France* towards *England*, is no doubt applicable likewise to the negotiating of an accommodation with the *Czar*. It is probable, the Court of *France* would not proceed in a Negotiation of that kind, but by concert with *England*; and you will grant me, that this would not by any means suit our interest. This reflection leads me into an opinion, that the canal of *France* is not at present the most commodious for us. It may suffice therefore to have offered to make use of that canal without pressing the matter further. Nor can M. *Lenb* be the manager of this Negotiation. For going to, and coming from *Sweden* at the season of the year we are now in, requires time; and if we come to any agreement with the *Czar*, we ought to conclude it within three months at the very farthest. The canal of my Lord *Mar* seems to me to be alike inconvenient and impracticable, because of the length of time which that circulation of correspondence would unavoidably take up. Yet I cannot but think, that, by the canal of the favourite Physician, the good dispositions of the *Czar* might be improved, if they are indeed such as have been represented. If the *Czar* comes hither, and one can get a private conversation with the Favourite, we might certainly carry things on far, supposing, as I said, that what the Favourite has written be well-founded. In the mean while I am contriving some other way.

If we fix upon a project, that is in any tolerable degree promising, I shall not be withheld by the difficulty and hardships of the voyage from being the bearer of it.

If in the mean time your friends would enter into

my scheme, I should be the more sure of bringing the King to a thorough good liking of their business. But I will not venture to convey any thing of this to his Majesty, otherwise than by word of mouth. It is satisfaction enough to me to know originally, that I am in no danger of giving offence to *Sweden* by the part I take upon me to act in this affair. The fancy of the Pretender's retiring to *Stockholm* surprises me: It would be blazing abroad our secret intelligence by found of trumpet.

On the 13th of November, 1716, Baron Gortz wrote from the *Hague* the following letter to Count *Gyllenborg*: 'I told you in my letter of Friday, that I deferred answering yours of the 13th, which I am now going to do. You say, Sir, that, as to the affair you are pressed about, it would be necessary to go roundly to work with the principals. I am intirely of the same opinion. The business then is to speak plainly. I believe, Sir, it will be thought a sufficient proof of our frankness to declare, as you may do, that that nothing is more natural, nor more sweet, than to revenge an affront one has received; but that, in point of prudence, it ought to be maturely considered, whether the passion of revenge can produce the desired effect. If your people do but make the least reflection upon th's rule, they will undoubtedly perceive, that it is entirely their business to make the success of the enterprize, which they desire, appear probable to us. After that it will be likewise proper, that they should help us in settling the necessary points, that is, that they should assist us with money. As I run no risque with you, Sir, I make no scruple of telling you in confidence, that the business in hand has for some time been part of my correspondence with Ambassador *Sparrre*.

The principal Members of the present Court of *Avignon*, offer on part of their Master 60,000 *l. sterling* to engage the King's affection. I remonstrated thereupon, that the delicacy of the conjuncture ought to caution us against closing too hastily with this offer; but that I proposed to treat upon the foot of a common loan; and that in that case, being furnished with the King's full power to negotiate money for his Majesty's service, I might accept it, giving them assurances on the King's part, for repayment, that if at the same time they would communicate to me a plan of the principal affair, I would not fail to send it to the King; and that, in case his Majesty should be unwilling to enter into the design in question, he would at least pique himself upon taking care, that the sum, which I should have borrowed in his name, should be punctually discharged; so that the lenders would run no risque of their money, but that, on the contrary, they would have put it out to a good advantage, and that, in short, the offer being made upon the foot before-mentioned, without stipulating any other conditions than being reimbursed, the King might be more effectually wrought upon by that mark of their good will, than by directly soliciting the favours they desire. I added to all these intimations, that, in case the King relished the project of a Revolution to be brought about in *England*, it might perhaps do better to give this enterprize the turn of its being intended to revenge the unworthy proceedings of the Kings of *England*, and to maintain the *English* liberties.

You have herewith, Sir, the copy of a pecuniary contract, which I have just now settled with some private persons in this Country. You will find by it, that there is a considerable advantage to be made, which it was necessary to allow to strangers, since no body

1716-17. any personal reflection on any person; but the venerable Prelate who spoke last, might remember, that about two years ago, when the Ministers who made the late peace were impeached, his Lordship declared, he was kept in the dark, and scarce knew any thing of what was doing at Utrecht.

The Commons, in their address, observed,

1716-17. ' That they could not, but with the highest resentment and indignation, look upon the obstinate and inveterate rancour of those, who were again endeavouring to imbroil their native Country in blood and confusion: And that it was astonishing to find, that any, who called themselves Protestants, could be so inflexible and restless in their endeavours to impose upon us a Popish

body in Sweden had courage enough for it. If your people had a mind to engage in it abstractedly from the grand affair, I would admit them forthwith as far as the sum of three hundred thousand crowns. The King's printed patent, whereof you have herewith a copy, sufficiently secures every individual person from all frauds with regard to the State's bonds, upon which the money is advanced.

But they must determine speedily, or lay aside all hopes, as I have just now observed to Ambassador Sparre in a postscript, which I communicate to you.

If the thing be taken upon the foot beforementioned, it may go on; but otherwise nothing can be done. In a word, we must have money, and, after that, we must know what they are in a condition to do in England, and what part they expect the King should take, to put this design into motion, and to support it.

In answer to Baron Gortz, Count Gyllenborg wrote to him the following very remarkable letter, dated at London, Decemb. 4, 1716: ' As soon as I had received your Excellency's letter of the 23d past, I went to one of the Principals at his own house, with whom I have had a long and intimate friendship. I shewed him your Excellency's letter, which I enforced the best I could. Whereupon he asked me, Whether I had spoke of it to any one of his party? And, I telling him I had not, he desired me, for the love of God, not to do it. We were made to believe from Avignon, said he, that all went on currently; That Baron Gortz had accepted our offer, and had given positive assurances, on the part of the King of Sweden, of his assistance. We have been pressed on the affair of the money, and to form a scheme; and we have actually applied ourselves to both the one and the other. In the midst of all this, here are three posts arrived from Avignon, and no farther signs are shewn of so much haste. This change has very much perplexed us, we not knowing to what to impute it, unless to the Prince's indisposition. But all is now become clear. They were too sure of their point at Avignon; they reckoned immediately on the assistance of the King of Sweden; and now they are afraid, on one hand, of damping our courage, by owning frankly, that they had deceived themselves; and, on the other, they dare not, upon an uncertainty, engage to supply them with money, being sensible, it is the last we shall give them, if we should find it employed to any other purpose than we designed; and without direct assurances first given of our having the success we need. You see, therefore, continued he, of what consequence it is, if you wish us well, that you do not make known, to any person, what I see our Court of Avignon conceals with so much care. If you act otherwise, you will destroy the credit of the Chevalier de St. George here, which perhaps will be of necessary use to you, and you will make his adherents your implacable enemies; for, if their design fail, they will be regardless, whether Sweden perishes or not; and yet you know, that it is they, who have hitherto defended your cause, as well in the Country, as in the Parliament of England, and who have obliged your enemies to act with more caution and reserve than they would otherwise have done. You will still have occasion for their assistance in the next Session of the Parliament of England, which your enemies are preparing to incense terribly against you, as well by pamphlets, which are already actually in the press, as by petitions of the Merchants, who have lost their ships, and who now meet twice a week to consult. Now, said he, to return to Baron Gortz's letter, give me leave to tell you freely, that, if the question was explicitly and

No. 90. Vol. IV.

simply, Whether we should assist the King of Sweden, and we consented, it might then be worth while to ask, What security we required, and what gain we insisted on? But that is not the case at present, nor ever will be. For I must own to you ingenuously, that there are very few amongst us, who have any concern for the interests of foreign Princes, any longer than while they affect our own, and that even very palpably: *Manus nostræ oculata sunt; credunt quod vident: Our eyes are in our hands; what they see we believe.* So that for you to flatter yourselves, that, out of respect or friendship, we should part with our money to any whatsoever, would be to know nothing of us. You can never alter our minds on that article; so you must just take us as we are. As for gain, can we hope for greater in any Country, than what we have at home, without risking our money? Do not we make 7 or 8 per cent. by the public funds; and this upon the securities of the Parliament of England, and are paid punctually every quarter? That, this question being utterly unreasonable, it is necessary to form another, and let that be, Whether we are willing, by a pecuniary subsidy, to merit the assistance of the King of Sweden? To that I answer roundly, Let us but be assured on the part of his Majesty, upon whose bare promise we will rely, more than on all the securities and engagements of others: I say, let us only be assured, that by our money we shall merit his help, and actually have it. After this, let us but know what you would have us to do, and we will make such efforts, that his Majesty shall not repent of giving his Royal word to assist us. But, Sir, added he, What must we think, when, after a Negotiation of three months or more, we are yet in uncertainty upon what ought to be the chief spring of all our undertakings, and are to merit by our money, not the help we ask, but barely an answer whether we shall obtain it or not? How can we run into expence, expose our friends, and, in short, endanger our fortunes and lives, when perhaps his Majesty's refusal may stop us short; subject, among other things, to the fear of being betrayed by those, who, seeing the ill success of our projects, and that there is nothing to be hoped for more on our side, may endeavour to make their fortune, by striking in with our enemies, and sacrificing us?

Let us examine all this, and you yourself will acknowledge, we should hazard too much in following those, who leave us in such uncertainty. But, on the other hand, what does the King of Sweden risque? Is not our Government his enemies in every respect; and will it not assist them more this ensuing year? What can be said against him, if, after the example of Scipio, he carries the war into their Country, who have been desirous, and are still so to carry it into his? This diversion will be so much the greater, as it will be unexpected; and there is the more reason to hope for success, because the whole Country is disaffected. It is also probable, that half the army will be disbanded by the Parliament of England; and it is certain great part of that army will desert on the approach of a sufficient body of troops.

But, suppose this enterprize should not succeed, would this Government be more bent upon the intire ruin of the King of Sweden than it was before? And, when King George's desire to have the Country of Bremen is satisfied, will our Government be less solicitous by what means to prevent the Czar's aggrandizing himself? Let me beg you, said he, to represent all this to Baron Gortz; and I am sure he will change his opinion; and that he will not let slip, by chaffering, an opportunity

16-17. of these men, who, nevertheless, call themselves by the name of Protestants, what we must look for, should a Popish Prince ever sit upon the Throne of these Kingdoms. Whilst they allow us no better a character than that of *Schismatics* and *Heretics*, of men cut off from the Commu-

nion of Christ's Church, and all the hopes of 1716-17. salvation. What can be expected from *professed Papists*, who account no better of them (however they may flatter themselves) than they do of us; but that both they and we shall be utterly destroyed by them?"

But

The naval armament at *Gottenburg* cannot be useful to us, unless, for the design, which they propose to us, and the money we ask will not be sufficient even for that armament.

As to the rest, however just and solid I allow your friend's reasoning in other matters, yet I cannot reconcile the opinion, which your friend seems to have of the good faith of the King, and his interest, with the fear which is nevertheless shewn, that we have no other end than to procure for ourselves the restitution of the Duchy of *Bremen*.

Pray, Sir, which way can the King of *Sweden* better secure to himself the recovery and possession of his said Duchy, than by reducing King *George* to be nothing more than an Elector of the Empire? By which means the King of *Sweden* will make himself be courted by the House of *Linenburg*, as in former times. Can good faith and a man's word be put in the scale against so solid and so evident a reason, after we have experienced how little account ought to be made of a security founded in words or in treaties? To be short, Sir, the question is with us, an affair already decided; nothing remains but to consider the means.

As I understand the matter, those, that shall furnish the money, will be in no danger; they may give it under the name of *Dutch Merchants*, and under pretext of the great gain, that is to be made in dealing with me. The better to colour the thing, they may even give commission to some *English Merchants*, to make an agreement with me upon the foot of the contract, which I have had the honour to communicate to you. After this there would remain no other risk than that of losing the money, in case the design should not be executed; but, if they had the least confidence in the word of the King, this scruple would vanish immediately. His Majesty piques himself too much upon performing his engagements, to leave any room to mistrust him. We have fresh proofs of this; notwithstanding the vast expence, that we are obliged to bear, his Majesty would have the pretensions of Mr. *Cook*, and the other Merchants in *France*, touching the money advanced to him in *Turkey*, satisfied, and I have actually paid those creditors.

To conclude, I must tell you again, Sir, that they must come to a resolution speedily, or think no more of the affair for all the next year.

It would also be necessary, that those, who mean us well, should labour to get half the troops that are now on foot in *England*, broken, and to hinder any naval armament till the month of *May*.

It concerns us also to know, for our direction, what number of regular troops will remain, after they shall have got one half of them disbanded. I reckon, that we might employ from ten to twelve thousand *Swedes* in this expedition; amongst whom there should be four thousand horse.

When things shall be put upon the foot above-mentioned, I intend to go into *Sweden* myself, to push on the execution; for I do not like to rely on the care of others in such a particular. I had also rather concert this affair directly, and with you, than by the other way, which I think too long.

My Lord's relation hath indeed sent word, that the Czar has some dispositions to peace, which we will not fail to make advantage of, that we may be in a condition the better to push on the affair in question. The Czar is to be here very speedily. If it could be ordered, that the said relation of my Lord *Mar* should speak to me, I should quickly perceive what might be done there. You will easily judge, Sir, that an agreement with the Czar would give great weight to the other affair.

In answer to this letter, Count *Gyllenburg*, on the 18th of *December*, N. S. 1716, wrote the following to Baron *Gortz*: 'I received, two days ago, the letter your Excellency did me the favour to write me of the 11th, and I have not deferred the execution of your orders one moment. I hope to be able to give you an account of them by the next mail. In the mean time I shall have the honour to answer to your Excellency's postscript, that I shall not fail to govern myself as you there direct. If I have hitherto done otherwise, it has been, that I might not be accused of not representing matters as they were on one side and the other, leaving it afterwards to our Ministers to make choice of that, which they thought most proper. Your Excellency, according to your wonted goodness, will forgive me, however, for saying, that, in my opinion, whatsoever resolution we take, it would, notwithstanding, be well to keep the people here in good humour; that is, that we should seem not intirely to reject their proposals, for otherwise they will be prying into the motives, which render us so intractable, and will perhaps discover the true one, in which case they will cause it to miscarry. Besides, a little hopes would make them put off longer the pushing the affair in Parliament; and I think that is what your Excellency seems to desire. Methinks, to this end, it would be necessary, that your Excellency should write *Petrum* an answer, who complains of having received none to his letters, to shew your acknowledgement of the pains he has taken, and to desire him to go on, in order to keep the Ministers in the same good way, till your Excellency has received an answer to the account which you have given his Majesty of the whole affair; and then we may act with more vigour. As *Petrum* generally shews all his letters to *Townshend* and *Bothmar*, I fancy they will thereby be easily persuaded to believe what they wish. If this letter comes before the arrival of King *George*, it will perhaps prevent the impression, which the *Germans* and *Sunderland* will be apt to make with their usual violence at their first coming over.'

The two next letters relate principally to bills of exchange, shipping, corn, salt, &c. for *Sweden*; but in one from Count *Gyllenburg* to Baron *Gortz*, dated at *London*, *Decemb. 29*, 1716, he writes as follows:

'I am once more obliged to defer the departure of my express till *Friday*, one of the principal of our friends being not yet returned to *London*; but he will be here to-morrow. I have the letters ready for the Physician, but dare not venture them by the post. While I am waiting for the principal of my friends, I shall dispatch to-morrow a Gentleman to the Czar, to endeavour to possess him with pacific thoughts. I have given him letters for my brother, that he may introduce him to your Excellency, who will give him such instructions, as you shall judge necessary. He is a *Muscovite* by birth, and having been a long time known to my friend, and perhaps even employed on the like messages, he assures me, that we may put intire confidence in him. I have intimated to him, that he may alledge, for the pretext of his voyage, his natural inclination to serve the Czar, by which he was induced to discover to him, that King *George* is making all the offers imaginable to acquire *Bremen* of the King of *Sweden*, at the expence of the Czar, who is to be the sacrifice of that acquisition. Your Excellency will add what other hints you judge convenient. I should think, however, it might be proper, that this man should be kept ignorant of the canal of the Physician. I have another letter for him, which may introduce my brother to his acquaintance; and then he may convey messages between your Excellency and the Physician, till your Excellency shall think fit to have an interview

1716-17.
Debate at
Oxford
about an
address.

But the University of Oxford did not shew themselves so loyal; for, at a meeting of the Vice-Chancellor, and other Heads of the University, Dr. Dunster, Warden of Wadham-College, having made a motion for an address to the King, and being supported by Dr. Wympe,

Bishop of St. Asaph, and by the Warden of Merton College; Dr. Smalridge Bishop of Bristol, desired to know the subject of the address. Bishop Wympe readily answered, That they might address upon these three heads: 1. *The suppression of the late unnatural Rebellion*: 2. *The King*

view with him. We are assured here, that King George will have none with the Czar; and they seem to be very little satisfied with that Prince.

Your Excellency will have the goodness to remember what I had the honour to write to you in my last, about my Lord Sunderland. I have learnt since, that that Lord does all he can to make those of his party fond of King George's project to open a port at Harburg; asserting, that England will gain more by it, than even by its *West-India* trade. One sees very well whether all this tends. I am working against it. A Member of Parliament has desired me to inform him of the situation and nature of that port.

On the 1st of January, Count Gyllenburg writes thus to Baron Goriz, after a long account of private business, hiring of ships, &c. 'Since writing what goes before, my friend has been with me, and has told me, that the money, as far as twenty thousand pounds, was ready, if I would but give my acquittance, that I had received it for the use of the King my Master; and this only, that he might have something to shew to those, who made this collection, supposing, that hereafter they should ask for it. I answered him, That I could not give any such acquittance, without your Excellency's order, which I would write for this post. He told me likewise, that they had already, by order of the Court of *Augsburg*, remitted eight thousand pounds to Baron Sparre.'

Since writing these lines, the Dutch mail of the 25th is just come in, by which my brother advises me, that your Excellency was setting out upon your journey. It will therefore be unnecessary to send the express, especially since the two letters intended are now become useless. I will, however, send a duplicate of this next Monday by the French post, together with the pieces abovementioned.

Your Excellency will receive, this day, the copy of a letter, which M. Petkun writ yesterday to Baron Sparre, the contents of which confirm the ill intentions of those warm men, into whose hands the management of affairs is going to be put: particularly if it be true, as Mr. Petkun has assured me, that my Lord Townshend to whom he read the said letter, owned, that what he had writ, in relation to our affairs, was true. All that we have to flatter ourselves with, is, that the misunderstandings, which there is among these Gentlemen, may perhaps be of service to us. Thus much, at least, is certain, that, if we set ourselves in earnest about the great work, the success cannot possibly fail.

The next is a letter from Count Gyllenburg to Baron Goriz then at Paris, dated at London, January 7, 1716-17, as follows: 'Yesterday I received the letter which your Excellency did me the favour to write me of the 29th past. That concerning the conduct of this Court came very seasonably. I gave it to read to one of the principal Whigs with whom I have found means of contracting a friendship. As I am to dine with him to-morrow, I shall know what effect it has had. He is already in a good way, and I question not but may be carried yet further by such just reasoning.'

M. Petkun is charmed with your Excellency's letter to him. He exclaims publicly against the *Hans* for the gross falsehood they have told of him. I believe him innocent as to this fact. He has told me, he will write himself to your Excellency by this post. Mr. Walpole's reply is remarkable. My friend, who is one of the Champions of the Whigs, has told me the same thing. If it be not the effect of the present discontent, and the Court does not find expedients to regain those people, I do not know whether the Court will ever be able to bring that matter upon the stage; but I shall not be satisfied with that.

I am trying to get it brought into Parliament my own way. My friend is labouring that point with me, and, to that end, is endeavouring to inform himself thoroughly of the whole. It was for him, that I demanded the other day of your Excellency the particulars of Harburg; and it is likewise upon his request, that I beg your Excellency will send me, as soon as may be, all that you shall be able to pick up in relation to the treaty concluded between *Hannover* and our enemies; particularly, if you can procure the agreement, by which the assistance of an *English* force is stipulated to them. Your Excellency sees hereby what I am now doing on one side and the other; that is to say, with regard to our friends. I can do nothing before I have received your Excellency's orders upon my last.

The following letter from Baron Goriz, to Count Gyllenburg, is dated from Paris, January 8, 1717.

I could not acquit you before this day, that I am now authorized to enter into the affair, which you know of; and that I am allowed the liberty to do in it whatever I shall think convenient. You will be able to judge of this yourself by the inclosed copy of the full power, that has been sent to me. Which way soever I turn this affair, I do not see, that we can engage in it upon any other foot than that which I proposed to you at first. As interest is the most certain security of treaties, and what we are solicited to undertake is of so great importance to us, and the most expeditious means to re-establish our affairs, that can be devised; no man can doubt, that we shall apply ourselves to it heartily and earnestly; and that we could wish for nothing better, than to do it without the concurrent assistance of others, if the juncture of time would suffer us to dispense with that assistance.

The only thing I see wanting for our purpose are men of war and transports. Of the first I can have two in *Holland*, and six in *France*, all rigged and armed; and those, who have the disposal of them, oblige themselves to deliver them in that condition at *Gottenburg* in the month of *March*. The last we shall not want, but we must immediately put our hands to the work, which requires money. Mr. Sparre had assured me, that I should find an hundred thousand crowns ready here; but I learnt at my arrival, that our friends, far from doing what they had promised, are now grown cool; so that I thought best, Sir, to desire you to press your friends to a speedy resolution, whether on the foot proposed they will forthwith supply us with money, which we must have to purchase those men of war, or not. In case they will, it is necessary they should order it to be paid to me here as soon as possible, that I may put those, who are to furnish me with the ships, upon getting them ready. If they will not, this business ought to be broken off intirely, without thinking any further of it.

To lose four weeks more would be losing all, for this year at least; and afterwards the circumstances of affairs will so change, that there can be no thinking of it any longer.

For the rest, our intention was to transport twelve thousand men; eight thousand of them infantry, and four thousand cavalry, of which five hundred mounted. We were to carry with us a sufficient train of artillery, arms for ten or twelve thousand men more, with requisite stores of ammunition. We were to land at the places, whither we should be directed; so that we should have carried with us all that is necessary excepting horses, which we expected to find in the Country; and all might have been executed without the least umbrage being taken; provided, that on the other side the secret was kept. Mr. Sparre tells me, that the reason of the coolness of these Gentlemen in this Country is the treaty between this Court and *England*, and

1716-17. *Safe return*: 3. *The favour shewn by the Court to the University, in granting their late request*, that the Officers of *Sierne's* regiment, quartered at *Oxford*, should not burn publicly, on the day of his Majesty's arrival, the effigies of the *Devil, Pope, Pretender, Ormond, Mar*, and others.

The Bishop, *Smalridge*, replied, 'The Rebellion had been suppressed long before; a thanksgiving had already been observed for it, and therefore he thought it now too late to address upon that subject.' As to the second, 'There would be no end of addresses, if they made one upon such

and the ensuing departure of the Pretender out of this Country. For my part, I take this reason to be a very weak one; for as this treaty, and the departure of the Pretender out of this Country, must make the Court of *England* think themselves in perfect safety, and deprive them of the pretext of keeping up their troops, our enterprize is become more easy, and more sure. And to imagine that this Court, at the bottom of their heart, would not be better pleased to have the Pretender on the Throne of *England* than the Elector of *Hanover*, especially if the first continued to carry himself well towards this Court, is to have a wrong notion of its interest, and of the private sentiments of the Duke Regent.

Mr. *Sparre* tells me further, that our friends here think we should not have occasion for any more men of war than those eight, which we have at *Gottenburg*; but they are to know that those ships are but of forty guns each; so that it would be hazarding too much, and exposing a body of chosen troops (for such we should take on this expedition) for three or four large ships would be sufficient to give them chase, and to take them all. But, when we shall have the eight ships, which carry from sixty to seventy guns, nothing less than a squadron could oppose them, and, before they could be fitted out, the blow would be struck.

To conclude, Sir, I wait here for a speedy yea or no; and I continue to advise you not to send any account of this matter to the Court; for our Ministers themselves are ignorant of it, and know not for what intent they have been obliged to give the turn they have to the full power, which they dispatched. *Aut nunc aut nunquam, Nunc or never*, as well for our friends as our enemies.

When you have fixed this affair, at least for what relates to the men of war here, I am very desirous you should come over to meet me in *Holland*, under pretext of being ordered thither; and that you should put the Court in hopes of returning with some acceptable offer, to the end we might concert together all that remains for our enterprize; after which I would set out myself for *Sweden*, to order every thing for making sure of the execution. I communicate to you the subjoined copy of the full power, which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to give me:

We *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *Sweden*, *Goths* and *Vandals*, Great Prince of *Finland*, Duke of *Schonen, Estenia, Livonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Steina, Pomerania, Cassubia, and Vandalia*, Prince of *Rügen, Lord of Ingria and Wismar, Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Juliers, Cleves, and Bergues, &c.* do hereby make known, and attest, that whereas we have committed to the fidelity and dexterity of the most illustrious and noble, our intirely-beloved Baron *Gortz*, Privy-Counsellor of the most serene Duke of *Holstein*, and Chief-Marshal of his Court, various affairs for our service, to be transacted in those places where he shall reside: And whereas the present circumstances of the times and affairs do not easily permit, that we should be able to furnish him with particular credential letters (commonly called a full power) for every several transaction: To prevent therefore all delay, which might thence arise, we have judged it necessary to constitute by these presents him, the said Baron *Gortz*, our Minister Plenipotentiary, and to grant him full power, as by virtue of these presents we do grant him full power, to treat and conclude, in our name, with all and singular persons of what condition soever, all matters, which may relate to our service, and be for our interest; promising on our Royal word, that we will approve and ratify, and put intirely in execution, whatever the said Baron *Gortz* shall so transact and conclude. In full testimony whereof we

have caused our seal to be affixed to these presents, and signed the same with our own hand.

Given at *Lund* in *Schonen*, the 23d day of *October*, 1716.

CAROLUS.
(L. S.)
H. G. de Mullern.

On the 13th of *January*, N. S. 1717, Baron *Gortz* wrote from *Paris* the following letter to Count *Gyllenburg*:

'I am to acquaint you, that our friends here are charmed with my scheme. They have caused one hundred thousand livres to be paid me down, and have promised to get the rest paid to me in *Holland*, to the sum of one million of guilders. I will go therefore, and give orders for working with all dispatch possible on the men of war, and for providing and bringing together all necessaries. I shall also go back with all expedition to *Holland*; whence you will have further advice from me. I shall wait there with impatience the coming of your express, and of the person, who is to speak to the Physician.'

At the same time Mr. *Gustavus Gyllenburg* wrote to the Count his brother, the following note:

'After the Baron had signed his letter to you, he ordered me to tell you in his name, that it is absolutely necessary our friends should determine speedily, and cause the money to be remitted, and paid to us, without any delay; for otherwise we cannot have the men of war from this Country time enough.'

Upon the receipt of Baron *Gortz's* letter of the 8th of *January*, with the King of *Sweden's* full power, Count *Gyllenburg* wrote an answer to the Baron at *Paris*, dated at *London*, *January* 15, 1717, wherein he begs leave to know: 'Whether his Excellency would have him, for the future, add the title of *Plenipotentiary* to the direction of his letters. As to our affair, continues he, I went immediately to the house of one of the principal of my friends, and, without taking notice of any coldness of the Gentlemen in *France*, I told him, in order to engage him to speak, that I had just received your Excellency's orders to give such an acquaintance, as had been demanded of me. He seemed very well pleased, and told me in answer, that he, who had the direction of the whole affair, being gone again into the Country, and being not to return before *Saturday* next, nothing could be done till *Monday*; but that then he questioned not but I should be satisfied. We shall see what that Gentleman will say at his return; and unless the Gentlemen in *France* have made my friends here alter their opinions (which I do not yet find they have) I hope all would go as we would have it; and, in case that should not happen so, I am very much of your Excellency's opinion, that we should leave all those Gentlemen to their ill destiny, and go another way to work.

My Whig friend was charmed with your Excellency's letter, which he read over and over. Many others of the same party begin to change their language in our favour. I lend my brother a little piece, which is just published at my charge, and writ in a pretty moderate stile. There is something in it of my own. What is said in the postscript, in praise of the Prince, is in order to gain the Prince's party, which is already well inclined towards us.

If your Excellency thinks it proper to order me to *Holland*, I should be of opinion, that you should send the like orders to Monsieur *Perkum*, on pretence, that you would receive information from us both together, concerning the posture of affairs here with regard to our common interests. That would not give any umbrage

1716-17. such an occasion.' And as for the third, 'The late favour they had received, was overbalanced by having a whole regiment quartered upon them.' Dr. Charlett, the Master of *University-College*, urged, 'That there was no precedent for addressing a King, who returned from his

German Territories.' Dr. Gardiner was against 1716-17, addressing, to save charges, on pretence, that they were out of cash. Dr. Cobb and others made other objections, and so the motion for addressing dropped. But the University of Cambridge did not follow their example, but presented a loyal

brage, and we might easily find out ways of amusing M. Petkum.'

Before this letter reached Baron Gortz, he writ another to Count Gyllenburg, dated at *Paris*, January 16, 1717, N. S. as follows:

'I have just now received here your letters of the 1st, 2d, 4th, and 7th. You may depend upon it, Sir, and assure your friends, that the expedition to *England* does at present take up all our thoughts and attention. It will depend but upon two things; one is, the procuring four or five ships of war; and the other is money. I know where to get the former, but I can do nothing without the other. I cannot sign the contracts that are offered me. Your friends must take care to remove that obstacle, and to provide for the other squadron. There is not a moment to lose: The time is very short: Our friends on this side have assured me, that the money should be ready forthwith. By your letters I am to believe, there are 20,000 *l.* ready. I herewith send you the acquittance, which I have given here, that you may draw yours conformably to it, which you will exchange hereafter for mine, which I will send you, after you have let me know the names of the Creditors, and that you have received the money. We are here agreed upon the plan of our enterprise; and I am promised a man to be sent to *Holland*, who will bring me what farther informations may be wanting. You may likewise assure your friends, that our Prince will certainly be of the party; but I conjure you to give nothing in writing about this Negotiation, except what relates to the acquittances upon the foot abovementioned.

I do not expect to hear from you any more here, but in *Holland*; and, if your man should have been got thither in my absence, he would have found *Stamcke* fully instructed.

I herewith send you back the contracts signed according to your desire. The positive promise of letting them have iron puts me under some difficulty, because I had no thoughts of preparing for so great a quantity. As to your money, you may keep an account of what you shall receive, four thousand crowns. I have not yet proposed to the King that augmentation; but I am in hopes of obtaining it for you.

In mean time, employ all your skill, in order to give the Court all the trouble, that is possible, in the next Session, in relation to their conduct in the affairs of the North; and tell me from whence proceeds the good disposition wherein *Walpole* seems to be.'

The form of the acquittance mentioned and inclosed in this letter of Baron Gortz to Count Gyllenburg, is as follows: 'I, the underwritten Plenipotentiary of his Majesty the King of *Sweden*, acknowledge to have received of _____ for the service of his *Swe-*

dish Majesty, the sum of _____ which the said _____ has found means of lending to his said Majesty, which sum of _____ I promise, on the part of his Majesty, in virtue of the full power, which I have from his said Majesty, and which I have produced in due form, to cause to be repaid to the said _____ or his order, in the space of two years, to commence from the date of this acquittance; so that every four months there shall be paid a sixth part of the principal, together with interest at the rate of one half per cent. by the month, and so on, to the full payment of the total sum. In virtue and token whereof, I have signed these presents, the eleventh of January, 1717.

The Baron de Gortz.

The next letter is from Count Gyllenburg to Baron Gortz, dated at *London*, January 18, 1717, N. S. as follows:

'My friend, that directs the whole affair, came back from the Country last Saturday night, as I had the honour to acquaint your Excellency, that he would in my last. He hath this day let me know, that upon a letter which he received from my Lord Mar, to remit forthwith 20,000 *l.* into *France*, to the Queen Dowager of *England*, who was to pay it to us, he had actually remitted that money, which he hoped was already paid to your Excellency. He asked my pardon for not having communicated this to me sooner, having been obliged to go into the Country, the moment the affairs was dispatched. He added, that he had desired further orders from my Lord Mar, with respect to the place, where the rest of the money should be paid. I doubt not but that Baron Sparre has already had advice of all this, and that he has acquainted your Excellency with it; which, however, I beg you would forthwith let me know, that I may quiet the minds of my friends here, who imagine, that the said Baron doth not act in concert with your Excellency in an affair, wherein the least misunderstanding might do a great deal of mischief. I have told them, that your Excellency designed that I should come to you in *Holland*, to concert every thing with you; with which they were very well satisfied. But I have told them, that I will not go thither with empty hands, and that they ought at least to get 10,000 *l.* ready for me to carry with me. I have also desired them to get me a letter from the brother of the Czar's Physician, which might serve to introduce me to him, if your Excellency think fit to employ me to speak to him. I cannot express to your Excellency my concern, that the affair above-mentioned should have taken a turn, which I did not expect; and which, for aught I know, may not be pleasing to your Excellency. Even my friends are dissatisfied at it, every thing being done unknown to them. But, as they are obliged to have great regard for the director of the affair, who is a person of very great consequence, they must seem to be satisfied. If your Excellency, after this, thinks it necessary for me to come to *Holland*, I beg your orders therein, as soon as possible, that I may take my measures.

After I had written these lines, I received the favour of your Excellency's of the 13th, from whence I perceive, with a great deal of pleasure, that our affair is begun. I read it to one of my friends, who told me, that that was the sum, of which he had spoken to me some days ago, and which I mentioned in one of my former; that he then believed it to be 8,000 *l.* but that it was but 6,500 *l.* which exactly answers that, which has been paid to your Excellency, and which makes part of the 20,000 *l.* that has been remitted. He has promised me to hasten the rest, but I should think, that it would be necessary that our friends in *France*, from whom they expect the orders, should pray them to dispatch it with all haste. He has given me hopes, that I shall have a good sum with me, when I go to *Holland*.'

The next letter is of Count Gyllenburg to Baron Gortz, dated at *London*, January 23, 1717, in which he writes thus:

The day before yesterday I received the favour of your Excellency's of the 16th. The inclosed triplicate of that which I had the honour to write to your Excellency by the last post, will shew you the train that our affairs is in. In the mean time, I have told our friends, that your Excellency thought my voyage to *Holland* absolutely necessary, in order to concert with me the necessary measures for the enterprise; but, that your Excellency would by no means have me stir from hence, without carrying with me what money should be necessary. That it therefore lay upon them

now

1716-17. loyal address, wherein they owned the King to be their only *rightful and lawful* Sovereign (1).

A bill to prohibit Commerce with Sweden.

Three or four days after their address, the Commons passed a bill for prohibiting all commerce with *Sweden*, as long as the King should think it necessary for the safety and peace of the Nation. The bill was approved by the Lords, and received the Royal assent. The trade with *Sweden* was of great moment to the Merchants, but the indignation was so general in both Houses, that the bill met with little opposition. Before the Supplies were settled, the Commons voted ten thousand seamen for the year 1717. Then they took into consideration the estimates of the land-forces. In the debate, the Tories alledged, that, the late Rebellion being suppressed, and the *Swedish* Conspiracy seasonably discovered, there was reason to hope, the Counties would be soon eased of the grievous burden of quartering soldiers; but, if it appeared that the King of *Sweden* persisted in his design to invade *Great-Britain*, they would all readily give their votes for keeping the present forces on foot. The contrary party urged the necessity of taking speedy and vigorous resolutions in relation to the army. At length it was resolved, without dividing, that the sum of 959,943 *l.* should be granted, for maintaining the guards, garrisons, and land-forces for the ensuing year. Not long after, they passed the mutiny and desertion bill, by which the soldiers were exempted from arrests for debts. When this bill was before the Lords, the licentiousness of the army, and the disorders committed by the soldiery,

Debate about the land-forces.

Debate about the mutiny bill.

particularly at *Oxford*, were complained of, and 1716-17.

a motion was made, that, before they passed a bill in their favour, they should inquire into the riot, which happened in that City on the Prince of *Wales's* birth-day. The Court insisted on the necessity of passing the bill without delay; but readily consented, that the *Oxford* riot should be inquired into. Some Lords of the other side, who were apprehensive that the University would get no credit by such an examination, endeavoured to wave it, by proposing a general inquiry into the conduct of the army. This was opposed by the Court Lords, who observed, that they ought not to arraign a considerable body of men, against whom there was no legal complaint; and that such a proceeding could not but be disagreeable, and even injurious to the King, who, by his prerogative, has the command of the army; and, if any abuses and disorders are committed by the soldiers, the complaints ought first to be laid before him: But, since it had been moved to inquire into the *Oxford* riots, which had indeed made a great noise, and been examined in Council, they ought to address his Majesty, that he would be pleased to cause all the papers, relating to that affair, to be laid before the House. The address was resolved and presented, and the papers being laid before the Lords, there arose a great debate. The Archbishop of *York*, and the Bishops of *Rockester* and *Chesler*, endeavour'd to justify the University, alledging, among other things, 'That for forty years past they had not paid any regard to the birth-day of any Prince of *Wales*, or even of the Prince

Debate about the Oxford riot.

now to make the best use of the time, which was so precious to us, and to put me in a condition of going with the first opportunity.

They promised me to do their best, that my voyage might not be deferred longer than the end of the next week. In case I can by that means bring them to hasten their disbursement, it will afterwards depend upon your Excellency's pleasure, whether I shall go to pay my respects to you or not.

Your Excellency may be assured, that I do all in my power to traverse the ill designs of our enemies. The printed piece inclosed, wherein I have spoken entirely as an *Englishman*, is a small specimen of what is to follow. I do not know whether Mr. *Walpole's* expressions were the effect of his first rage, on account of his brother-in-law my Lord *Townshend's* being removed, or whether they came from his heart. We shall be better able to judge of those Gentlemen after the King's arrival, when it shall appear, if they have reason to be fatished; for it is from thence, that they will form their scheme of politics.

It is strongly reported here, that your Excellency has made a declaration, that the King, having waved all preliminary demands, has accepted the Emperor's mediation, and agreed to send his Plenipotentiaries to *Brunswick*. I most humbly beg your Excellency will let me know what truth there is in it.

The next letter is from Baron *Gortz* to Count *Gyllemburgh*, dated at *Paris*, January 27, 1717, N. S. wherein he says: Yours of the 18th, with the duplicate, is come safe to my Hands. Your friends are in the wrong, to imagine that Mr. *Sparre* and I do not act in concert in this affair.

He has communicated every thing to me with the greatest exactness, and not being authorized himself to enter upon this affair, nor to receive the money, he left all to my disposal. I have even put into his hands acquittances, where the sum is left in blanks, that he may make use of them in my absence, as soon as the money is come. The friends which are in *France*

shall be writ to, to press those in *England* to furnish, as soon as possible, the million of *Dutch* guilders, which we have agreed on; and I must needs tell you, that I cannot take the least step in relation to the ships, which are absolutely necessary to us for carrying on this enterprize, before I am in possession of that whole sum; for, if I should begin, and the money afterwards not come in, the sum employed upon this occasion would be lost; not to speak of the disgrace it would be for me, to have entered upon an affair, without being able to go through with it.

As for your voyage into *Holland*, that likewise depends on the payment of this money. When you have secured that point, you will do me a pleasure in coming over to me, furnished with all the informations tending to the execution of our design, which may still be wanting. I will write next post to *Petrum* to come along with you.

(1) These addresses were followed by a long one from the Dissenting Ministers, in which they said:

'We think it the particular honour of the Protestant Dissenters, that their strict adherence to the interest of your Illustrious Family, before your Majesty's Accession, and their loyalty to it since, have drawn upon them so much of the fury of their fellow-subjects; we are not conscious what else could render us obnoxious to them: Our principles being as we hope the most friendly to mankind, and amounting to no more than those of a general Toleration to all peaceable subjects, universal love and charity for all Christians, and to act always in matters of Religion, as God shall give us light into his Will about them.

We do not so much as expect or desire any thing that ought to give any one the least disturbance; we only wish, that under your Majesty, as the common father of all your loyal people, those of our persuasion might not want capacity, as we hope your Majesty will find they never want an inclination to promote the true interest of the Protestant Religion, and of their Country.'

1716-17. Prince sitting on the Throne, by making public rejoicings: That the University had a method of expressing their loyalty more consistent with the dignity of their founders, and the characters of their persons, than illuminations, bonfires, and firing of guns: That, as for the Mayor and Magistrates of the City of *Oxford*, they had this to plead for their excuse, that they were ignorant it was the Prince's birth-day: That, the several affidavits and informations, upon which the Mayor and Magistrates grounded their complaints, having been sent up to Court, copies of the same were returned to the Officers of the regiment quartered at *Oxford*, in order to give them an opportunity to justify their proceedings; which produced another set of affidavits and depositions in behalf of the Officers: That the Magistrates had no opportunity to make any replication in their own defence; and therefore it was moved, that the House would come to no resolution, upon the foot of the two sets of affidavits; but that they would adjourn the further proceedings, and appoint a day, when they would hear the persons concerned in these informations. They insisted upon this method, because nothing could set this matter in a truer light, than the cross-examining and confronting the evidences on each side; urging, that this method, their Lordships very well knew, was the constant practice of the Courts below, and even of all the hearings at the bar of their Lordships House; and that their Lordships had never yet refused to admit of a replication: That as to the disrespect to the Prince Regent, charged upon the University, for their neglect of ringing the bells on his Royal Highness's birth-day, of the sixteen Colleges in the University, only three had any bells to ring: And that it appeared plainly by the affidavits taken before the Mayor and Magistrates, that the riotous proceedings were occasioned by the insolence and rude behaviour of the soldiers, encouraged by several Members of the University, calling themselves the *Constitution Club*; and by the neglect of the commanding Officers of the regiment, in not issuing proper orders to suppress the disturbance.' The Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Abington*, the Lords *Harcourt*, *Trevor*, *Norib* and *Grey*, and some others, spoke also in favour of the University and Magistrates of *Oxford*.

The Lord *Coningsby*, who spoke first on the other side, said, 'That he knew the usage of the University to have been otherwise than had been represented; and gave a short account of their behaviour in the Reigns of King *Charles II.* and *James II.*; and distinguished between their past and present loyalty.' He owned, 'That, in these two Reigns, they had expressed their loyalty in a most extraordinary manner, and had made such great advances to countenance an unlimited power in the Prince, that, if Providence had not miraculously interposed, they had, as far as in them lay, destroyed the liberties of their Country, which would have involved the University in certain ruin.' The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Kingston*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Parker*, the Lord *Townshend*, the Lord *Cadogan*, and some other Peers who spoke on the same side, observed in general, 'That the disrespect to the Prince Regent, charged upon the University and City of *Oxford*, was manifest, because the Major of the regiment did, about ten of the clock in the morning go to the

Mayor, and complained, that he had shewed no regard to the Prince's birth-day, by ringing the bells; to which the Mayor returned a shutting answer, pretending he did not know it to be the Prince Regent's birth-day. That upon this the Major told him, He would draw out the regiment to celebrate the day, with proper rejoicings, which he did accordingly; but that the Mayor, instead of joining in the rejoicings, with a vast mob after him, filled up the public streets; and some of his attendants insulted the soldiers on their march, and gave them opprobrious language, crying out, *Down with the Roundheads*. That they proceeded so far in their insults, as to throw dirt and stones at the soldiers, and even attempted to disarm some of them. That the House, wherein the Officers of the regiment, and some of the Collegians met to celebrate the festival, was in an insolent manner assaulted, and the windows broke by stones thrown from the opposite house of one *Hurst*, an Ironmonger, upon which the soldiers, to revenge the affront, began likewise to break windows, of which the Mayor was no sooner informed, but he immediately went out and bid them desist. That it was indeed affirmed in some of the affidavits produced in behalf of the University and Magistrates, that a certain Collegian went round the bonfire, and encouraged the soldiers to break the windows of *Hurst*, and all that were not illuminated; but, that the same was contradicted by no less than five or six persons, who upon oath declared, that the Collegian was from seven till ten that evening in their company, and had not stirred from the house all that time. That, upon the Mayor's applying to the Major of the regiment, the latter gave immediate orders for patrols to go through the City, and send home to their quarters all the soldiers they should find in the streets. And that, the patrols being insulted by some of the Mayor's attendants, two or three of the soldiers fired, but with powder only, pursuant to the orders given them.' During this debate, the Earl of *Abington* offered a petition from the Vice-Chancellor, and the Mayor, and Magistrates of *Oxford*, praying to be heard; and insisted, that it should be received and read: But it was urged on the other side, that, the house being in a Grand Committee, the receiving any petitions was irregular. Then it was moved, that the Chairman should leave the chair; which being carried in the negative, the debate was resumed, and about six o'clock in the evening the two following resolutions were agreed to by a majority of sixty-five against thirty-three.

I. Resolved, 'That the Heads of the University, and Mayor of the City, neglected to make any public rejoicings on the Prince's birth-day; but some of the Collegians, with the Officers, being met to celebrate the day, the house where they were was assaulted, and the windows were broken by the rabble; which was the beginning and occasion of the riots that ensued, as well from the Soldiers as the Scholars and Townsmen; and that the conduct of the Major seemed well justified by the affidavits produced on his part.

II. Resolved, That the printing and publishing the depositions, upon which the complaints relating to the riots at *Oxford* were founded, while that matter was under the examination of

the

1717. the Lords of the Committee of Council, and before they had time to come to any resolution touching the same, was irregular, disrespectful to his Royal Highness, and tending to sedition.

Debates about the Supplies.

The Commons, proceeding upon the Supplies, among other things granted 24,000*l.* for the payment of four battalions of *Munster*, and two of *Saxe-Gotba*, which the King had taken into his service, to supply the place of such as during the Rebellion should be drawn from the garrisons of the *States-General* to the assistance of *England*. This occasioned a great debate. It was said, as these troops did not serve, they ought not to be paid. It was replied, by the treaties it was agreed that they should be paid whether they served or not, and the circumstances of the times made such an agreement necessary. It was moved, and the question put for an address to the King, that the instructions given to those who transacted the treaties for the six battalions, might be laid before the House, but it passed in the negative by a majority of one hundred and sixty-five against thirty-eight. It was believed these treaties were called for, and the address moved by some Gentlemen, with a design to bring a censure on the *German* Ministers. About 5,500*l.* was also granted to make good the damages and losses sustained by the tumultuous and rebellious proceedings in several Counties, particularly the demolishing the Meeting-Houses. The money voted for the army, navy, and other particulars, amounted to above two millions and a half.

A message from the King for an extraordinary Supply.

To raise these Supplies, the Commons granted a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and the malt-tax. While these things were transacting, Mr. Secretary *Stanbope* delivered to the House the following message from the King:

‘His Majesty being desirous, above all things, not only to secure his Kingdoms against the present danger with which they are threatened from *Sweden*, but likewise to prevent, as far as possible, the like apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary that such measures should be early concerted, as may conduce most effectually to this end.

And, as this may require some expence, his Majesty hopes that his Commons will, by their assistance at this juncture, enable him to make good such engagements, as may ease his people of all future charge and apprehensions upon this account.’

The consideration of this unexpected message was deferred till the next day, when Mr. Secretary *Stanbope* made a motion, ‘That a Supply be granted to enable his Majesty to concert such measures with foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any charge or apprehensions from the designs of *Sweden* for the future.’ He urged the advantage and security that would arise to the Nation, by enabling his Majesty to reduce the King of *Sweden*; and what confidence they ought to repose in the King’s honour, wisdom, and oeconomy, in the management of what money should be thought necessary for that service. Mr. *Shippen* replied,

‘That it was a great misfortune, that so wise and excellent a Prince as his Majesty was as little acquainted with the usage and forms of Parliamentary proceedings, as with the language of our Country. That, if he knew either, he would not have sent such a message, which, he

Numb. XC1. VOL. IV.

was sure, was *unparliamentary* and *unprecedented*; and therefore it was his opinion, that the same was penned by some foreign Minister, and then translated into *English*. That, since the King’s Accession to the Throne, there had been many reflections cast in that House upon the last Ministry, as if they had betrayed the interest of their Country. That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his Majesty had retrieved the honour and reputation of the Nation, the effects of which had already appeared in the flourishing condition of trade. That, after all this, he could not but be very much surprized, to find a motion made for a Supply of money to enable his Majesty to enter into new measures, to secure his Kingdoms against any future apprehensions from the *Swedes*. That the necessity that was urged for this, seemed to be inconsistent with the account of those glorious advantages, which his Majesty had obtained for us. And he could not help being of the opinion, that if the new Alliances and Measures to be concerted were such, as were to be obtained purely by the force of our money, that ever the happiness or the security of the Nation could be the Consequence of such Counsels; for, whenever foreigners come to taste the sweetness of *English* money, we might depend upon it, that their adherence to our interest would last no longer than we continued to supply their necessities.’ Mr. *Hungerford*, who seconded Mr. *Shippen*, said, among other particulars, ‘That, for his part, he could not understand what occasion there was for new alliances; much less, that they should be purchased with money. That it must needs be very surprizing to the whole world, that a Nation, not long ago the terror of *France* and *Spain*, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as the King of *Sweden*; especially when we had so good a fleet at sea, and so great an army on land.’ Some other speeches were made on the same side, which gave Mr. *Stanbope* occasion to say, ‘That he was sorry to find Gentlemen grow so warm upon a subject of this nature: That the King was a Prince of that Integrity and Honour, and had already given such convincing proofs of his tender care for the true interest of the Nation, that they might entirely depend upon his wisdom in this matter: And therefore he was of opinion, that none would refuse compliance with this message, but such as either were not the King’s friends, or who distrusted the honesty of his Ministers.’ This gave offence to several Members; and Mr. *Lawson*, one of the Knights of the Shire for *Cumberland*, replied, ‘That he was very much surprized to find such unguarded expressions fall from that worthy and honourable Gentleman, for whom, he was sure, the whole House had a very great regard. But, since he had thought fit to speak so openly, he hoped he might well be justified in saying, that if every Member of this House, that used freedom of speech on any subject of debate, must be accounted an enemy to the King, when he happens not to fall in with his Ministers; he knew no service they were capable of doing for their Country in that House; and therefore it was his opinion, that they had nothing else to do but to retire to their Country-seats, and leave the King and his Ministers to take what they pleased.’ Mr. *Boscawen*, Comptroller of the Household, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, Mr. *Horace*

1717.

1717. *Walpole*, and some other Gentlemen, backed *Mr. Stanhope's* motion; but *Mr. Grimstone*, Member for *St. Alban's*, and some other Whig Members, spoke against it, on the other side; and what was still more observable, was the silence of *Mr. Walpole*, first Commissioner of the Treasury. However, it was moved and resolved, that the House would in a Committee consider on the 8th of April of *Mr. Stanhope's* motion for a Supply. Mean time the King was addressed for a copy of the treaty made by King *William*, with the King of *Sweden*, in 1700, which was read and examined. With the treaty there was printed, and delivered to the Members, an account of the damages sustained by the *British* subjects in ships and lading confiscated in *Sweden*, amounting to above 69,000*l.* and of the losses sustained by the *Muscovite* Company, amounting to above 45,000*l.*

Division
among the
Whigs.

It was now obvious, that there was a misunderstanding among the King's Ministers, and that the Whigs were divided. This more plainly appeared, in the course of the debate about *Mr. Stanhope's* motion for a Supply against *Sweden*. For, when it came to be resumed on the day appointed, it was urged by those who opposed it, 'That it was unparliamentary to grant a Supply, before the occasion was known, and an estimate of the expence was laid before the House. That the King's message about this matter was so unprecedented, that his Ministers seemed to be divided about it; and that it was a great misfortune such divisions should happen among the Ministry; for then a Parliament cannot have a true information of things. That they could not easily apprehend, what occasion there was to make new alliances, since we had a standing army in *Great Britain*, and a considerable fleet at sea, which sufficiently secured his Majesty's Kingdoms against any dangers from *Sweden*. That if we designed to make an offensive war against that Crown, Why did we not send part of our forces on board our fleet; especially, since we were now secure at home, both by the suppression of the late Rebellion, and by the conclusion of the triple Alliance, which the Regent of *France* had begun faithfully to perform, by causing the Pretender to pass the *Alps*? However, if the Court insisted on the necessity of entering into new engagements against *Sweden*, they thought it proper to address his Majesty, to acquaint the House with the nature of those engagements, and the sum that was requisite to make them good.' To this it was answered by *Mr. Stanhope*, and some others, 'That the discovery of the late Conspiracy, carried on by the *Swedish* Ministers, in conjunction with the discontented party at home, sufficiently evinced the necessity of a standing army in *Great Britain*. That the treaty of triple Alliance seemed indeed to secure us against any danger on the part of *France*; but it was to be observed, that treaty had met with so great opposition at the *French* Court, that, had not the Regent stickled strenuously for it, the same would have infallibly miscarried: And, though hitherto we had all the reason imaginable to commend the honesty and candour of that Prince, yet in good policy we ought not to depend on that treaty any longer, than it shall be the interest of *France* to observe it.' And, as for the address, 'the same would be injurious to the King's prerogative of entering into such

1717. Alliances, as his Majesty thinks necessary for the security of his Dominions, without communicating the same to his Parliament: Which prerogative was grounded on very good reasons; for, if the Crown was obliged to impart the secret of affairs to so great a number of persons, the most important Negotiations might thereby miscarry.' Sir *Gilbert Heathcote*, who spoke on the same side, mentioned the great losses and damages, which the *British* subjects had sustained by their ships being made prize, and confiscated in *Sweden*; and, besides those contained in the printed account, which was that day delivered to the Members, produced a list of other losses; concluding, 'That, the King of *Sweden*, having several times refused to make satisfaction for the same, and, on the contrary, his Ministers having endeavoured to raise a new Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, there was a ground to declare war against him.' To this *Mr. Gould* replied, 'That, the *Dutch* having sustained as great losses by the *Swedes*, they had an equal concern with *Great-Britain* to declare war against them; and therefore it would be proper, before we proceeded further, to engage *Holland*, in the first place, to prohibit all commerce with *Sweden*, as we had done.' *Mr. Stanhope* said, 'He made no doubt, but the *States* would readily come into any measures, that should appear necessary for the good of both Nations in general, and to obtain satisfaction for the late depredations of the *Swedes* in particular: That they had lately given signal instances of their firm adherence to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, in causing the *Swedish* Ministers to be seized in their Dominions upon his Majesty's desire: But that the form and constitution of their Government, and the good of their Subjects, who most subsist by trade, did not permit them to take such vigorous and speedy resolutions, as could be wished; and therefore it would not be fair to exact the same from them.' *Mr. Craggs* pressed the necessity of making new Alliances against *Sweden*, from the late doubtful conduct of a Northern Potentate (meaning the *Czar of Muscovy*) who, by his inactivity against *Sweden*, and the posts some of his troops had taken, gave great umbrage to the Empire.' On the other hand, to the great surprize of the generality of the Assembly, the Speaker and *Mr. Smith*, one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, declared, That, though they were not against the Supply, they were against demanding and granting it in such an unparliamentary manner: And the Speaker proposed, That part of the army should be disbanded, and the money thereby saved applied towards the making good such new engagements, as were thought necessary to be entered into. But General *Mordaunt*, and some others, shewed how unsafe and impolitic it would be, at this juncture, to disband any of those troops. *Mr. Caswell* closed the debate with observing, 'That he had rather pay others for fighting than fight himself: That he thought it more advantageous for *Great-Britain* to carry the war abroad, and enjoy peace at home, in order to improve our trade, and reduce our public debts: And, as the employing Foreigners against *Sweden* would be a far less expence than national troops, he therefore was for complying with his Majesty's message.' At last the question was put, and it was carried for a Supply, by a majority of fifteen voices only; or c

1717. one hundred and sixty-four against one hundred and forty-nine.

The next day, this resolution being reported to the House, a short debate arose. The asking and granting supplies without an estimate of the expence was insisted on again as unparliamentary, and it was proposed, either to present an address to the King to assure him, that the House would effectually make good all the engagements he should think proper to enter into; or that the King be desired to disband part of the army, and apply the savings towards the new Alliances. Both these expedients were rejected by the Speakers on the other side, and Mr. Hampden, in particular, said, 'He remembered, that, about ten or eleven years before, a great man in that House made a motion for allowing and providing for about nine hundred thousand pounds, which the Government had expended, without laying any estimate before the Commons.' To this the Speaker, who was the person meant, said, he wondered that Gentleman would bring in as a precedent a business, that was transacted so many years ago, and which was not parallel to the present case. Mr. Hampden replied, 'He did not mean to reflect upon Mr. Speaker, since he had the honour to vote with him upon that occasion.' After some other speeches, the resolution for granting a Supply was agreed to, though by a majority only of four votes, one hundred and fifty-three against one hundred and forty-nine.

Changes in
the Ministry.

The carrying of this vote, by so small a majority, could not but give the King some uneasiness; and it being evident, that the great opposition which the Court found on this occasion in the House of Commons, chiefly proceeded from a party of which the Lord Townshend was said to be the head; Mr. Stanhope wrote that very evening, by the King's command, a letter to acquaint him, that his Majesty returned him thanks for his past services, but had no farther occasion for him as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The next morning Mr. Walpole waited upon the King to resign his places of first Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The King shewed great regret to part with him, and with many kind expressions endeavoured to persuade him to keep his post; but though Mr. Walpole assured him, that he would never swerve from his duty to so good and gracious a Master: Yet at the same time he represented, how impossible it was for him to serve him in the present circumstances of affairs. Mr. Melbourn and Mr. Pulteney, Secretary at war, followed Mr. Walpole's example, and the same morning resigned their respective places.

On the 12th of April, the Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, considered of the Supply against Sweden; and, Mr. Stanhope having made a motion for granting to the King 250,000*l.* to enable him to concert measures against Sweden, there was for a minute or two a great silence in the House. Mr. Pulteney, who broke it first, expressed his surprize at it; and added, 'He had not yet said any thing to this matter, because he thought it inconsistent with decency to oppose a motion that came from the Court, while he had the honour to be his Majesty's immediate servant; but that, having re-

sighed his place, that he might act with the freedom becoming an *Englishman*, he could not forbear declaring against the granting a Supply, in a manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented. That he could not persuade himself, that any *Englishman* advised his Majesty to send such a message; but he doubted not, the resolution of a *British* Parliament would make a *German* Ministry tremble.' The Lord Finch seconded Mr. Pulteney, and objected to some steps which had been taken in relation to the affairs of the North, alledging, 'That it appeared by the memorial presented by the *Russian* Minister, and by the answer which had been returned to the same; that such measures were pursued, as were likely to engage us in a quarrel with the Czar.' Mr. Stanhope, in a long speech, vindicated the King and his Ministers, in relation both to the Czar and the King of Sweden. With respect to the Czar, he observed, 'That hitherto he had been obliged to be silent; but he was now at liberty to set this matter in a clear light, and to acquaint the House, that the coldness which appeared of late between the King and the Czar, proceeded from his Majesty's refusing to become guarantee of his Czaristh Majesty's conquests; and from his soliciting the Czar to withdraw his troops from the Duchy of Mecklenburg. That, as to the first, his Majesty's conduct deserved the applause and thanks of a *British* Parliament, since it appeared, that his Majesty was tender not to engage the Nation in foreign quarrels. That this indeed had been his principal care since his happy Accession to the Throne; and he might assure them, that *Great-Britain* was entirely free from any engagements, and at liberty to follow such measures, as best suit with her interest. That as for the instances which his Majesty has caused to be made with the Czar, and the measures he may have concerted to get the *Russian* troops out of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, his Majesty has acted in all this as Elector and Prince of the Empire. That he was persuaded, all the Gentlemen there would agree with him, that the King's dignity, as King of *Great-Britain*, was never understood to tie up his hands with respect to his interests in *Germany*, and as Prince of the Empire: But, besides, he must desire Gentlemen to consider, that, long before his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, *Great-Britain* was in strict union with the Emperor and Empire; so that if, by virtue of ancient Alliances, the Emperor should require *Great-Britain* to use these instances with the Czar, which the King has made only as Elector of *Hanover*, *Great-Britain* could not avoid complying with his request. That, in relation to Sweden, the King's conduct was not only blameless and unspotted, but worthy of the highest commendations. That in the late Queen's time, *Great-Britain* interposed to procure a neutrality in the North, whereby the King of Sweden might have preserved his possessions in the Empire. That the Regency at Stockholm agreed to this overture; but that the King of Sweden rejected it with haughtiness, and the utmost scorn, declaring, he would use those as his enemies, who should pretend to impose such a neutrality upon him.

That, during the whole course of that Negotiation, the King, then Elector of *Hanover*, used all friendly offices in favour of Sweden. That the same having proved ineffectual, through the

1717.

King

1717. King of Sweden's obstinacy; and the King of Denmark having, by the fortune of war, reconquered the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, had purchased the same with his own money for a valuable consideration. That although it was never in his Majesty's thoughts to engage Great-Britain in a war to support that acquisition; yet, if Gentlemen would give themselves the trouble to cast their eyes upon the map, and see where Bremen and Verden lie, he hoped they would not be indifferent as to the possessor of those two Duchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the King's hands suits far better with the interest of Great Britain, than if they were in the hands either of the Czar, who gives already but too much jealousy in the Empire, or of the King of Sweden, who endeavoured to raise a new Rebellion in Great-Britain, and harbours our fugitive Rebels.

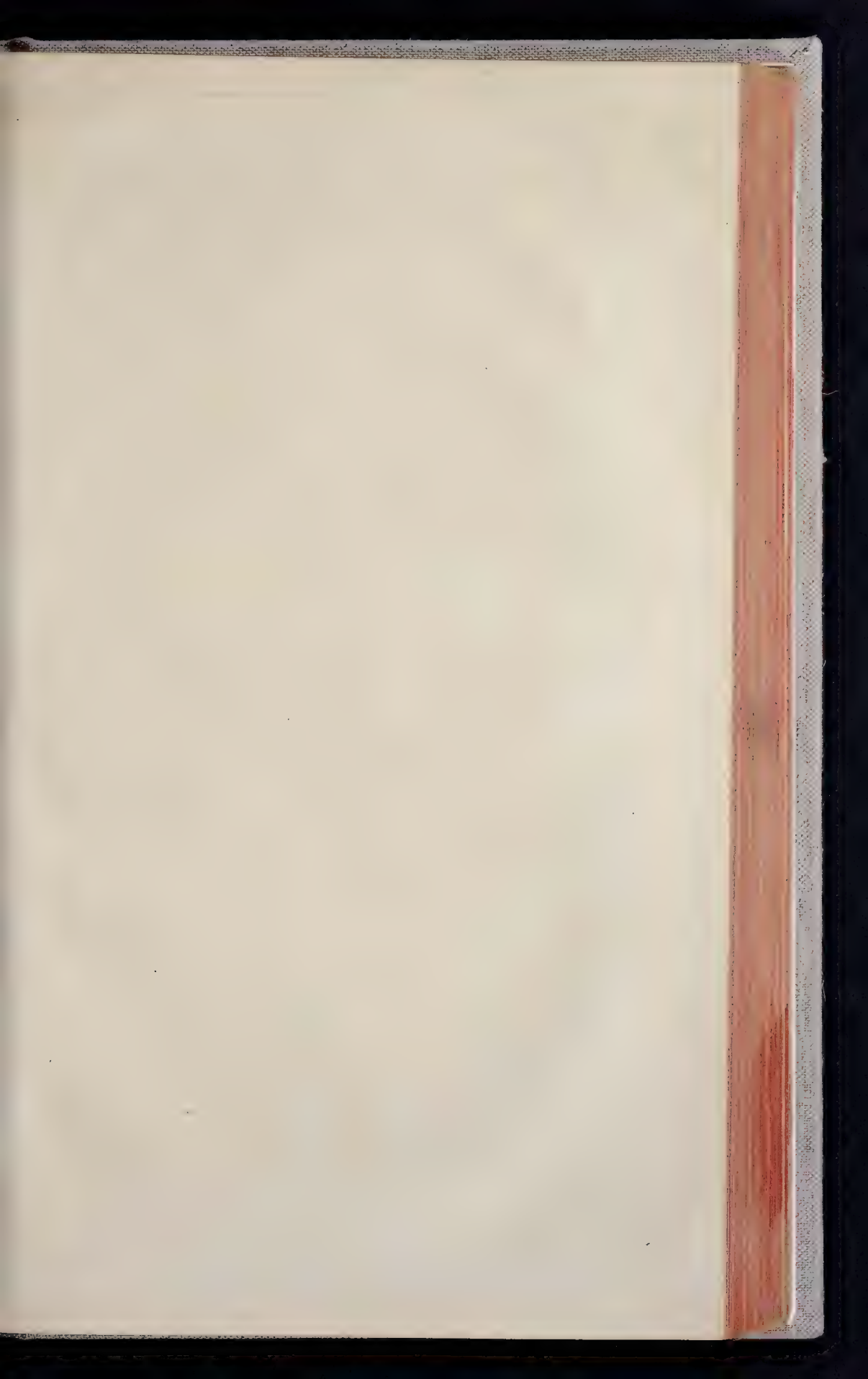
This speech made a great impression upon the majority. However, Mr. Smith thought fit to answer Mr. Stanhope, and said, 'He had already declared his reasons for opposing the granting this Supply in such an extraordinary manner; and some expressions that had escaped a Gentleman in the Ministry, instead of making him alter his opinion, rather confirmed him in it. That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with affairs abroad; but, having had the honour to sit so long in that House, where so great a variety of business, both foreign and domestic, had often been debated, he might presume to have some knowledge of them. That however he would not say any thing to what had been advanced by the honourable Member who spoke last; but if an estimate of the conduct of the Ministry in relation to affairs abroad was to be made by a comparison of their conduct at

home, he was sure they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. Was it not a mistake, added he, not to preserve the peace at home, after the King was come to the Throne with the universal applause and joyful acclamations of all his subjects? Was it not a mistake, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, not to issue a Proclamation, to offer pardon to such as should return home peaceably, as had ever been practised before upon such occasions? Was it not a mistake, after the suppression of the Rebellion, and the trial and execution of the principal Authors of it, to keep up animosities, and drive people to despair, by not passing an Act of Indemnity and Grace, by keeping so many persons under hard and tedious confinement, and by granting pardons to some, without leaving them any means to subsist? Is it not a mistake not to trust to a vote of Parliament for making good such engagements as his Majesty shall think proper to enter into; and, instead of that, to insist on the granting of this Supply in such an extraordinary manner? Is it not a mistake to take this opportunity to create divisions, and render some of the King's best friends suspected and obnoxious? Is it not a mistake, in short, to form parties and cabals, in order to bring in a bill to repeal the act against occasional conformity?' To this speech Mr. Stanhope replied, 'That he had the honour to serve his Majesty since his happy Accession to the Throne, but, as there were other persons (some of them in, and others out of place) who had a greater share than himself in the administration of affairs, he left it to them to justify themselves. That, however, he would clear a principal point, by assuring the Assembly, that he had some time ago the King's orders to draw up an Act of Indemnity (1).

Mr.

(1) Mr. Barrington Shute answered Mr. Smith more at large, and said, 'That the King was indeed come to the Throne with the joyful acclamations of most of his subjects; but that the dissension that appeared soon after, did not proceed from the ill conduct of his Ministers, but solely from the removal of some persons in great employments. That, nevertheless, in the changes that were then made, his Majesty had followed the rules of prudence, justice, and gratitude, since he advanced those, who in the worst of times had given undoubted proofs of their affection and attachment to his interest, in the room of those who had been preferred in the last Reign, as the fittest instruments to destroy the Protestant Succession, even before it took place, and who had since been in open Rebellion against his Majesty. That, as for the other mistakes charged upon the Administration, they might be reduced to these two, The not passing the act of Indemnity, and the design to repeal the Occasional Bill. That, as to the first, there were various opinions about it; and, considering the restless spirit of the discontented party, it was hard to determine, whether an Indemnity was a proper way to reduce them, since it was notorious, that the repeated instances of clemency, which his Majesty had given since his Accession, have been abused and despised. That, as to the repeal of the act against the Dissenters, nothing, in his opinion, was either more just or reasonable; and he could not but wonder, that a Gentleman, who had been turned out of his employment in the last Reign, and restored since the King's coming to the Crown, should account it a mistake, on the other hand, to make his Majesty's undoubted friends easy.' Mr. Smith, after an explanation demanded and given, about his being turned out of place and restored, replied to the last part of Mr. Shute's speech, 'That he ever was for allowing

liberty of conscience to the Dissenters, and had even voted against the Occasional Bill; but that, the same being passed into a law, it was his opinion, that it could not be repealed without disquieting the whole Nation.' The design mentioned in these speeches, of repealing the *Schism and Occasional Conformity* acts, took its rise from hence: Mr. Hüllerden, Member for Bedfordshire, and Mr. Tuckfield, Member for Abington, happening to meet at a Tavern, and complaining to each other of the breach of Court promises, with regard to the Dissenters, came to a resolution each of them to invite three Members to meet the next night at the same place. When these met, they all entered into the same way of thinking; and, when they parted, every one agreed to invite their friends. In a little time, the number increased to above two hundred Members of the House of Commons, who, on the 26th of March, had a meeting at the *Resol-Tavern* near Temple-Bar, in order to consult together, 'Whether the bill for repealing the act against Occasional Conformity should be brought in?' The Lord Moleworth, Mr. Jessop, Sir Richard Steele, and some others, made speeches, to shew the reasonableness and justice of easing the Dissenters of those hardships, which had been put upon them in the last Reign, chiefly upon account of their zeal and affection for the Protestant Succession, and of putting them in a capacity to serve their King and Country; urging, that they had reason to believe, that such a bill would be very acceptable to the King. The majority of the Assembly inclined to this opinion: But Mr. Tysnel, who had consulted a person in a high post, and found, that the Court were apprehensive, such a bill would meet with strong opposition in the House of Peers, made a speech, wherein he said, 'That, as for his own part, he had already so often declared against the Occasional Act, that he hoped





in the collection of Jacob Jensen Esq

Engraved by J. Smith. London 1748

Printed by J. Smith. London 1748

1717. Mr. William Young, son of Sir Walter Young, said, 'That some days before he had been against the motion for granting a Supply upon the King's message, because he thought it *unparliamentary*; and it was then his opinion to address the King to enter into such engagements, as his Majesty should think proper; and that the Commons would make good the same. But that, since the majority of the House had determined to grant a Supply, they had brought themselves into this dilemma, either to grant what was asked as necessary for the service, or to tell the King, that service must remain unperformed, which they, in a manner, determined to be necessary, by granting a Supply. This speech was supported by Sir John Brownlow, and Mr. Gould, who owned, 'That we could not carry on our trade to the Baltic, without bringing the King of Sweden to reason; and therefore he was for granting this Supply.'

Mr. Walpole, who closed the debate, said, 'That, having already spoken for the Supply, he would not refuse the Court his vote; and, the sum being named, he was for granting it (1). Upon this most of the Tory Members, who were divided among themselves as to the sum, going out of the House; it was carried, 'That a sum not exceeding 250,000 l. be granted, to enable his Majesty to concert such measures with foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any charge or apprehensions from the designs of Sweden for the future.' Which resolution was afterwards passed in form.

By this time there was almost a total change in the Ministry. The Earl of Sunderland was appointed Secretary of State, as was also Mr. Joseph Aldison: Mr. Stanhope was made first Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Torrington, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Baillie of Jerviswood, and Mr. Micklethwaite were the other Commissioners of the Treasury; Sir William St. Quintin, Mr. Metbuen, and Mr. Edgeworth, being removed, Mr. Craggs was declared Secretary at war; Mr. Charles Stanhope, Coadjutor to Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Treasury; and Mr. Joseph Micklethwaite, Secretary to Mr. Stanhope, as Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer. The Earl of Orford resigned his place of first Commissioner of the Admiralty, which was given to the Earl of Berkeley. The rest of the Commissioners of the Admiralty were Mr. Aylmer, Sir George Byng, Mr. Cockburne, and Mr. Cbetwynd. The Duke of Bolton was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and his place of Lord Chamberlain

of the Household was bestowed on the Duke of Newcastle. The Duke of Devonshire resigned his place of President of the Council.

The Commons, having been adjourned during these changes, met again the 6th of May. All the expedition possible had been used to fit out a fleet for the Baltic, consisting of twenty-one ships of the Line, besides frigates and fire-ships. This fleet, under the command of Sir George Byng, arrived at Copenhagen the 11th of April, in order to sail into the Baltic, to observe the motions of the Swedes. An express of his arrival in the Sound came just before the meeting of the Parliament. The King thought proper to acquaint the Parliament with the news, which, as it was unexpected, could not but agreeably surprize both Houses. To this end he came to the House of Lords, and delivered to the Chancellor the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"IT is with great satisfaction, that, after this short recess, I can acquaint you with the certain advice I have received, that my fleet is safely arrived in the Sound, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, will secure these Kingdoms against any immediate danger of an Invasion.

"I have, by this means, an opportunity, which is very acceptable to me, of making a considerable reduction in our land-forces, having established it as a rule with myself, to consult the ease of my people in every thing, so far as is consistent with their safety. And, for my own part, as I shall always place my greatness in the prosperity of my Subjects, so I shall always desire, that my power may be founded in their Affections.

"It is upon these considerations, that I have given orders for the immediate reduction of ten thousand Men.

"That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the minds of all my Subjects, I have likewise given directions to prepare an Act of Grace; and, however it may be received by those, who are obstinately bent on the ruin of their Country, I promise myself, that it will raise a due sense of gratitude in all such, as have been artfully misled into treasonable practices against my Person and Government, and preserve them from standing in need of the like mercy for the future, when such instance of clemency may not be so expedient for the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own inclinations.

Gentlemen,

hoped nobody would suspect him of entertaining any doubt concerning its repeal. For, besides the reasonableness and justice of it, they ought, out of gratitude, to take off a mark of infamy, which the enemies of the Protestant Succession had put on them, who appeared most zealous for it. But that, in his opinion, the question now before them was not, whether the repeal of the act was reasonable and just, for he hoped, the whole Assembly were satisfied as to that; but whether the bringing of it in ought not to be put off till a more favourable opportunity? Several Members were of a contrary opinion; but, Mr. Stanhope having declared for it, the Assembly agreed to meet again about a week after, and debate on the affair. At the meeting, the Lord Melforth was chosen Chairman. Several speeches were made to shew the necessity as well

as reasonableness and justice of bringing in the bill for a repeal at this juncture; and a Minister of State having sent an intimation, that most of the obstacles, that might have obstructed its passage, were removed, it was resolved to consider further of the affair. But though the debate was again resumed; and though it was reported, that six or seven Bishops, being made sensible of the hardships put on the Dissenters by these acts, had promised not to oppose the repeal, yet the matter took not effect at this time.

(1.) Mr. Walpole, upon bringing in a bill concerning the window-tax, just after the resigning his places, told the House, 'He now presented the bill as a Country Gentleman, but hoped it would not fare the worse for having two Fathers, and that his Successor would take care to bring it to perfection. Pr. H. C.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I thank you for your readiness to support me in the present juncture of affairs, and for the Supplies, which you have given me; and do promise you, that they shall be employed for the uses, to which you designed them.

" I shall order such faithful accounts to be laid before you the next Session, as will make it appear, there was no other view in asking any particular Supply, than to prevent a much greater expence, which the Nation must have unavoidably incurred without it.

" I must recommend to you, as I did at the beginning of the Session, to take all proper methods for reducing the public debts, with a just regard to Parliamentary credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The year being so far advanced, I hope you will go through the public business with all possible dispatch and unanimity; it being my intention to meet you early the next winter, that the sitting of Parliament may be brought into the more usual and convenient season."

Addresses
of thanks
from both
Houses.

The Lords immediately voted an address of thanks, which they presented the next day. The like address being moved for in the House of Commons, and reported, Mr. Shippen proposed an amendment. Instead of, *The reducing such a body of land-forces is the most acceptable pledge you could give your People of your tenderness for them*, he proposed to say, *That nothing could more endear his Majesty to all his subjects than the reducing the land-forces to the old establishment of guards and garrisons, such as his Majesty found it at his Accession to the Crown.* To support this motion, he represented the danger of a standing army, urging, that in Cromwell's time a force, much less than what will remain in Great-Britain, had, after the intended reduction, overturned the Monarchy, abolished Episcopacy, put down the House of Peers, and drove the Commons from their seats. He was seconded by Mr. Bromley, and supported by Mr. Herne and General Roß; but they were answered by Mr. Stanhope, who said, " That the Member, who spoke first, could not pitch upon a proper juncture to move for the disbanding of the army, especially, if the news was true, that the Pretender designed to come *incognito* to Paris, to confer with a certain Prince;" meaning the Czar of Muscovy, who was now arrived at Paris. To this purpose it may be observed, that the very day before *Iberville* received advice from France, that the Pretender was arrived at *Basil*, in *Switzerland*, and had a few days after been seen at *Old Brissack*; upon notice whereof, the Regent of France had sent orders to all the Governors of the frontier towns, not to suffer him to enter the Kingdom of France: But it was soon after known, that the Pretender had not stirred from *Italy*. However, Mr. Stanhope, to the great surprize of the opposite side, was supported by Mr. Walpole, and also by Mr. Pulteney, who declared, " That, before the discovery of the late Swedish

Conspiracy, while he had the honour to serve as Secretary at war, he had received such directions, as shewed his Majesty's intentions, at that time, to reduce still a greater number of forces than at present: And therefore he did not doubt but his Majesty would do it, as soon as the safety of his Kingdoms would admit of it." Adding, " That, in his opinion, the Nation had no reason to fear any thing from an army, who, for near thirty years past, had given signal proofs of their firm adherence to the Protestant interest, and of their zeal to maintain the liberties of their Country; and, if there was any danger at present, it was only from foreign Counsels." The question being put upon Mr. Shippen's amendment, it was rejected by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight against eighty-three; and the Commons, with their Speaker, presented their address to the King.

In order to pass a censure on Lord Cadogan, *Inquiry about the Dutch forces in Scotland.* Mr. Pulteney acquainted the Commons, that he was apprehensive of some mismanagements and imbezlement of public monies in relation to the six thousand Dutch troops, and the service in *Pr. H. C. North-Britain*. Upon this it was resolved to address for an account of the money given for the pay and transportation of these forces, and of the distribution of the extraordinaries and contingencies for service performed in *Scotland* during the Rebellion. But, after all the inquiry into the affair by Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Walpole, and others, nothing material was found against the Lord Cadogan. In the last day's debate, Mr. Lechmere urged, " That the inquiry was altogether frivolous and groundless: That, as it was the result of party pique and malice, so it had no other view, than to blacken and asperse a person, whose greatest crime was, that he had real bright qualities, that eclipsed the tinsel merit of others: That this inquiry was of the same nature with those, that had formerly been set on foot against the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Townshend, and an honourable Member of that House; and he hoped would have the same end: That it looked very strange, that the Persons, who now appeared the hottest in this inquiry, should have been silent about these pretended frauds, while they were in place. But that it was still more surprizing to hear them exclaim, with so much rancour and bitterness, against a noble Lord, of whom they had been heard to say, that the speedy suppressing of the Rebellion in *Scotland* was, under God, owing to his activity and indefatigableness; and that, if another General had had the management of that affair, he would have made it a ten years war." After both parties had maintained the debate several hours, Mr. Stanhope moved, " That the Chairman leave the Chair." Which was carried in the affirmative by two hundred and four voices against one hundred and ninety-four. This was looked upon as a great victory on the Court side; for, had the Tories and their new Allies, as Mr. Shippen called them, gained their point, it was apprehended, that they designed, not only to have passed a censure on Lord Cadogan, but also to have carried the inquiry further, that they might have an opportunity of returning thanks to the Duke of Argyle, his rival in the business of *Scotland*. Most of the Scots Members voted for Lord Cadogan; but, though Mr. Hungerford spoke in his favour, yet he voted with

1717. with his enemies; and the Lord Finch and Sir Thomas Hanmer were absent from the House that day.

Measures for reducing the public debts.

The principal business of this Session was, the reduction of the national debts, which the King had earnestly recommended to the Commons in his speeches from the Throne. The national debt, by means of long and expensive wars, carried on in support of the Revolution, and consequently in defence of the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of Great-Britain, was become very large and heavy. And therefore the circumstances of time, high credit, and low price of money, prompted those, whose province it was, to consider of proper means to make use of that favourable opportunity, that the public might share in the common advantage of the flourishing state of public credit. For it was thought just and reasonable, that the public should have the same liberty, every private man has, to pay off his debts when he is able; or to reduce the high interest, which necessity had subjected him to, as soon as he could borrow the money elsewhere at more easy rates; unless his Creditors would consent to accept of the common rate of interest upon good security. This method of redemption, among the many schemes that were proposed for reduction of the public debts, was chosen by those who had the management of the affair.

The national debt was considered under two heads, *redeemable and irredeemable debts*. The *redeemable*, or such debts as had been provided for by Parliament with a redeemable interest of so much *per cent*, the public had a right and power to pay off whenever they were able, either by providing money for such Proprietors as insisted upon money, or by offering new terms, in discharge of all former conditions, which offer, if accepted by the Proprietors, was to be deemed an actual redemption of the first debt, as if it had been paid off in ready money.

As for the *irredeemable debts*, or the *long and short annuities* (so called from the greater or lesser number of years they were granted for) nothing could be done without the absolute consent of the Proprietors. The only method therefore to treat with them was to offer them such conditions as they should think it their interest to accept.

Upon these principles (as will presently be seen) were founded the resolutions taken by the Commons with relation to the public debts.

Mr. Walpole who was then at the head of the Treasury, and chief projector of the scheme, gave the first hint of it by a motion in the House of Commons, which was agreed to 'That whoever shall advance or lend any sum, not exceeding 600,000 *l*. for the service of the public by sea or land, shall be repaid the same with interest at 4 *l*. *per cent*. out of the first aid to be granted this Session of Parliament.' The putting the interest of this intended loan so low as four *per cent*. gave reason to surmise, that those, who had the management of the Treasury, designed to put on the same foot the interests of all public funds: Whereupon Mr. Lechmere made a long speech, observing, 'That several schemes and proposals for reducing the national debts had been printed and dispersed; which gave the persons concerned in the public securities the greater uneasiness, because there

was reason to apprehend, those schemes came abroad with the privacy and countenance of men in great places: That the general alarm, which this had occasioned among monied men, might very sensibly affect public credit, and be, at this juncture, of very dangerous consequence. To prevent which he thought it necessary, and therefore moved, that the House should come to a resolution, *effectually to make good all parliamentary engagements.*' To this unexpected motion Mr. Walpole replied, 'That his Majesty having, with great tenderness, recommended to them, from the Throne, *the reducing, by degrees, the debts of the Nation*; and the Commons having in their address promised *to apply themselves, with all possible diligence and attention to that great and necessary work*, they ought to exert themselves to make good that promise, and appoint a day to take that important matter into consideration. And he did not doubt but the Commons would then shew all possible regard to justice and public faith. He owned, there had been indeed several schemes published relating to the reduction of the national debts; but that the same were made by private persons; and he durst assure the House, without the participation of any of his Majesty's Ministers; and therefore not to be regarded; but that, in a short time, such proposals would be laid before the House, as, he hoped, would give them satisfaction, and meet with their approbation.' He therefore moved, that Mr. Lechmere's motion might be thus altered, 'That this House will effectually make good the deficiencies of all parliamentary engagements;' which, after a short debate, was approved, and a day was appointed to consider of the national debt.

By this time the surmise, that force would be used in the reduction of the public debts, had heightened the uneasiness of monied men and stock-jobbers, in some, to a degree of extravagance and madness, in others, of fullen discontent, so that many did not scruple to inveigh against the present Administration, as if the public debts were to be spunged off, and all seemed combined to distress the Government, by not advancing any money towards its support; by which means in three days not above 45,000 *l*. was subscribed to the loan of 600,000 *l*. in the land-tax. This disappointment, at so critical and dangerous a juncture, furnished Mr. Lechmere with matter for another speech on the 8th of March, when, the Commons being in a Grand Committee on the Supply, he told them, 'He was sorry he was obliged to take notice, that their late vote for a loan at four *per cent*. interest was like to prove ineffectual; and, as the present exigency required a speedy supply, so he thought it necessary, and therefore moved, that a day be appointed to consider further of that matter.' Mr. Robert Walpole declared, 'That he seconded this motion, there being the greater necessity for it, because he was informed, that some Stock-jobbers, in order to deter the Parliament from pursuing the design of reducing the public debts, had formed a combination to distress the Government, and ruin public credit, which was the occasion, that the late vote for borrowing 600,000 *l*. at four *per cent*. had not the desired effect.' To this Mr. Lechmere answered, 'That as none but the most wicked of men could enter into

1717. into such a combination against the good of their Country; so the honourable Member, who spoke last, would do well to name them, that the Honest might shew the utmost resentment and indignation against them. But that, in his opinion, the ill success of the loan was rather occasioned by some reflections on the monied men and stock jobbers, and by certain maxims lately advanced, That the Parliament may exert its authority to extricate themselves by reducing the national debts: That such maxims could not but alarm any persons concerned in the public securities; and the more, when they saw, that a slur had been put upon the motion made three days before, *That all parliamentary engagements should effectually be made good.* That he still thought such a vote absolutely necessary, both to remove people's fears and jealousies, and to vindicate the honour and justice of the Nation: That the same was intirely agreeable to his Majesty's sentiments, who, in his first speech to this Parliament, had been pleased to recommend to the Commons, in a particular manner, *the strict observance of all parliamentary engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the support of the credit of the Nation:* With which opinion of his Majesty the Commons did intirely concur; and that he could not believe any of his Majesty's Ministers could be so regardless of his honour, and known equity, or put so hard a thing upon him, as to make him, in the least, contradict what he had, in so solemn a manner, declared from the Throne. 'He added, That, the Commons having already appointed a day, to consider the State of the Nation with relation to the public debts, he would not anticipate that important affair: But he could not forbear declaring, on this occasion, his private opinion, that it would be the greatest ingratitude, as well as injustice, in the least

to wrong those persons, who had supported the Government in the most pressing exigencies, and most perilous junctures, and who, on all occasions, had shewn their zeal and affection for the Protestant Succession. That he had nothing to say as to such public securities, as were redeemable by Parliament; but, as to annuities granted for term of years, he would be positive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon parliamentary engagements, and violating the public faith; since those annuities were not to be looked upon as debts, but as a sale of annual rents for a valuable consideration, of which contract the Parliament had proposed and made the terms and conditions, and the rentees became purchasers upon the parliamentary faith and security. And that, besides the injustice of breaking through a national contract, those annuities could not be touched without occasioning great confusion and dispute in private families, by reason that most of these annuities had been settled for portions, jointures, and the like.' Upon this Mr. Walpole declared, there never had been a design to use any compulsion with relation to the annuities: That, indeed, an alternative might be offered to the proprietors of the same; but it should be in their choice, either to accept or refuse it. And, as for such funds as were redeemable, nothing would be proposed, that should not intirely consist with justice and public faith (1).

Three days after, the Commons ordered to be laid before the House, an account of the public debts at the Exchequer, distinguishing what the funds were; when granted; what term remained; how much the original money was; how much had been paid off, and how much unpaid; and what the annual interest was, that was payable for the sums advanced (2).

On

(1) The Commons having ordered, that the sums advanced for the service of the public should be repaid with 5 l. per cent. the whole loan of 600,000 l. was immediately filled up.

(2) An ACCOUNT of the PUBLIC DEBTS at the Exchequer as they now stand, distinguishing what the funds are; when granted; how much the original principal money was; how much has been since paid off, and how much remained; and what the annual sums are that are paid or payable for the principal sums advanced, with the rate of interest, exclusive of the deficiencies of Parliamentary grants.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
101. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1710. by way of annuity. Act of the 8th of Queen Anne, 9 l. per cent. Charges a duty of 3s. per chaldron on coals, and an additional duty on windows, for the term of 30 years.	1500000		1500000	135000
102. LOTTERY, Michaelmas, anno 1711. Act of the 9th of Queen Anne, 6 l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid. Charges a subsidy of tonnage and poundage upon exported goods from the 8th of March, 1710, a duty of 2s. a chaldron on coals from the 8th of March, 1710, an additional duty of a half-penny a pound on tallow-candles, and 4d. a pound on wax-candles, from the 25th of March, 1711, for the term of 32 years.	1928570	262500	1666070	135000

LOTTERIES.

1717. On the day appointed to consider of the national debt, Mr. *Walpole*, having in his hand the account of the public debts at the *Exchequer*, 1717. made proper remarks on them, and then communicated

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
Class LOTTERY, <i>Michaelmas</i> , anno 1711.				
Another Act of the 9th of <i>Queen Anne</i> , 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges 700 l. a week out of the Post-Office, from <i>Michaelmas</i> 1711; the duty on leather, &c. 1d. a pound, from the 24th of <i>June</i> 1711; new stamp duty on bills of lading, almanacks, licences, and certificates, from the 1st of <i>August</i> 1711; duty of 5 s. a week on eight hundred hackney-coaches, from the 24th of <i>June</i> 1711; and 10 s. per ann. on two hundred hackney-chairs, from the 24th of <i>June</i> 1711; and a duty of 6d. a pack on cards, and 5d. a pair on dice, from the 11th of <i>June</i> 1711: All for the term of 32 years.	2602200	76230	2525970	186670
10l. LOTTERY, <i>Christmas</i> , anno 1712.				
Act of the 10th of <i>Queen Anne</i> , 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the duty of 1d. a pound on soap, from the 10th of <i>June</i> 1712; 15 s. per centum ad valorem on foreign printed, painted, or stained linen, 6d. a yard on silks, 3d. a yard on calicoes, and 2d. a yard on linen and stuffs printed, painted, and stained in <i>Britain</i> , from the 20th of <i>July</i> 1712; several duties on paper, pasteboard, and books, from the 24th of <i>June</i> 1712; a new stamp duty on surrenders, 2 s. 3d. on every transfer of stock in any company, and the stamp duty on newspapers, &c. from the 1st of <i>August</i> 1712; all for the term of 32 years.	2341740	83220	2258520	168003
Class LOTTERY, <i>Michaelmas</i> , anno 1712.				
Another Act of the 10th of <i>Queen Anne</i> , 6l. per cent. and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the additional duty of a half-penny a pound on leather, from the 1st of <i>August</i> 1712; 1 s. a pound on coffee, 2 s. a pound on tea, and 20 l. per cent. ad valorem on drugs, from the 1st of <i>August</i> 1712; duty of 8d. an ounce on gilt wire, and 6d. an ounce on silver wire imported, from the 1st of <i>July</i> 1712; and a duty of 2 s. 4d. upon policies of insurance, &c. all for the term of 32 years.	2341990	29925	2312005	168003
Civil List LOTTERY, <i>Michaelmas</i> , anno 1713.				
By letters patents of the 13th of <i>October</i> 1713, and by an act of the 11th of <i>Queen Anne</i> , 4l. per cent. the principal to be repaid.				
Charges the Civil List Revenues with the annual sums of 35000 l. for the term of 32 years.	633010	33820	599190	35000
LOTTERY act, <i>Michaelmas</i> , anno 1714.				
Act of the 12th of <i>Queen Anne</i> , and 1st of <i>King George</i> .				
Blanks, 5 per cent. ————— 1157360				
Prizes, 4 per cent. ————— 719040				
1876400				
and the principal to be repaid.				
Charges a duty of 1d. a pound on foreign soap, and a half-penny a pound on soap made in <i>Great Britain</i> , from the 2d of <i>August</i> 1714; additional duty on paper, &c. from the same time; coals exported on foreign bottoms, 5 s. a chaldron, and on <i>British</i> bottoms, 3 s. a chaldron, and the deficiency to be yearly computed at <i>Michaelmas</i> , and to be made good out of any unappropriated money, for the term of 32 years.	1876400	64300	1812100	116573 12

1717. municated his scheme, both for paying off, or reducing the interest of redeemable funds, and for offering an alternative to the Proprietors of annuities; which was generally approved. After which, the Commons came to the following resolutions: 'I. That all the public funds redeemable by law, that do now exceed 5 *l.* per cent. per annum, be redeemed according to their respective provisos or clauses of redemption, contained in the acts of Parliament for that purpose, or

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
For the Bank upon their annuities.				
Act of the 5th and 6th of King William and Queen Mary.				
Charges five seventh parts of the second additional 9 <i>d.</i> per barrel excise, for raising 1200000 <i>l.</i> granting to all persons liberty to subscribe any sum, not exceeding 2000 <i>l.</i> in one name, for which an annuity of 100000 <i>l.</i> shall be paid, and the Subscribers be incorporated by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, from the 1st of August 1694, to the 1st of August 1705; when, upon a year's notice, and repayment of the capital, the Corporation to cease.	1600000		1600000	100000
And by an act of the 7th of Queen Anne, 6 <i>l.</i> per cent.				
The Bank lent 400000 <i>l.</i> more without any additional interest (that is to say) they reduced the interest of their primitive stock from 8 <i>l.</i> to 6 <i>l.</i> per cent. which, with 4000 <i>l.</i> per ann. for management, fills up the original 100000 <i>l.</i> annuity; this 400000 <i>l.</i> and the 1200000 <i>l.</i> to be repaid before the Corporation be dissolved.				
Act of the 5th of Queen Anne, 4 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per cent.				
Charges the duty upon houses or windows, from the 1st of August 1710, for ever, for raising 1500000 <i>l.</i> by issuing Exchequer bills to that value; by this act the Bank undertook to circulate those bills, upon the consideration of 4 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> per cent. per annum, and Exchequer bills to be issued for the interest, till the fund commences. The Bank to remain a Corporation till the bills be redeemed.	1775027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$		1775027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	106501 17 6
And by another act of the 7th of Queen Anne, 6 <i>l.</i> per cent.				
It was enacted, That the Bank should pay off and cancel all the Exchequer bills before extant, which amounted to 1775027 17 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, upon allowing 6 <i>l.</i> per cent. interest for that sum; to which purpose, an annuity was established of 106501 17 6, to be paid to the Bank out of the duty aforesaid, until the principal be paid off upon a year's notice.				
The Bank for Exchequer bills.				
Several acts of the 7th and 12th of Queen Anne.				
Grant 4676812 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> by issuing Exchequer bills—	4676812 10	115787 10	4561025	328561 18 $\frac{1}{2}$
Act of the 1st of King George, 7 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>d.</i> per cent.				
The fund for these Exchequer bills in the general or aggregate funds.				
East-India Company.				
Two acts of the 9th of King William.				
Grant additional duties on stamp paper and parchment, from the 1st of August 1698; and a duty of 2 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per bushel on salt, from 1698 and 1699, for ever; both these duties are given for 160000 <i>l.</i> per annum, to raise by subscriptions 2000000 <i>l.</i> 8 <i>l.</i> per cent. per annum, the Subscribers to have the sole liberty of trading to the East-Indies, redeemable upon payment of the principal, and three years notice after Michaelmas 1711.				

LOTTERIES.

1717. or (with consent of the Proprietors) be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding 5 l. per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament. II. That his Majesty be enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, such sum or sums of money, as shall be

1717.

LOTTERIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
By an act of the 6th of Queen Anne, 5 l. per cent. It is enacted, That the East-India Company shall pay into the Exchequer 1200000 l. to have their 8 l. per cent. granted them in the 9th of King William reduced to 5 l. per cent. per annum, and to have the trade to India continued to them solely to Lady-Day 1726; this, together with the former sum advanced, with all arrears of the 160000 l. to be repaid before the Company shall be determined.	3200000		3200000	160000
By an act of the 10th of Queen Anne. The Corporation of the East-India Company and their sole trade made perpetual, but the fund may be redeemed upon three years notice, after the 25th of March 1733, upon repayment, by Parliament, what is due to such Companies as shall be then intitled thereto.				
South-Sea Company. Two acts of the 9th and 10th of Queen Anne, and one act of the 1st of King George, 6 l. per cent. 600000 l. per annum is charged upon several duties, impositions, &c. to the South-Sea Company, and 8000 l. per annum for management, for paying the interest of 10000000 l. at 6 per cent. per ann. the Company to continue for ever, but the annual sum of 608000 l. to cease upon a year's notice after the 25th of December 1716, repaying what shall then be due to the Company.	10000000		10000000	608000
ANNUITIES. ANNUITIES, 14 l. per cent. Jan. 25, 1692, afterwards turned into a certain term of 99 years. Years purchase. Act of the 4th of King William and Queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, of King William, and 1st of Queen Anne. 11 years and a half, 12 years, 11 years, and 15 years. Grants 9 d. per barrel excise upon beer, ale, and other liquors, for the term of 99 years.	1491639 6 10		1491639 6 10	124866
SURVIVORS. Act of the 4th of King William and Queen Mary, 7 l. per cent. The same 9 d. is charged with a further sum on the benefit of survivorship, till the number of Survivors be reduced to 7, and then the share or 7th part of each of them as they die to revert to the Crown.	108100		108100	7367
ANNUITIES on the 2 7ths excise. Act of the 5th of King William and Queen Mary, and of the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th of King William, and 1st of Queen Anne. Grants two seventh parts of a 9 d. per barrel excise to Subscribers for raising 300000 l. in annuities, from the 29th of September 1694, at the rate of 14 per cent. on one life, 12 per cent. on two lives, or 10 per cent. on three lives, which was thus advanced: Principal money, Annual interest. On 1 life 107847 13 9— 15098 13 6 2 lives 170917 2 3— 20510 1 0 3 lives 21235 4 0— 2123 10 4 300000 0 0— 37732 4 10 A half, 12 years, 11 years, and 11 years.				

1717. be requisite to redeem the said redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding 5*l. per cent, per annum*, and to secure the same upon the funds to be redeemed. III. That the annuity of 106,501*l. 13 s. 5 d. per annum*, payable to the Governor and Company of the Bank, out of the

ANNUITIES.		The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
Afterwards by subsequent acts the full term for 96 years is given to the Purchasers, and accordingly the reversion of 1 life was made up to that term, for which there was paid.	61229 8	369704 8		369704 8	360702 3
The Contributors of the 2 and 3 lives did not purchase the remainder. And in the year 1702 it appeared, there was fallen into the Crown, of the 2 and 3 lives, 565 <i>l. per annum</i> , which, by an act then passed, were sold for 15 years purchase, which produced	8475				
	377324 10				
There is so many of the Contributors dead of the 2 and 3 lives which abates the annual charge	1662 2 7				
So the present annual charge for all these annuities is	360702 3				
ANNUITIES on 3700 <i>l. per week</i> excise, <i>Lady-Day</i> , 1704.					
Act of the 2d of Queen Anne, 15 years.					
Charges the 3700 <i>l. a week</i> , issuing out of the hereditary and temporary excise, for the term of 99 years	1569664 18 6			1569664 18	6104745 10 6½
Act of the 3d of Queen Anne, 15 years.					
Charges the same 3700 <i>l. a week</i> excise, for 99 years	690000			690000	46000
Act of the 12th of King William, 6 <i>l. per cent</i> .					
Charges the same 3700 <i>l. a week</i> excise, with Bankers annuities, redeemable by Parliament, on payment of a moiety of the said principal, which is	664263			664263	39835 16 c½
ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1706.					
Act of the 4th of Queen Anne, 15 years and a half.					
Grants one third additional customs of tonnage and poundage, and the third additional 9 <i>d. per barrel</i> excise upon beer, ale, &c. for 99 years	2835761			2835761	184212 14
ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1707.					
Act of the 5th of Queen Anne, 16 years.					
Grants duties on low wines, from the 23d of June 1710, for 96 years; additional duty on stamp, paper and vellum, from the 1st of July 1710, for 96 years; duty on hawkers and pedlars, from the 23 of June 1710, for 96 years; duty on sweets for 99 years, from the 24th of March 1707; and the additional customs of tonnage and poundage, granted in the 4th of the Queen, for 98 years, continued one year more after that term; the overplus of the annuity fund, granted in the 4th of the Queen, computed at <i>Lady-Day</i> yearly, or within 6 days after, for 99 years.	1155000			1155000	72187 10
40000 <i>l. per annum</i> ANNUITIES, March 25, anno 1708.					
Act of the 6th of Queen Anne, 16 years.					
Charges the overplus of the annuity funds before-mentioned, granted in the 4th and 5th of the Queen to be computed at <i>Lady-Day</i> yearly; as also the overplus of the first 9 <i>d. excise</i> , granted from the 25th of January 1692, after the 29th of September 1710, to be computed at <i>Midsummer</i> yearly, for 99 years.	640000			640000	40070

ANNUITIES.

1717. the House-money, by virtue of several acts of Parliament in that behalf, for the principal sum of 1,775,027 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{2}{3}$ by them advanced, be redeemed, or (by consent of the said Governor and Company) converted into an interest or annuity, not to exceed 5 *l.* per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament. IV. That so much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate Fund, settled by an act of Parliament, in the first year of the Reign of his present Majesty, as is applicable to the interest, circulation, exchanging or cancelling the present Exchequer bills, be also redeemed. V. That his Majesty be enabled to authorize the High Treasurer, or the Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, to treat and agree with any person, or persons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating such a number of Exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding 4 *l.* 10 *s.* per cent. per annum for interest, exchanging, and circulation, as may be charged and secured upon that part of the said aggregate fund to be so redeemed. VI. That the annuities of 600,000 *l.* and 8000 *l.* per ann. payable to the Governor and Company of Mer-

chants of Great-Britain trading to the South-Sea, be also redeemed. VII. That the annuities payable by an act of Parliament of the twelfth year of the Reign of King William (of glorious memory) to certain Patentees therein named, their heirs and assigns, out of the weekly sum of 3700 *l.* charged on the excise, be also redeemed. VIII. That the several terms of years remaining in the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, made and passed in the ninth year of the Reign of her late Majesty Queen Anne (of blessed memory) and by the two lottery acts, made and passed in the tenth year of her said late Majesty's Reign, be made perpetual. IX. That the said duties, comprehended in the said four lottery acts, be made one general fund for the future. X. That the Proprietors of the orders, grounded on the said lottery acts, do, within a limited time, make their elections, either to accept annuities after the rate of 5 *l.* per cent. per annum, redeemable by Parliament, out of such general fund, or be paid so much as remains due to them on their orders respectively. XI. That, in all cases where the Proprietors shall chuse to have

1717.

ANNUITIES.	The principal money.	How much paid off.	What remains.	Annual sums.
80000 <i>l.</i> per annum ANNUITIES, June 24, anno 1708. Another act of the 6th of Queen Anne, 16 years. Charges one moiety, or half part of the old subsidy of tonnage and poundage upon wines, goods, and merchandizes, for 96 years, from the 31st of July 1712; the intermediate interest was supplied out of the purchase money, and also, by an act of the 10th of the Queen, out of several appropriated branches of the revenue, for 99 years.	1280000		1280000	80000
ANNUITIES at 9 <i>l.</i> per cent. March 25, anno 1710. Act of the 8th of Queen Anne, 9 <i>l.</i> per cent. Charges 3 <i>d.</i> a barrel on beer, ale, and other liquors; 18 <i>d.</i> a pound on pepper; 5 <i>s.</i> per 100 <i>l.</i> weight on raisins; a double duty on nutmegs and other spices; 3 <i>s.</i> a pound on snuff, from the 6th of February 1709; and, if there be a deficiency, to be supplied out of the duty on coals and window tax, for 32 years.	900000		900000	81000
BANK ANNUITIES. Two acts of the 1st of King George, 5 <i>l.</i> per cent. Charges the general or aggregate fund, after the interest and allowances, to Exchequer bills, and after 120000 <i>l.</i> for his Majesty's civil Government, with these annuities payable at the Bank of England at 5 <i>l.</i> per cent. per ann. redeemable by Parliament.	1069000		1069000	54600
	47268883 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	665782 10	46603100 11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3118448 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

ABSTRACT.

By Lotteries	13223910			
Bank { By Annuities	3375027 17 10 $\frac{2}{3}$	549995	12679915	944249 12
By Exchequer bills	4676812 10	115787 10	3375027 17 10 $\frac{2}{3}$	200501 17 6
East India Company	3200000		4561025	328561 18 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
South Sea Company	10000000		3200000	600000
Annuities	12793132 13 4		10000000	608000
			12793132 13 4	871134 12 10
Exchequer, March 14, 1716.	47268883 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	665782 10	46603100 11 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	3118448 0 10 $\frac{1}{2}$

JOS. FOX.

1717. have their principal, the 5*l. per cent. per annum* saved thereby, be made another fund, towards answering such sums of money, as shall be advanced (towards discharging the said principal) by loans, or other securities, as shall be thought proper. XII. That his Majesty be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary subscriptions from any person or persons, intitled to any of the annuities issuing out of the public funds, for the residue of the respective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years, formerly purchased therein (not being subject to redemption) who shall be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities, redeemable by Parliament, to allow for remaining terms in the said annuities, which were purchased for 99, 96, or 89 years (at the election of the respective Subscribers) either so much as the same annuities shall amount to at 19 years purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 4*l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament, or 17 years and a half purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 5*l. per cent. per annum*, to be redeemable in like manner; and to allow for the remaining terms in the said annuities, which were purchased for 32 years (at the election of the respective Subscribers) either so much as the same annuities shall amount to at 14 years and a half's purchase, to be made good by new annuities of 4*l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable by Parliament, or 13 years and a half purchase, to be made good by annuities of 5*l. per cent. per annum*, redeemable in like manner; and that the said annuities shall be settled and secured accordingly. XIII. That all savings that shall arise upon any of the present funds by the proposed redemptions or reductions, be reserved and applied, after all deficiencies that may happen upon any of the said funds are made good, towards discharging and reducing the debts of the national debt. XIV. That all the said duties now in being, or to be continued, shall immediately cease and determine, after the said national debt, and all interest, due thereupon, is dis-

charged and paid off.' These resolutions being approved of in form, bills were ordered to be brought in upon them.

Before these bills were presented, there happened a change in the Administration, which occasioned the new Officers of the Revenue to think some alterations in the measures likewise necessary: But, however, they were forced to build upon Mr. *Walpole's* foundation, who had now resigned his post, and who, believing these variations detrimental to the public, made some opposition to them.

As the foundation of the scheme for reducing the national debts was built upon paying off or satisfying the public Creditors, many Conferences had been held with the Money Corporations, in order to provide money for such as should be willing to receive their principal and interest in ready money. For this purpose, the Bank agreed to furnish two millions and a half, and the *South-Sea* two millions, or as much as should be called for, and, for the money advanced, these Companies were to have annuities of 5*l. per cent.*

The proposals of the Bank and *South-Sea* being agreed to (1), three bills were brought in, upon the resolutions that had been made in relation to the public debts, and all three passed into laws; namely, the *General Fund Act*, the *Bank Act*, and the *South-Sea Act*.

The *General Fund Act* recites the several acts of Parliament for establishing the four lotteries of the ninth and tenth years of Queen Anne, the terms of years for which those revenues were granted, and states the annual produce of the several funds; namely, 135000*l.* 180670*l.* 168003*l.* 168003*l.* which, together with Banker's debt 398551*l.* 15*s.* 7*d.* 3, and another small sum of about 27317*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* amounted in all to 724,849*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* 4, which is the *General Fund*, the deficiency whereof is to be made good annually, out of the first aids granted by Parliament. And, to the end that a sure and sufficient security may be settled for the

(1) In the debates on these proposals, a quarrel had like to arise between Mr. *Stanhope* and Mr. *Walpole*. Mr. *Pulteney* having said, 'He did not know what private advantage some persons might have for accepting the proposal of the *South-Sea Company*,' Mr. *Stanhope* (who thought the reflection of private advantage was chiefly levied against him) vindicated himself, and began with owning his incapacity for the affairs of the Treasury, which were so remote from his studies and inclination: That therefore he would willingly have kept the employment he had before, which was both more easy, and more profitable to him; but, that he thought it his duty to obey the King's commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by application, honesty, and disinterestedness, what he wanted in abilities and experience. That he would content himself with the salary and lawful perquisites of his office; and, though he had quitted a better place, he would not quarter himself upon any body to make it up: That he had no brothers, nor other relations, to provide for; and that, upon his first entering into the Treasury, he had made a standing order against the late practice of granting reversions of places.' Mr. *Walpole*, being touched with these innuendoes, complained in the first place of breach of friendship, and betraying private conversation. He frankly owned, 'That, while he was in employment, he had endeavoured to serve his friends and relations; than which, in his opinion, nothing was more reasonable and just.

That, as to the granting reversions, he was willing to acquaint the House with the meaning of it. That he had no objections against the German Ministers, whom his Majesty brought with him from *Hanover*, and who, as far as he had observed, had all along behaved themselves like men of honour; but, that there was a mean fellow, of what Nation he could not tell, who took upon him to dispose of employments: That this man, having obtained the grant of a reversion, which he designed for his son (Mr. *Walpole*) thought it too good for him, and thereupon kept it for his own son. That thereupon the foreigner was so faulcy as to demand of him the sum of 2500*l.* under pretence, that he had been offered so much for the reversion; but, that he was wiser than to comply with his demand. And that one of the chief reasons that made him resign his places, was, because he would not connive at some things that were carrying on.' Mr. *Stanhope* answered; Mr. *Walpole* replied; and, some severe expressions having elapsed them in the heat of the dispute, Mr. *Hungersford* said, 'That he was sorry to see those two great men fall foul upon one another. However, says he, in my opinion, we must still look upon them as Patriots, and Fathers of their Country; and, since they have, by mischance, discovered their nakedness, we ought, according to the custom of the East, as the Scripture tells us, to cover it by turning our backs upon them.' He added, 'That this unlucky accident had, however, produced some good, in that it

1717. the regular payment of all such annuities, as shall be payable by this act; all the duties and the revenues, mentioned therein, shall continue for ever. With a proviso, that the revenues, by this act made perpetual, shall be subject to redemption.

Proprietors, who are willing to accept 5*l.* per cent. redeemable annuities, in lieu of their lottery orders, shall signify their option by subscribing.

And such as are willing to receive their principal and interest in ready money, shall likewise declare their option in writing.

As for the Bank Act, it must be observed, the Bank at that time, as Proprietors of redeemable debts, were intitled to an annuity of 106,501*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* per annum, in lieu of Exchequer bills formerly cancelled, amounting to 1,775,027*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* ½. And the Exchequer bills standing out, on the 22d of March 1716, are stated at 4,561,025*l.* over and above the charge of circulation which was then due to the Bank. The Bank, by virtue of their contracts for circulating and exchanging these Bills for ready money, were intitled to 3*l.* per cent. for all these bills, and the bills carried an interest of 2*d.* a day, which together made 6*l.* per cent. or the whole sum of 4,561,025*l.* of Exchequer bills. There was also granted, on the change of Queen Anne's Ministry, the sums of 45000*l.* and 8000*l.* a year, which make together 7*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.* ½ per cent. upon all the Exchequer bills. The annuity payable to the Bank for the cancelled Exchequer bills, together with the whole charge to the public for circulating the Exchequer bills then standing, amounted to above 435,000*l.* a year. In these circumstances the Bank Act says, The Governor and Company of the Bank are willing to accept one annuity of 88751*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* ½, being after the rate of 5*l.* per cent. per ann. or the principal of 1,775,027*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* ½. in lieu of the present annuity or sum of 106,501*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* per annum. In the same manner the act goes on, and declares the Bank willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many Exchequer bills as amount to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of 100,000*l.* being after the rate of 5*l.* per cent. redeemable after one year's notice, to circulate the remaining Exchequer bills at 3*l.* per cent. and 1*d.* a day, the former allowances to be continued to Christmas 1717; and, after that, the Bank to have for circulating the 2,561,025*l.* remaining Exchequer bills, an annuity of 76830*l.*

15*s.* at the rate of 3*l.* per cent. till redeemed, over and above the 1*d.* a day for interest. The Bank is then required to advance a sum not exceeding 2,500,000*l.* towards discharging the national debts, if wanted, and to have 5*l.* per cent. for as much as they advance, redeemable by Parliament.

As for the South-Sea Act, the original stock of the South Sea was 9,471,325*l.* but, as the funds granted were sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions, at 6*l.* per cent. in the year 1716, the South-Sea Company advanced to the Government 528,675*l.* which compleats the sum of ten millions, for which they received an interest or annuity of 600,000*l.* and likewise 8000*l.* a year for management. Now by this act the Governor and Company declare, they are willing to accept an annuity of 500,000*l.* in lieu of the 600,000*l.* with 8000*l.* a year for management. The Company are to continue a Corporation till their annuity is redeemed, towards which, not less than a million is to be paid at a time. The Company is also required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions, towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds, of the 9th and 10th years of Queen Anne.

Pursuant to these acts, the Bank, which was in possession of receipts out of the Exchequer, amounting to 435,063*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.* ½. per ann. accept voluntarily of three annuities, amounting to about 304,531*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.* ¾. whereby the saving to the public was 130,532*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* ½. a year.

The Proprietors of the Lottery Orders, amounting to above nine millions, subscribed their orders at the Bank, and accepted Bank annuities in lieu of the same.

Thus, though the Bank and South-Sea had agreed to advance four millions and a half towards the payment of those that should demand ready money, not one farthing was ever demanded in money, except very small sums, amounting in the whole to 471*l.* 4*s.* (1). All the annuities that were settled by virtue of these three acts, were redeemable perpetuities granted at the rate of 5*l.* per cent. per annum, upon a principal of about 25,869,247*l.* the amount of the national debt at that time redeemed or reduced.

In the General Fund Act is the clause that establishes the sinking Fund. As the reduction of the interest to 5*l.* per cent. would make a surplus or excess upon the appropriated funds, the act

it had revealed a piece of secret history, the scandalous practice of selling places and reverfions. And therefore he moved, 'That the honourable Member, who made the discovery, might be called upon to name the person.' But no body seconded this motion. Mr. Boscawen, Comptroller of the Household, acted the part of a common friend between Mr. Stanhope and Mr. Walpole, saying, 'That it was melancholy to see, that any difference should happen between those two worthy Members, unbecoming their own characters, and the dignity of that Assembly; but that it would still be a greater misfortune, if they should go out with any resentment: And therefore he moved, That the House would lay their commands upon them, that no farther notice be taken of what had passed.' Mr. Motbuen seconded Mr. Comptroller, whose motion being unanimously applauded, the Speaker put it immediately in execution.

(1) 10 <i>l.</i> Lottery, 1711.		Principal
Margaret Woolrich	—	20
Roger Altham, D. D.	—	100
10 <i>l.</i> Lottery, 1712.		
Roger Altham, D. D.	—	60
Banker's Annuity.		
David Marshall	—	150
William Harrison and Fr. Osborne	—	71 4
George Bloodworth	—	70
		471 4

(1) In

1717. act declares, 'That all the monies arising from time to time, as well for the surplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the Bank and of the South-Sea Company, as also for the surplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the General Fund, and the overplus monies of the General Fund, shall be appropriated and employed for the discharging the principal and interest of such national debts as were incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, in such manner as shall be directed or appointed by any future act of Parliament, to be discharged out of the same, and for none other use, intent, or purpose whatsoever.' This clause constitutes the *Sinking Fund*, and shews of what it consists, and to what uses it is appropriated. Though there had been *Sinking Funds* before this time for the payment of particular debts (1), yet a *Sinking Fund*, for discharging the national debt in general, was first projected and formed in the year 1716, and till that time unheard of.

As the change in the Ministry had caused a division among the Whigs, some adhering to those that were in, and others to those that were out of place, an opposition was formed by those last in conjunction with the Tories on several occasions. This evidently appeared when Sir William Wyndham (who had been discharged) moved, that Dr. Snape should be appointed to preach on the Restoration of King Charles. The Doctor was one of the King's Chaplains, and Master of Eaton-School, but was of High-Church principles, and had lately attacked the Bishop of Bangor. Sir William's motion was seconded by Mr. Shippen, and supported, not only by several Tories, but also by all the Whigs, who had lately resigned their employments. Mr. Horace Walpole, who spoke after Mr. Shippen, said, 'That it was unusual, on such occasions, to put the negative on any man, whom a Member of that House had thought fit to name; and that Dr. Snape was not only a person of merit, and great learning, but had likewise the honour to be one of his Majesty's Chaplains.' To these commendations Mr. Robert Walpole added, 'That he knew Dr. Snape to be both a very learned, and a very honest man: That he had not only intrusted him with the education of his own children, but also recommended the sons of the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Townshend to his care; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be trusted with preaching a Sermon before that Assembly. M. Lechmere observed, 'That he could not but wonder, that a Member, who had been one of the Managers against Dr. Sacheverel, should now speak in behalf of a Divine, who had asserted the same notions of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance, for which the other had been prosecuted; and who had lately attacked a worthy Champion of the Re-

volution and Protestant Succession.' Mr. Aylmer answered, 'That he gave his vote to Dr. Snape, because he looked upon him as a learned and honest man: And, as for his having written against the Bishop of Bangor's Sermon, he did not think it a sufficient reason to put upon him a negative, which would be prejudging of a controversy, that did not properly belong to their cognizance.' The Lord Guernsey spoke with still more vehemence in behalf of the Doctor, so that the motion being thus strongly supported, he was appointed to preach by a majority of one hundred and forty-one against one hundred thirty-one.

The Controversy mentioned in this debate between the Bishop of Bangor and Dr. Snape, was occasioned in this manner: Dr. Benjamin Hoadly (the present Bishop of Winchester) famous for his steady adherence at all times to the principles of the Revolution (for which he had been recommended to the Throne by the House of Commons, and advanced to the See of Bangor) had lately published, *A Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors*; and, soon after *, preached a Sermon before the King, which was printed under the title of, *The Nature of the Kingdom of Christ* (2). To this sermon Dr. Snape published an answer; and, presently after, the Lower-House of Convocation (as they had before done with regard to Dr. Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine*) entered upon the subject, both of the Bishop of Bangor's Sermon, and of his *Preservative*. They appointed a Committee of six of their Members, Dr. Moss, Dr. Sherlock, Dr. Friend, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Cannon, and Dr. Bisi, to examine them, and made their report to the House. The Committee sat and drew up a representation, in which both the *Preservative* and Sermon were censured, as tending,

'I. To subvert all Government and Discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce his Kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion,' And,

'II. To impugn and impeach the Regal Supremacy in causes Ecclesiastical, and the authority of the Legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of Religion by civil sanctions.'

This charge was supported by passages taken out of the *Preservative* and Sermon (3), and the whole drawn up in the form of a report, to be laid before the Convocation. But the Government, out of regard to the interest of the Constitution in Church and State, thought proper to put a stop to these proceedings, by a prorogation to the 22d of November. As this was indolently represented to be the effect of the Bishop's sollicitation, and an argument of his fear, he publicly declared before the world, that the prorogation was ordered, not only without

(1) In most of the funds that were granted for circulating and exchanging *Exchequer* bills, there was a surplus of the fund itself, computed to be sufficient to cancel and discharge annually some part of the bills: And, in the *Aggregate Fund Act* of the first of King George, there was a sum of 270,999 l. 7 s. directed to be paid annually towards discharging the *Exchequer* bills. In all short annuities likewise granted for thirty-two years, the principal being to be sunk at the end of

the term granted, this may be looked upon as a *Sinking Fund*, attending those particular debts. But the first mention that ever was made in Parliament of a *Sinking Fund*, for discharging the national debt in general, was in this Session.

(2) The text was, *My kingdom is not of this world*.

(3) The Bishop, in the conclusion of his answer to this Representation, has confronted the passages, on which the charge against him was founded, with the

A motion
in favour
of Dr.
Snape carried by the
Tories.

* Mar. 51.

1717.

17. without his feeling, but without so much as his knowledge or even suspicion of any such design till it was resolved. It must be observed that the representation was never approved of by the Lower-House, so as to be made the act of it: Though many have been led to think it

was, by the artifice made use of in the title-page to the printed copy of it.

The prorogation of the Convocation did not put an end to the Controversy. For several of the Members, since they could not attack the Bishop, as a public Assembly, resolved to take up

the opposite doctrines, which must be true, if his are false.

The propositions contained in those passages of my Sermon and Prefervative, which are made the foundation of the charge in the Representation.

1. Christ himself is King in his own Kingdom.

2. Christ is the sole Law-giver and sole Judge of his subjects, in all points relating to the favour, or displeasure of Almighty God. In other words,

3. No one of his subjects is Law-giver and Judge over others of them, in matters relating to salvation. In other words thus,

4. No men upon earth have a right to make any of their own declarations or decisions to concern and affect the state of Christ's subjects, with regard to the favour of God.

5. The more close and immediate the regard of men to Christ is, the more certainly and evidently true it is, that they are of his Kingdom.

6. It is worthy of all Christians, to live and act as become those who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial Judge; and in such a behaviour to be without fear of man's judgment, who is both ignorant of many things necessary to form that judgment, and partial in the forming it.

7. We must not frame our ideas, from the Kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's Kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour depends upon our real sincerity in the conduct of our consciences, and of our own actions under them.

The propositions, contradictory to them: Which, therefore, must be maintained to be True and Christian, by all who condemn the others:

1. Christ himself is not King in his own Kingdom.

2. Christ is not the sole Law-giver and sole Judge of his subjects, in all points relating to the favour, or displeasure of Almighty God.

3. Some of his subjects are Law-givers and Judges over others of them, in matters relating to salvation.

4. There is a right in some men, to make their own declarations and decisions to concern and affect the state of Christ's subjects, with regard to the favour of God.

5. A close and immediate regard to Christ himself, is not so certain and evident a mark of being of his Kingdom, as a close and immediate regard and respect to frail men, subordinate to him.

6. It is not worthy of all Christians to live and act as becomes those who wait for the appearance of an all-knowing and impartial Judge; but it becomes them, at the same time that they live and act thus, to be under a fear of man's judgment, who neither has capacity nor authority to determine their condition; and who, in very many cases, contradicts the judgment which Christ will make.

7. We must frame our ideas, from the Kingdoms of this world, to what ought to be, in a visible and sensible manner, in Christ's Kingdom.

8. Our title to God's favour doth not depend upon our real sincerity in the conduct of our consciences, and of our own actions under them; but upon our actual being in the right.

9. Human benedictions—absolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do not determine either God's favour, or anger, towards Christians: And therefore are vain words, when they pretend so to do.

10. Whoever has a right to add sanctions to Christ's laws, is so far King, and has so far regal power in Christ's Kingdom.

11. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, are not the rewards of this world; not the offices or glories of this state; not the pains of prisons, banishments, fines, or any lesser and more moderate penalties; nay, not the much lesser negative discouragements that belong to human society. He was far from thinking that these could be the instruments of such a persuasion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Christ chose the motives which are not of this world, to support a Kingdom which is not of this world.

13. The maxims, opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his Kingdom, are contrary to the interests of true Religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleasure or worldly pain, to the case of Religion, is a method opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his Kingdom: And therefore, contrary to the interests of true Religion.

15. Christ knew the nature of his own Kingdom, or Church, better than any since his time.

16. Christ left no such matters to be decided against himself, and his own express professions.

17. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent, against their own consciences, be-

6 U

9. Human benedictions—absolutions—denunciations—excommunications—do determine God's favour, and anger, towards Christians: And therefore, are not vain words, when they pretend so to do.

10. Men may have a right to add sanctions to Christ's laws, without having any part of regal power in his Kingdom.

11. The sanctions of Christ's laws, appointed by himself, are the rewards of this world; the offices and glories of this state; the pains of prisons banishments, fines, or other lesser and more moderate penalties; or the much lesser negative discouragements that belong to human society. These he thought the proper instruments of such a persuasion, as he knew to be acceptable to God.

12. Christ did not chuse the motives which are not of this world, to support a Kingdom not of this world.

13. The maxims, opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his Kingdom, are agreeable and helpful to the interests of true Religion.

14. To apply worldly force or worldly flattery, worldly pleasure or worldly pain, to the case of Religion; is not opposite to the maxims upon which Christ founded his Kingdom: Or, is not contrary to the interests of true Religion, though it be contrary to our blessed Lord's maxims relating to it.

15. Christ did not know the nature of his own Kingdom, or Church, better than his professed followers do, since his time.

16. Christ did leave the nature of his own Kingdom, and the maxims of supporting it, to be decided, by others after him, against himself, and against his own express professions.

17. To teach Christians that they must either profess, or be silent, against their own consciences, in

case

1717. up the cause in a private capacity. Dr. Sberlock, who was one of the Committee who drew up the report, seconded Dr. Snape, and these two were followed by many others, inasmuch that the tracts published on this occasion, on both sides, are said to be about seventy (1).

Affairs in the North.

During these proceedings the Ministers were no less employed than the Parliament. Negotiations were carrying on, particularly to oblige the King of Sweden to make peace. The Czar had the last year married his niece the Princess Catharina to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Swerin, and resolved to procure the possession of *Wismar* for him. To that end he had sent first twelve thousand *Russians* (which were afterwards increased to twenty-six thousand) to assist at the taking of that place then besieged by the *Prussians*, *Hanoverians*, and *Danes*. But, the town having surrendered before the arrival of his army, his project fell to the ground, nor would the Allies suffer any of his troops to be garrisoned there. The Czar was vexed at this disappointment, and from hence may be dated several memorable events, particularly the misunderstanding between him and the Court of *Hanover*.

Soon after this, a descent on *Seben* was concerted between the Kings of *Prussia* and *Denmark* and the Czar, in order to oblige the King of Sweden to quit *Norway*, where he had penetrated with an army of twenty thousand men, and was advancing towards *Christianstadt*, the capital of that Kingdom. The Czar seemed the most forward in this expedition, and took upon him the command of the united fleets of *England*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Russia*, in order to drive the *Swedish* fleet into port. But this was all outward show. For the appearance of the *British* fleet under Admiral *Norris* could not be very agreeable to the Czar, as it prevented the designs he had formed against *Denmark* itself after his disappointment at *Wismar*. And therefore when, in a council of war between him and the King of *Denmark*, all things were settled for the descent in *Seben*, and the troops ordered to embark, on a sudden the orders were countermanded, and the project, which was to reduce the King of Sweden to such terms as the Allies should think proper to impose on him, was laid aside, after the great expence the *Danes* had been at for the transportation of the forces, and other preparations. The Czar pretended the season was

1717.

case of the authority of others over them, is to found that authority upon the ruins of sincerity and common honesty; to teach a doctrine which would have prevented the Reformation, and the being of the Church of *England*; which divests Christ of his empire in his own Kingdom, and leads his people to prostitute their consciences at the feet of men.

18. Christ never interposed, since his first promulgation of his law, either to convey infallibility; or to assert the true interpretation of it.

regard to the authority of others, is a very good doctrine; very consistent with the sincerity and honesty becoming Christians; very useful for the justification of the Reformation, and Church of *England*; perfectly consistent with Christians regard to Christ as their King; and not at all leading them to prostitute their consciences at the feet of weak men.

18. Christ does interpose, since the first promulgation of his law, to convey infallibility to some of those who interpret it; or to assert the true interpretation of it.

After this the Bishop adds a particular view of those principles, which ought to be the measures of judging in such important matters:

1. Christ has the supreme authority of Legislator, and Judge, with respect to all Christians.

2. No authority, therefore, can be justly claimed by any Christians, of what rank soever, in any Christian Church, which destroys the supreme authority of Christ.

3. The will of Christ is delivered to all Christians for the conduct of their lives.

4. No human, fallible authority, therefore, can determine Christians in points of Religion, which they themselves do not judge to be agreeable to the will of Christ.

5. Whatsoever equally concerns the salvation of all Christians, is equally proposed to the understandings of all.

6. There can, therefore, be no such thing as submitting our understandings, out of humility or out of laziness, to any other men whatsoever, in points relating to eternal salvation; without either supposing that Christ did not deliver his will for us, in things which concern us; or did not deliver it plainly enough

for us to find it out (with the aids and means, he has put in our power) in those points which concern our eternal salvation, and therefore require all sufficient plainness: Though the taking in the advice and assistance of others, and attending to their arguments, is perfectly consistent with the foregoing proposition.

7. No argument can be admitted by Protestants, which destroys the very essence of Protestantism: Nor can any reasonings conclude justly in favour of any powers amongst them, which they constantly and strongly condemn in the Church of *Rome*.

8. No authority therefore, can be claimed by any Reformed Church, which was justly condemned and opposed, in order to the Reformation itself. Consequently,

9. No submission in religious affairs can justly be demanded from Protestants, by Protestants, upon any such foundation, as would have absolutely prevented the Reformation itself.

10. Whatsoever was true at the time of the Reformation, is true still.

11. Whatsoever principles are true and just, when urged against Papists, are likewise so, amongst Protestants.

12. Whatever principles and conduct are unjustifiable in Papists, are equally so, in all Protestants.

13. Whatsoever was the foundation of the Reformed Church of *England* then, is so still: And whatsoever was necessary to justify it at first, is necessary to defend it now.

14. Nothing therefore, which contradicts the main principle of the Reformation; and that, without which the Church of *England* itself could not justly have been in being; can be for the true interest of this Church, as it is a Protestant Church.

15. As it is a Christian Church, nothing can be supposed either to support or defend its interest, which, admitted as true, would have prevented even the reception of Christianity itself; or which contradicts the main design of the Gospel.

16. The principles therefore, which alone can justly and unexceptionably support it, are such as are uniformly and consistently Christian and Protestant.

(1) Dr. Snape on the 26th of June published, *A second letter to the Bishop of Bangor*, being a reply to the Bishop's answer to his first, wherein the Doctor puts the following queries to the Bishop:

I pray

1717. was too far advanced, and that it would be better to defer the expedition till the spring. This was strongly remonstrated against in a long manifesto by the King of Denmark, to which the Czar, knowing his own secret motives, returned no answer. The Czar had for some time been discontented with the Allies, who were all for preventing his having any footing in Germany, so jealous were they of his power; and this discontent of the Czar was probably what hindered the utter ruin of the King of Sweden, and was now like to reconcile him to his most powerful enemy, if Baron Gortz succeeded in his project of making a peace between them, of which not only Denmark, Prussia, and Poland, but England itself was to feel the effects (1). The first step to this reconciliation was by the means of Dr. Erskine to sound Prince Menzikoff, who pleaded with the design, soon brought the Czar into it. But it will presently be seen, how desirous he was to clear himself from such an imputation.

The Czar having sent his forces into Mecklenburg, resolved to take a tour to France. He arrived at Amsterdam in December, where he expected the Czarina, who attended him in his travels; but she being big with child, happened to be delivered of a Prince, as she was preparing to set out from Wesel, and came not to Amsterdam till the 10th of February. The Czar remained there and at the Hague till the 4th of April. When King George passed through Holland, in his way from Hanover, the Czar was

there, and, had they desired it, might have had an interview, but the Czar excused himself on pretence of an indisposition. During the Czar's stay in Holland, the letters of Baron Gortz and Count Gyllenborg were published in England by the King's special command. In these letters, there were some passages relating not only to Dr. Erskine the Czar's Physician, but to the Czar himself, reflecting on his conduct in regard to King George. Upon this the Czar ordered Wesselouski to present a long memorial to King George, wherein he expresses a surprize at the malice of his enemies, to make him a party concerned in the conspiracy in favour of the Pretender: Shews the improbability of it, as the Pretender would not fail (should he succeed) of assisting the King of Sweden against him: Mentions his offering, the last year, to guarantee the Succession of the Crown of Great-Britain in the House of Hanover, though he had observed several disagreeable steps taken by the British Ministers at the Courts of Vienna, Prussia, and Denmark, and even at the diet of Ratisbon; and though he had been informed that the Court of England was privately treating of a separate peace with the King of Sweden, promising him assistance on his yielding up Bremen, as too plainly appeared by Count Gyllenborg's letters: Offers, however, to establish the ancient good understanding between them, and to concert measures for the vigorous prosecution of the war against the common enemy: Concludes with saying, he could not but be very much concerned at the King's causing

'I pray recollect yourself, and put these questions home to your own conscience, whether your *absolutely's* and *properly's*, and such evasive words, were not omitted in your Sermon, as it was originally composed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, shew it to a certain person without such limitations? And whether you was not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to insert them by way of caution? If you think fit to answer in the negative, I engage, a person of as high a station as your Lordship will charge himself with the proof of the affirmative.'

The Bishop two days after in an advertisement solemnly denies all this, and challenges the Doctor to name his Author.

The Doctor, pressed by the solemnity of the challenge, names the Bishop of Carlisle, who, being called upon to prove what he had asserted, disputed a while with Dr. Snape, affirming he had not said, the words were put in before the Sermon was preached, but before it was published; owning withal, that he knew there was such a person in the world who had averred the same. The Bishop of Carlisle, being pressed to name him, names Dr. White Kennet, and writes to him of what had passed, telling him he did not question but he would own his own words. Dr. Kennet positively denied the fact, saying, *I never affirmed, never suggested to any mortal that the late Sermon of the Bishop of Bangor was preached with my knowledge, or submitted to my correction.* Notwithstanding this, the Bishop of Carlisle asserted in print, that Dr. Kennet was the man that told him he had prevailed with the Bishop of Bangor to put in the forementioned words. In short, the Bishop of Carlisle pledges his eternal salvation that Dr. Kennet did say so: Dr. Kennet, in one of his papers, says, God to help him, and judge him, if he did. They went on advertising against each other, till the Bishop of Carlisle resolved to give no more answers to whatever should be said. However, the Bishop of Bangor, resolving that calumny should lie where it ought to lie, published a long advertisement, as Dr. Kennet did another, to fix the fact upon the Bishop of Carlisle, and to convict him of forgetfulness at least, in charging a

fact upon the Bishop of Bangor, which was not true, and quoting a witness for it who knew nothing of the matter. In a word, after lying dormant some months, this controversy was revived in October following, on account of the Bishop's entertaining in his house Francis de la Pilonerie, who had been a Jesuit, but had now renounced the Popish Religion. The Bishop's three principal adversaries were Dean Sherlock, Dr. Snape, and Dr. Cannon, whom the Bishop seemed to outdo in reason and argument as far as they did him in virulence, personal reflections, and reproachful language. He was painted in the most odious colours, both from the Press and the Pulpit, and all for asserting, that Christ is the sole Lawgiver, and sole Judge in his Kingdom, in all points relating to the favour or displeasure of God, a proposition as evident as the sun at noon-day. Dr. Cannon vindicated the Convocation, and Dean Sherlock attacked the Bishop upon a popular point, the repeal of the *Test Act*, which he asserted to be the design of the Bishop's Sermon. The Dean ended his treatise with a most unjust and reproachful reflection, which the Bishop immediately answered, by setting the matter in a clear light. In November, Dr. Sherlock and Dr. Snape were both removed from being King's Chaplains, nor has the Convocation fate to do any business ever since.

(1) The Czar's laying aside the descent upon *Schonen* was said to be brought about by the secret management of Baron Gortz, who was become chief Minister and Favourite of the King of Sweden. As there was no likelihood of the Czar's making a peace with the King of Sweden, unless the Provinces he had conquered on the East and North of the Baltic were yielded to him, Gortz persuaded the King of Sweden that he would have ample amends made him for relinquishing those conquests of the Czar, by having the honour of re-placing *Stignislaus* on the Throne of Poland, setting the Crown of England on the head of the Chevalier de St. George, and by restoring the Dukedom of Holstein to his Dukedom. Besides, that, being united with the Czar, there was nothing they might not undertake.

1718. causing to be printed the malicious insinuations of his enemies, which wounded his honour, without a previous communication of the same, or demanding an explanation of those passages, as a good Ally should have done.

As some articles of this memorial related to the King as Elector of *Hanover*, there were two answers given to it, one by Mr. Stanhope, the other by the Chancery of *Hanover*. The King says, he is very far from suspecting the Czar of entering into any engagements in favour of the Pretender: Ours (as nothing can lessen the good understanding between them, but the continuance of the *Russian* troops in the Empire) he caused instances to be made to the Courts of *Vienna*, *Denmark*, and *Prussia*, for uniting their endeavours to persuade him to remove them: Hopes the Czar will have a due regard thereto, and speedily withdraw his troops, since the continuance of them in the Empire intimates a design quite contrary to the acting against *Sweden*, and creates such distrust and jealousies as cannot be otherwise removed. As for the publication of the letters, it was impossible (says the memorial) to omit the passages concerning the Czar, because the King had weighty reasons to impart to the Parliament the letters entire as they were found. The answer concluded with assuring the Czar, that he should have reason to be satisfied, provided he would remove the only obstacle to their mutual good understanding, the continuance of the *Russian* troops in the Empire.

These memorials did not reconcile the two Princes: The distance of their dominions, the interests of their subjects with regard to commerce, suspended their resentments, but they were enemies the rest of their life. The Czar, curious as he was, would not have failed of visiting *England* in his progress, had the two Monarchs been upon good terms.

The Czar, after having spent three months in *Holland*, resolved upon a tour to the Court of *France*, with design to enter into a Confederacy with the Regent of *France*. He offered to pour a numerous army into the Empire, which should be at the disposal of the Regent, provided he would pay him the subsidies, he demanded, which were very large. But his offer was rejected, and communicated by the Regent to King *George*. However, the Czar during his stay at *Paris* concluded a treaty of friendship with *France*, in which the King of *Prussia* was included, and, being pressed by the Regent, he promised to withdraw his forces from *Mecklenburg*. The Czar, at his return to *Amsterdam*, admitted Baron *Gortz* (who had been set at liberty the day before his arrival) with great privacy to an interview at *Loo* (1). *Gortz* undertook to adjust all differences between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, within three months,

and the Czar engaged to suspend all operations against *Sweden* till the end of that term.

This interview having been complained of by a marriage proposed between the Czar's daughter and the Pretender's son, the Czar's Ministers at first denied it, but soon after were obliged to own it. The late Duke of *Ormond*, Pretender with one Mr. *Jernegan*, a *Roman Catholic*, was come to *Mittau* in *Courland* to propose a marriage between one of the Czar's daughters and the Pretender, and to offer to go and persuade the King of *Sweden* to make peace with the Czar, and assist in setting the Pretender on the Throne of *Great-Britain*; but the proposal of the marriage interfered with Baron *Gortz*'s scheme, who had long intended that Princess for the Duke of *Holstein*, to whom she was afterwards married. Mr. *Jernegan* was sent to *Sweden* for leave that the Duke of *Ormond* might come there as the Pretender's Minister. The answer he brought to the Duke was, that the King of *Sweden* had strong reasons for not admitting him. He was soon after sent from *Mittau*, and *Jernegan* was left to manage the business at *Petersburg*, with all possible secrecy. Mean while a Congress was formed at *Abo*, between the *Swedish* and *Russian* Ministers, which was afterwards removed to *Aland*.

The Czar's chief aim was to keep not only *Ingria*, and part of *Carelia*, but also *Revel*, with *Estonia*, and *Riga*, with *Livonia*, and to restore to *Sweden* only *Finland*, and the rest of *Carelia*. Baron *Gortz* flattered the Czar with the hopes of the King of *Sweden*'s consent to these cessions, in consideration of his assisting him in restoring *Stanislaus*, and retaking what *Denmark* and *England* had conquered upon *Sweden*. The King of *Prussia* was to be included in the treaty, and the Czar, the better to make his own terms, engaged to prevail with him to restore *Stetin* for an equivalent somewhere else. Upon these foundations Baron *Gortz* and M. *Ojerman*, the Czar's Plenipotentiary, concerted the plan of a peace between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*. By this plan the conquest of *Norway* was designed. The Czar was obliged to assist his *Swedish* Majesty in that expedition, and both promised to unite all their forces against the King of *Great-Britain*, in case he should interpose. This seemed to have a view to the interest of the Pretender, and a design of an invasion in *Scotland*, after the conquest of *Norway*.

When Baron *Gortz* set out from *Aland* with the plan of peace, in order to obtain his Master's consent, the King of *Sweden* was with his army before *Fredericksbad*, in *Norway*, where he was killed in the night, between the 29th and 30th of *November*, 1718. Baron *Gortz*, not being informed of his death, was arrested on the road, and having drawn upon himself the hatred of

(1) It may here be observed, that the Duke of *Orleans* had interposed to bring the King of *Sweden* to a peace, and had sent the Count de la *March* to him as his Ambassador. But the King of *Sweden* would hearken to no proposals till Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllenborg* were set at liberty. The Regent, upon this, orders d' *Iberville* to assure his *Britannick* Majesty, that the King of *Sweden* had declared, he had yet no intention to trouble the tranquility of *Great-Britain*, nor had entered into any of the designs, attributed to his

Ministers, and should consider, as a great injury to him, the suspicion of his having had any concern in their projects. After this declaration on the part of the King of *Sweden*, the Regent hoped, that the King would send back Count *Gyllenborg* to his Master, and give his consent that Baron *Gortz* should be also released. This was accordingly done, and Count *Gyllenborg* was exchanged for Mr. Resident *Jachyn*, who had been detained at *Stockholm*.

1717. of the Nation; and resentment of the Nobles, whom he had treated with haughtiness, he was by them condemned to the scaffold, where he died with great resolution. By the King of Sweden's death the face of affairs in the North was entirely changed: Sweden was forced to submit; the Czar, King of Denmark, and King George, as Elector of Hanover, remained in possession of what they had acquired. These affairs, though not ended till the following year, have been related at once to prevent any farther recourse to them. But to return to England.

Trial of the Earl of Oxford.
Fr. H. L.
Fr. H. C.
The Earl of Oxford had now been confined in the Tower almost two years, and, finding the Session was like to end without entering upon his case, he caused a petition to be presented to the House of Lords, wherein he submitted his case to their Lordships consideration, praying, that his imprisonment might not be indefinite. The Lord Trevor, who presented his petition, made a long speech in his favour, as did also the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Nottingham and Abingdon, and the Lords Harcourt and North and Grey. It was insisted in the Earl's behalf, that the impeachment was destroyed and determined, since he was not brought to his trial the same Session, in which he was impeached; and that the prorogation superseded the whole proceedings. The Earl of Nottingham, who, in 1715, when in favour, had been one of the most zealous against the Ministers of the late Queen, strenuously insisted upon the impeachment's being superseded by the prorogation, and demanded leave to enter his protestation against the vote passed to the contrary, by a majority of eighty-seven to forty-five (1).

This being rejected, the Duke of Buckingham moved to appoint a day for the Earl's trial, which, after some debates, and appointing a Committee to search for precedents, was fixed and appointed. It is remarkable, that the appointing a day did not occasion so long a debate as the shortening the day, and that the Earl's friends pressed the House to appoint a short day, while the other side pleaded for time. Accordingly, the Duke of Buckingham, who had made the motion, declared in a speech for a short day, and named the 6th of June. But the Earl of Sunderland and the Lord Coningsly were for sending a message to the Commons, to know whether they were ready, or to appoint the 13th of June for the trial. After some debate, the 13th was appointed by a majority of eighty-five against forty-four, and a message was sent to the Commons to acquaint them with the same.

This message caused no less debates among the Commons. They saw the face of their affairs a little changed: Some, who had been active in this prosecution when it was first begun; and upon whom the House might be said in some measure to depend for carrying it on; seemed to look coldly upon the matter, and to decline the work, or at least to have less of that confidence, the House usually shewed them before. This caused a vote to appoint a Committee to inquire into the state of the Earl of Oxford's impeachment. The Committee found; upon enquiry, that several Members of the Secret Committee (who begun the prosecution) had been called up to the House of Peers, as the Lords Onslow, Coningsly, and Marlbam, and that others seemed remiss, or were absent. Therefore the House was moved, and did agree; that Mr. Carter, Sir William Thompson, the Serjeants Birch, Pengelly, and Reynolds, should be added to the Secret Committee. At their first meeting; Mr. Carter was chosen Chairman in the room of Mr. Walpole, who, with several others, absented himself. For this reason Mr. Secretary Addison, Mr. Craggs, Serjeant Mead, and Mr. Jessop, and a little after Mr. Lechmere, now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, were added to the number.

All the eminent Lawyers of the House being thus named to be of the Committee, they immediately fell to preparing to make good the articles of impeachment, in case the House should agree to proceed to the trial; but all the while they left people in suspense as to their resolution, even till the day before the trial was to be. The King had appointed Lord Chancellor Cowper to be Lord High-Steward on this occasion, and all things were in readiness for the trial; when, on the 12th of June, a message was sent from the Commons to the Lords, to demand longer time for their preparations, pursuant to the following report of the Committee.

That the Committee had met several times, and made some progress in the matters to them referred; but that the prosecution of the impeachment having been interrupted for so many months, by the intervention of many weighty and urgent affairs, which more nearly and immediately concerned the welfare, defence, and security of the Kingdom, it was become absolutely necessary for those, who should be appointed to manage the impeachment, to review and carefully peruse all the treaties, records, letters, and other papers proper and necessary for supporting this prosecution; which being voluminous,

(1) His protest was as follows:

Dissentient

I. Because there seems to be no difference in law between a prorogation and a dissolution of the Parliament, which, in constant practice, have had the same effect as to determination, both of judicial and legislative proceedings; and consequently this vote may tend to weaken the resolution of this House, May 22, 1685, which was founded upon the law and practice of Parliament in all ages, without one precedent to the contrary, except in cases which happened after the order made the 19th of March, 1678, which was reversed and annulled in 1685; and in pursuance hereof the Earl of Salisbury was discharged in 1690.

No. 92, Vol. IV.

II. Because this can never be extended to any but Peers, for by the statute 4 Edw. III. no Commoner can be impeached for any capital crime; and it is hard to conceive, why the Peers should be distinguished and deprived of the benefit of all the laws of liberty, to which the meanest Commoner in Britain is intitled; and this seems the more extraordinary, because it is done unasked of the Commons, who, it is conceived, never can ask it with any colour of law, precedent, reason or justice.

This protest was subscribed by Nottingham, Fra. Roffen, North and Grey, Bathurst, Abingdon, Mansell, Hay, Guilford, Dartmouth, Foley, Bruce.

1717. luminous, it would be impossible, within the time appointed for the trial, to adjust and apply the proper evidence to the several articles (1).^{1717.}

Upon this message, the Earl of *Sunderland* moved to allow the Commons a fortnight. The Duke of *Devonshire* said, Twelve days were sufficient. The Lords *Trevelyan*, *Harcourt*, and others insisted, that, the Lords having fixed a day for the trial, they ought not to grant any farther time: But the Duke of *Devonshire's* motion for twelve days was carried by seventy-six against fifty-seven; and the 24th of *June* was appointed for the day of trial, of which notice was sent to the Commons.

Upon this the Commons, to let it be seen that they resolved to go on with the trial, voted the preparatory orders, and appointed the Committee, with four other Members, to be the Managers to make good the articles of impeachment.

On the 24th of *June*, the Lord High-Steward, with the House of Peers, passed to the Court prepared for them in *Westminster-Hall*, when the Commons were present, as a Committee of the whole House, their Managers coming first, and taking their places. The King, the Prince, and Princess of *Wales* were seated in boxes; as were the rest of the Royal Family, and the foreign Ministers. All things being prepared, and silence proclaimed, the Earl of *Oxford*, who had been brought from the *Tower* by water to *Westminster*, was conducted to the bar by the Deputy-Lieutenant of the *Tower*, having the axe carried before him by the Gentleman-Jailer of the *Tower*, who stood with it on the left-hand of the Prisoner, with the edge turned from him. Then the articles of im-

peachment * were read, with the Earl's answer, and the replication of the Commons. After which the Lord High-Steward addressed himself thus to the Prisoner (after having mentioned the usual way of exhorting Persons in his condition as to their behaviour) 'But, considering the many great Offices your Lordship has borne in the State, your long experience and known learning in all Parliamentary proceedings, I cannot but think it would be improper for me to speak to your Lordship in that manner.' Mr. *Hampden*, one of the Managers, then made a long speech, which ended, Sir *Joseph Jekyll* stood up, in order to make good the first article of the impeachment; but the Lord *Harcourt* having signified to the Lords, that, before the Managers proceeded farther, he had a motion to make, they adjourned to their own House, and the Commons returned to theirs.

As soon as the Peers were come to their House, the Lord *Harcourt* represented, 'That the going through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to little purpose; for, if the Commons could make good the two articles for High-Treason, the Earl of *Oxford* would forfeit both Life and Estate, and there would be an end of the matter; whereas the proceeding, in the method the Commons proposed, would draw the trial into a prodigious length: Urging, that it would be a great hardship upon a Peer, who had already undergone so long a confinement, to appear every day at their bar like a Traitor, and be, at last, found guilty only of High Crimes and Misdemeanors.' And therefore he moved, That the Commons might not be admitted to proceed, till judgment was first

(1) When this report was read in the House of Commons, there was a silence for two or three minutes, till at last Mr. *Hungerford* rose up, and took notice of the great hardships, which the Earl of *Oxford* had undergone. Mr. *Boscawen* expressed his concern, 'That a prosecution, which the Commons had begun in so solemn a manner, and which was thought so necessary to vindicate the honour and justice of the Nation, should, at last, be dropped; which he was sure would be a reflection upon that House.'

Here again was a deep silence; and, the Speaker rising, in order to put the question, Mr. *Samuel Tafel*, made a long speech, in which he observed, that, the House having been assured by the Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, that there was evidence against the Earl of *Oxford* sufficient to convict him of High-Treason in *Westminster-Hall*, it was that which swayed him to vote for bringing an offender to public justice, who had betrayed the honour and interest of the Nation. Mr. *Bromley* endeavoured to vindicate Mr. *Walpole*, by alleging, 'That, though he was Chairman of the Secret Committee, yet, if any thing were done amiss amongst them, it were hard to lay all the blame at his door, since the whole Committee were equally concerned in the impeachment.' But, as to the matter then under deliberation, Mr. *Bromley* added, 'That they had been told above a year and a half ago, that the evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the Lords the trouble of going through the whole impeachment, since, in his opinion, twenty of the articles were altogether vain and needless.' Some Members being shocked at this assertion, Mr. *Bromley* immediately explained himself, saying, 'That, if the two articles that were for High-Treason could be made good, the other twenty would be needless and insignificant.' Mr. *Shippen* observed, 'That this impeachment had been depending so long, that every body expected it would be dropped: And indeed, unless the two articles of High-Treason could be made good, he

thought it unreasonable to give the two Houses an unnecessary trouble about the other articles, by keeping them sitting in the hottest part of the summer. That, after all, those, who had first begun the impeachments, ought to be satisfied with having got the places of those that were impeached; which, indeed, seemed to be what they had principally in view. That the truth of this appeared evidently from the behaviour of the Gentleman, who was the most forward and active in the impeachments, whose warmth was very much abated since he was out of place. That he did not mention this as a reflection on that Gentleman, for whom he ever had a great respect; but that he was afraid this would lessen him in the esteem of others. That, for his own part, he was not in the least surprized at his conduct; of which he had, of late, observed many instances; but that he ever disapproved it.' After this Mr. *Walpole* made an apology for himself, saying, among other things, 'That he had of late looked over some of the most material papers relating to this impeachment; and he was still convinced in his conscience, that the late Ministry had given themselves up intirely, and were ready to deliver up the Nation to France.' Mr. *Lechmere* strongly supported the motion for the message, and said, 'It was no wonder, that a certain set of men, who had, at first, opposed the impeachments, should now be for letting them drop: And that this was yet the less surprizing, in that the same Gentlemen had constantly opposed all that had been proposed for the support of the present happy settlement. But that, for his own part, he was of the same opinion he ever was, that the Nation could not prosper, till they had brought those to justice, who betrayed its Allies in so scandalous a manner, and brought it to the brink of ruin: And that he would venture his life in this prosecution.' This speech had so much weight, that it was carried without dividing, that the message be sent to the Lords.'

(1) The

1717. first given upon the articles for High-Treason. The Lord *Harcourt* was supported by the Lord *Trevelyan*, and the Earls of *Anglesea* and *Nottingham*. But the Lord *Parker* answered them, 'That, in all Courts of Judicature, it is the usual and constant method to go through all the evidence, before judgment be given upon any part of the accusation: That, though the House of Peers be the supreme Court of the Kingdom, yet it has ever a regard to the rules of equity and justice, and even to the forms observed in the Courts below. And, as for the Prisoner's appearing in the abject condition of a Traitor, it was but a piece of formality, which did him no manner of hurt, and to which persons of the highest rank had ever submitted, in order to clear their innocence.' The Earl of *Sunderland*, the Lord *Comingsby*, and the Lord *Cadogan* spoke on the same side. But, the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Argyle*, the Earl of *Illy*, the Bishop of *Rockester*, the Lord *Norib* and *Grey*, the Lord *Townshend*, and several others having strenuously supported the Lord *Harcourt's* motion, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighty-eight against fifty-six.

This resolution being declared to the Managers at the Lords return to the Hall, Sir *William Thompson* replied: 'That they conceived it to be so much the undoubted right of the Commons to proceed in their own method, in maintenance of the articles exhibited by them, and did apprehend, that this resolution of their Lordships might be of fatal consequence to the rights and privileges of all the Commons of

Great-Britain, that they could not take upon them to proceed any further, without referring to the House of Commons for their direction therein.

Upon this proceeding, Conferences, searching for precedents, and the like method of managing such disputes took up some days; and in particular, on the 27th of June, the Commons at a Conference delivered a paper, containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to impeach a Peer either for High-Treason, or for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, or, if they see occasion, to mix both in the same accusation (1).

This paper being debated in the House of Lords, they insisted on their former resolution, that the Commons should not proceed till judgment was given upon the articles of High-Treason, and ordered likewise a paper of reasons in support of their resolution to be drawn up and delivered to the Commons at another Conference, wherein they asserted it to be a right inherent in every Court of Justice to order and direct such methods of proceedings as such Courts shall think fit to be observed, in all causes depending before them (2).

Thus far the two Houses carried on their debate with some calmness, but they grew warmer the next day, when the Commons, having considered the paper delivered to them by the Lords, sent a message to desire a free Conference, and the Lords refused it; and now the party for the Earl of *Oxford* began to see his deliverance at hand, for the Lords refusing to grant

1717.

(1) The paper was as follows:

'The Commons having taken into their consideration your Lordships resolution communicated to their Managers relating to the proceedings on the trial of *Robert Earl of Oxford* and *Earl Mortimer*; and being desirous, as far as in them lies, to maintain a good correspondence with your Lordships, have desired this Conference, and have commanded us to acquaint your Lordships, that they conceive it to be the undoubted right of the Commons to impeach a Peer, either for High-Treason, or for High Crimes and Misdemeanors; or, if they see occasion, to mix both the one and the other in the same accusation.

The impeachment preferred against *Robert Earl of Oxford* and *Earl Mortimer* is one continued accusation, consisting of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and also of charges of High-Treason. The facts, on which the articles preceding those of High-Treason are grounded, are laid together in order of time, and follow one another successively, in the manner they were committed.

As the Commons thought this the most natural method for exhibiting the several articles against the said Earl, they were of opinion, that they should proceed in the proof of these several facts after the same method, since it is manifest, that, in laying open the course of such a wicked Administration, the preceding parts of it gave light to those which follow; and that the proof of the several articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors would naturally lead to the proof of those of High-Treason.

Your Lordships received these several articles of impeachment, without making any exception against the form in which they were exhibited. The said Earl made his answer to them in the same order, and has nowhere insisted to be tried in any other method: So that the Commons are surprised to find a stop put to their prosecution by an objection, which has never been started by the said Earl, and which your Lordships had given them so little reason to expect.

To this must be added, That as the Commons only

are masters of the evidence, and as upon that account they are best able to determine what to charge first, and what next; so they are most proper to determine in what method to proceed for the advantage of the prosecution, in the event of which all the Commons of *Great-Britain* are so highly concerned.

To which they further add, that they see no reason, but that your Lordships may as well invert the whole order of the articles, as to prescribe to the Commons those particular articles, on which they are first to proceed; which will necessarily produce such a confusion, both in the facts and evidence, as is by no means consistent with that clearness and perspicuity, in which the Commons think this affair ought to appear.

The Commons, upon examining precedents, do find divers precedents of impeachments for High-Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, in the same accusation; and do not find, that the Lords ever objected to such proceedings, or ever gave judgment upon any particular article of an impeachment before the Commons had gone through, and concluded their evidence upon all the articles, or so many of them as they thought fit: And the Commons are at a loss to conceive what arguments, or precedents, can be brought to support the resolution of your Lordships, to give judgment upon one part of the same accusation, reserving the other part for a subsequent trial, as they are to know what your Lordships mean by admitting the Commons to proceed upon the articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, after the judgment is given upon the articles for High-Treason, supposing the judgment proper for High-Treason should be given against the said Earl.

For these reasons the Commons assert it as their undoubted right to proceed on the trial of *Robert Earl of Oxford* and *Earl Mortimer*, after the method, in which their Managers were proceeding, when interrupted by your Lordships resolution.

(2) The paper was as follows.

'Their Lordships, in order to preserve a good correspondence with the House of Commons (which they

shall

1717. grant the Commons a free Conference, set the two Houses into a new dispute, and put the wished for agreement about the trial quite out of the question.

This refusal of a free Conference was urged in the House of Lords upon the foundation, That it was a point of judicature in which the Commons had no concern, at least, they could not admit it to be debated; and some precedents were brought, in which the Commons had denied the Peers a free Conference, as in money-bills, in which the same reasons were given, namely, That it was a money-bill in which the Lords had no right to make any amendment. These things were going on to great heights, and, the Commons desiring a Conference upon this subject, they gave in a paper to the Managers for the Peers, wherein they insisted that it was not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the prosecution of the Commons, and therefore a free Conference ought not to be denied (1).

The Lords, though many of them were zealous for bringing on the trial, yet being tender

of the privileges of the Peers, and satisfied that the Commons were in the wrong, resolved to insist upon it, that they ought not to grant them a free Conference upon this subject; and, having put the question again in their House, it passed, not to grant a free Conference, which was signified to the Commons.

This message put the House of Commons in a flame, and several warm speeches were made on the occasion by Mr. Stanhope, Mr. Craggs, Mr. Threlkeld, and others; Mr. Lechmere lamented the unhappy dilemma to which they were brought, either to see so great an offender as the Earl of Oxford escape unpunished, or to acquiesce in proceeding on his trial in the manner prescribed by the Lords. He said, 'He thought the latter more eligible of the two, with a saving to the rights and privileges of the Commons, and therefore made a motion for it.' He was supported by Mr. Hampden, and several other Members, but his motion was rejected. Then a message was brought from the Lords, that they intended presently to proceed on the trial of the Earl. The Commons took no notice

shall always endeavour to do, as far as lies in their power) have desired this Conference upon the subject-matter of the last Conference, and have directed us to acquaint you, that their Lordships judge it a right inherent in every Court of Justice, to order and direct such methods of proceedings, as such Courts shall think fit to be observed in all causes depending before them; which can have no influence to the prejudice of justice, and where such methods of proceedings are not otherwise settled by any positive rule. The power of Judicature on all impeachments being a right unquestionably inherent in their Lordships, and it not being determined by any positive rule, whether the House of Commons may proceed to make good the several articles exhibited for High-Treason; and there being no precedent, where the Commons, upon the trial of any such impeachment, attempted to proceed, in the first place, to make good any of the articles contained in such impeachments for High Crimes and Misdemeanors; their Lordships considering the nature of the impeachments now depending before them, and the method, wherein the Managers for the House of Commons were beginning to proceed upon the trial, to make good the first article thereof, which is a charge for High Crimes and Misdemeanors only; and also considering the very different methods of proceeding on an impeachment of a Peer for High-Treason, as well before as upon the trial thereof, and the circumstances attending such a trial, thought themselves obliged to come to a resolution communicated to the Commons on the 24th instant, as well for the doing justice in the case depending before them, as for the preventing a new precedent to be made on this trial; in consequence whereof, a new and unjustifiable form of proceeding against a Peer, upon an impeachment for High-Treason and High Crimes, might be introduced at his trial upon those articles, in which he is charged for High Crimes and Misdemeanors only, to the prejudice of the Peerage of Great-Britain in all time to come, viz. The trying a Peer on articles for High Crimes and Misdemeanors without the bar, the detaining in custody a Peer so accused, and repeated commitments of him to the Tower during the time of such trial, and subjecting a Peer to as ignominious circumstances on his trial, as if he was then on his trial on articles for High-Treason: Whereas a Peer, on his trial on articles for Misdemeanors only, ought not to be deprived of his liberty, nor sequestered from Parliament, and is intitled to the privilege of sitting within the bar during the whole time of his trial: In all which particulars, the known rule of proceedings in such cases may be evaded, should a Peer be brought to his trial on several articles exhibited against him on High Crimes and Misdemeanors and

High-Treason mixed together, and the Commons be admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, before judgment be given upon the articles for High-Treason. Their Lordships have fully considered the matters offered to them by the House of Commons, at the last Conference relating to the proceedings against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer; and their Lordships are fully satisfied, That the resolution they have taken and communicated to the Commons on the 24th instant, is just and reasonable; and that the House of Commons are not put under any real inconvenience thereby, in carrying on their present prosecution. Their Lordships have commanded us to let you know, that they do insist on their said resolution, viz. That the Commons be not admitted to proceed, in order to make good the articles against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, till judgment be first given upon the articles for High-Treason.

(1) The paper was thus:

'The Commons having taken into consideration your Lordships message, viz. That your Lordships did not think fit to give a free Conference on the subject-matter of the last Conference, as was desired by the Commons: And they being still desirous, to the utmost of their power, to preserve a good correspondence with your Lordships, have asked this Conference; and have commanded us to acquaint your Lordships, that they are very much surprised to find your Lordships deny a free Conference, after your Lordships have already agreed to a Conference desired by the Commons on the same subject-matter, and after your Lordships have, on your parts, also desired a Conference upon the same subject. The free Conferences are the most antient and established methods for adjusting the differences that have at any time arisen between the two Houses, and, as the Commons conceive, is the only method to preserve a good correspondence between them on such occasions, which, at this time, is of the highest importance, because a misunderstanding on this account would tend to defeat the trial of the impeachment of the Commons. That the Commons conceive clearly, that the subject-matter of the last Conference is not a point of judicature, but a point relating only to the prosecution of the Commons, it having arisen before any matter of judgment had come before your Lordships upon the trial. For which reasons the Commons conceive, that your Lordships ought not to have denied them a free Conference upon the subject-matter of the last Conference.'

(1) It

17. tice of this message (1). However, seeing the Lords were resolved to proceed, the House adjourned. It was suggested, this adjournment was ordered, that they might not receive any more messages about it, or be sent to from the Hall to appear at the trial.

It appears from the debates abovementioned, that these things were not carried thus without some variety of opinions and motions. Some, who were zealous for bringing a great offender (and such they accounted the Earl to be) to justice, were for quitting the nicety they contended for, and, not doubting but they should be able to make good the charge of High-Treason against him, were for giving the Lords the point and proceeding. But others, no less zealous for justice, and as much convinced of the Earl's guilt, were yet of opinion, that they ought not to make any precedent, which might be used by posterity to the disadvantages of the Commons, and in prejudice to their rights, but that they should proceed in the ordinary methods of justice, and preserve the privileges of their House entire, as their Ancestors had done before them.

It was, however, proposed to proceed by way of Attainder; and Sir William Strickland moved it, though in other words, 'That leave be given to bring in a bill, to inflict pains and penalties on Robert Earl of Oxford, as his traitorous practices and misdemeanors deserve, and as shall be thought reasonable.' This bred a high debate, which ended in an adjournment to the 3d of July.

In the mean time, the Lords proceeded to the formalities of Judicature. They went down to the Hall, took their places, ordered the Earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his Accusers to appear, and make good the impeachment against him. After this, the Court sat perfectly silent, as if expecting the Commons should appear. This silence held about a quarter of an hour, when the Lords adjourned to their House, where the question, that the Earl should be acquitted, passed in the affirmative, after some debate. Then the House returned to the Hall, where, one or two excepted, they all gave their votes for the discharge of

the Earl of Oxford, who was immediately set at liberty. It was observed, most of the Whig Lords retired; before the Peers went the last time to the Hall, so there were not above a hundred and seven who gave their votes.

Thus ended this affair: And it was plain, the Earl owed his discharge not only to the disputes between the two Houses, but also to the late changes in the Ministry; without which the Earl of Nottingham, the Duke of Argyle, the Earl of Ilay, the Duke of Devonshire, and the Lord Townshend would certainly not have been in the number of his friends. However, the Commons did not rest here. For, though Sir William Strickland's bill for inflicting pains and penalties on the Earl was not seconded, yet, to shew their resentment at this proceeding, they resolved that the King should be addressed, to except him out of the Act of Grace, which was intended to be brought into the House (2). The King had likewise, two days before, upon information that the Earl of Oxford designed to come to Court, thought fit to forbid him.

The Session now drew towards an end, and the Houses were chiefly employed in finishing the bills that were depending, when, on the 15th of July, the Earl of Sunderland delivered in the House of Peers, the Act of Grace, which the King had promised in his speech of the 6th of May. It was immediately read and passed, and then sent down to the House of Commons where it met with the like dispatch.

All things being ready, the King came the same day, in the afternoon, to the House of Peers, and, having given the Royal assent to all the bills, closed the Session with the following speech, which was read to both Houses by the Lord-Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Cannot put an end to this Session without expressing my thanks to you for the dispatch you have given to the public business, and declaring the satisfaction I promise myself in meeting you again early the next winter, with the same good dispositions for the service of your Country.

" The

(1) It is said, some moved not to receive it. *Annals*.
(2) As this address (which was presented by the whole House on the 5th of July) sets forth the just resentment of the Commons; it is here inserted, with the King's answer:

Most gracious Sovereign,

" We your Majesty's most faithful subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, do most humbly represent to your Majesty, That, in our impeachment exhibited against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, we did set forth, That he the said Earl did traitorously adhere to, aid, and abet the late French King, then an enemy to her late Majesty, and did begin and carry on a clandestine and separate Correspondence and Negotiation with the Minister of the said French King; in consequence of which it is evident, that great part of the forces maintained at the expence of so much British treasure, in order to reduce the power of France; as likewise great part of the same end, were, in reality, made subservient and instrumental to awe the good Allies of her Majesty into a compliance with the hard terms dictated by France. The unhappy Catalans were abandoned; the Emperor,

Empire, and King of Portugal, were left to treat for themselves; the Kingdom of Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, as an inducement and reward to him for quitting the common cause, in direct defiance and violation of the Grand Alliance, and of the declared sense of most of our good Allies, and especially of the Dutch, who, to this day, have never assented to that condition of the treaty of Utrecht. A shameful and dishonourable treaty of peace was at last concluded, by which impracticable terms of trade were imposed on Great-Britain; the demolition of Dunkirk, which had been addressed for by Parliament, was eluded by a treacherous connivance, as the making of a new canal at Mardyke; and the security which was proposed, by removing the Pretender out of France, was, in the like manner, evaded by a treacherous connivance at his residing in Lorrain.

It is owing to your Majesty's unwearied endeavours for the good of your subjects, and that just regard which is paid to your Majesty by foreign Princes and States, that we see ourselves delivered, in a great degree, from the effects of these pernicious measures, which might otherwise have proved fatal to your Kingdoms: But as we reflect, with equal gratitude and admiration, on your Majesty's being able to retrieve such

1717.

"The measures we have taken in this Parliament, have, by the blessing of Almighty God, effectually defeated all the attempts of our enemies, both at home and abroad: And, as the principles, on which those measures are founded, are equally conducive to the supporting the just rights of the Crown and the liberties of the people, I shall always persevere in them myself, and distinguish those who adhere to them with the same steadiness and resolution.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I thank you, in the most affectionate manner, for the supplies you have granted me, and for that constancy and zeal, which you have shewn in reducing our national debts, notwithstanding the many incidents and obstructions you have met with in the carrying on of that great work. As you have furnished me with the means of disappointing any designs of a foreign enemy against these my Kingdoms; so I cannot but ascribe, in a great measure, the happy prospect of our affairs abroad to that public spirit, which has appeared in your proceedings, and has convinced the world, that no insinuations or artifices can divert you from your duty to your Sovereign, and a disinterested regard to your fellow-subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is with great pleasure, that I see the tranquility of the Nation so well established, as to admit of an Act of Grace, which I have long desired a fit opportunity to grant. I hope, that such as shall, by this means, be restored to the enjoyment of security, and the protection of those laws, against which they have offended, will have a due sense of this my indulgence, and give me the most acceptable return they can possibly make me, that

"of becoming friends, instead of enemies, to their Country."

Then the Parliament was prorogued to the 12th of August; and afterwards, by several prorogations, to the 21st of November.

Thus ended this Session of Parliament, famous for the transactions relating to the Earl of Oxford, but chiefly for laying the foundation of paying the public debts, without any breach of Parliamentary credit.

The expectation of the Act of Grace had long agitated the minds of people. Some, through their impatience for want of it; Others, thro' fear of being excepted out of it; and others, through their dislike of the general tenor of it, had appeared dissatisfied about it, and spoke contemptibly of it (1).

This Act of Grace and free Pardon was as a finishing to the whole transaction of the Rebellion, and therefore it will not be improper to give an account of the persons who received benefit by it, and also of those who were excepted out of it.

The exceptions by name were no more than, the Earl of Oxford, pursuant to the Commons address, Lord Harcourt, Mr. Prior, Mr. Thomas Harley, and Mr. Arthur Moor; with five mean persons, Crisp, Nodes, O Bryan, Redmayne (the Printer) and Thompson. Besides these, the Assassins in Newgate (confined there ever since the Assassination plot in King William's Reign) were also excepted by name. The other exceptions were but five, except such as are usual in all general pardons. No Act of Grace for many ages past, in like circumstances, had been clogged with fewer exceptions, considering the number of Rebels then abroad, and their unwearied diligence to disturb the peace of the Kingdom (2).

As for those who received the benefit of it, they were first the Lords in the Tower under sentence of death, who were immediately delivered. This was directed by an exception in the Act of Grace,

miscarriages, especially in a time which has been disturbed by public tumults and rebellion; we think it is a great aggravation of guilt in those who gave up so many national advantages, at a time when they laboured under no such difficulties at home, and when the continued successes of a long and glorious war had put them into a condition of gaining the most beneficial terms from the enemy.

Your faithful Commons did likewise exhibit several other charges against the said Earl, representing him, in many notorious instances, as a person who had abused the trust and confidence which her late Majesty had reposed in him, and sacrificed the honour of his Sovereign, and the good of her people, to private views of interest and ambition.

Your faithful Commons have not been wanting in their endeavours to bring the said Earl to justice; but, by reason of the unhappy differences that have, in this proceeding, arisen between the two Houses, we have found ourselves disappointed of our just expectation, and reduced to the necessity either of giving up rights and privileges of the highest importance to all the Commons of Great-Britain, or seeing this great offender escape with impunity for the present.

For these reasons, we do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that your Majesty will be pleased to except Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer out of the Act of Grace, which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to promise from the Throne, to the end the

Commons may be at liberty to proceed against the said Earl, in a Parliamentary way.

To this address his Majesty was pleased to return the following answer.

Gentlemen,

"I will give directions, in relation to the Earl of Oxford, as you desire; and it is with pleasure I observe the sense expressed in your address of my endeavours for the security, honour, and advantage of these Kingdoms."

(1) This gave ground to the following expression in a treatise published at that time, 'That the character of King George was not only Great and Godlike, but even extended further than that of God himself. For (says the Author) God Almighty, however merciful in his nature, yet has proclaimed pardon to none but the penitent; whereas King George has pardoned, not those who have repented only, but even those who contemned the very grace they have received, and insulted the King that forgave them, receiving the grace with unthankfulness, and with ungrateful reproaches against the hand that gave it.'

(2) Among the exceptions were all the persons of the name and clan of Macgregor, mentioned in an Act of Parliament in Scotland, in the first year of King Charles I. It seems the Family or Clan of Macgregor, alias Campbells, had been in Rebellion in the time of

King

1717. Grace, namely, ⁴ All persons impeached in Parliament, before the 6th of May 1717, whose impeachment remains undetermined.⁵ So that they who were impeached for Rebellion, and being convicted were under sentence of death, were not by this article excepted, because the impeachment was determined in law. Consequently, the Earl of *Carnwarth*, with the Lords *Widdrington* and *Nairn*, Peers, condemned by the House of Lords, were immediately discharged. The Lord *Duffus* was continued under confinement, with an allowance of 3 l. a week.

Likewise the prison-doors were set open all over England: Seventeen Gentlemen under sentence of death in *Newgate* were released; as also a great many in the *Marshalsea* and *Fleet*, and in the hands of Messengers; and not only those who were under sentence, but several others who were not tried.

In the Castle of *West-Chester*, about two hundred prisoners taken at *Preston* were set free, none being detained but the Lord *Charles Murray*, son of the Duke of *Albion*, and he was only referred to be a particular object of the King's clemency, a pardon having passed for him a few weeks after.

In like manner the prisoners in the Castle of *Lancaster* were delivered; these were in general the common soldiers of the Rebels, the rest of them were either sent to the Plantations at their own request, or dead in prison, or had made their escape. The prisoners in the Castle of *Carlisle*, being twenty-six Gentlemen, the chief of the distressed people in *Scotland*; most, if not all, taken in actual Rebellion, and under sentence of death, were likewise released.

In *Scotland*, all the prisoners remaining in the Castles of *Edinburgh* and *Stirling*, as the Lord *Rollo*, the Earl of *Strathallan*, and several others of rank were all discharged.

Commissioners, for inquiring into the forfeited estates, had been appointed some time by the Parliament. They had managed their inquiry with great application, but had met with great difficulties and obstructions from the creditors of the attainted persons, who, by the ordinary course of justice, were in possession of the estates. The Lords of Session had also, at the petition of some persons, pretending to be creditors, sequestered all the most considerable forfeited estates, and appointed factors with power to distrain tenants for non-payment of rents, on behalf of those creditors. These factors, or receivers, representing, that they acted by the authority of the Court of Session, absolutely refused, though ordered by the Commissioners, either to pay the rents into the *Exchequer*, or to give security for so doing. In vain did the Commissioners appoint Receivers, as they could not give them a power to distrain. Nor would the Court of Session, upon the petition of the Commissioners, recall the sequestrations (1). The Barons of the *Exchequer* were next applied to, but they likewise refused to comply with the Commissioners, upon which they ordered all the monies, arisen from the sale of the personal estates, into the Receiver-General of *Scotland*.

The yearly value of the real estates, of which the Commissioners had perfected the survey, amounted to 29694 l. 6 s. 8 d. sterling, per annum, as appeared by their report, which was published in July, by order of the House of Lords (2).

The Commissioners in *England* did not meet with so much difficulty, by whose report (which was also printed) the annual rents of the forfeited estates in *England* and *Ireland* amounted in the whole to 47626 l. 18 s. 5 d. ³. The improved rents of estates on lives, after the lives were expired, they computed at 4798 l. 6 s. 3 d. (3).

As

King *James I.*, and were reduced. But, on King *James's* death, they took up arms again, not so much on any State account, as to plunder the *Low-Lands*, and injure the Country; whereupon a remarkable act passed against them. By this act they were all at the age of sixteen to appear before the Privy Council, and give surety for their good behaviour; and, in order to their extirpation, no Ministers, within the bounds of the *Highlands*, were to baptize any male-child, with the name of *Grigor*, or *Macgregor*. The famous *Rob. Roy*, head of this Clan, being in the Rebellion, occasioned perhaps the exception, by which the whole family of the *Macgregors* were excluded the benefit of the Act of Grace.

(1) These sequestrations were founded upon the words of the act for encouraging superiors, &c. ⁴ That no conviction or attainer shall exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for security of any just debts contracted before the commission of any of the aforesaid crimes.⁵ As these words seemed only to import, that, the creditors should be paid their just debts, the Commissioners submitted the matter to the Lords. Whether the payment of these debts was not better provided for by paying the rents into the *Exchequer*, for the benefit of the public and creditors, according to the express direction of the Act of Parliament, than by suffering the growing rents to remain at the disposal of the Receivers, who being the Trustees friends, and agents of the forfeiting persons, were like to injure both the public, and the creditors.

(2) The abstracts of the rentals of the forfeited

estates in *Scotland* were as follows, the shillings and pence being omitted:

	per Ann.		per Ann.
<i>Wintoun</i>	3393 l.	<i>Wood-End</i>	83 l.
<i>Southesk</i>	3271	<i>Fairney</i>	153
<i>Linlithgow</i>	1296	<i>Master of Nairne</i>	60
<i>Keir</i>	907	<i>Dunboog</i>	170
<i>Pannure</i>	3456	<i>Earl Marischal</i>	1676
<i>Weddebourne</i>	213	<i>Kilcomquhar</i>	287
<i>Ayton</i>	323	<i>Lord Nairne</i>	740
<i>Killythe</i>	864	<i>Fingask</i>	537
<i>Bannockburn</i>	411	<i>Cramlik</i>	415
<i>East Reston</i>	137	<i>Nithsdale</i>	809
<i>Marr</i>	1678	<i>Inverary</i>	281
<i>Invernitie</i>	361	<i>Kenmure</i>	608
<i>Auchintoul</i>	347	<i>Drummond</i>	2566
<i>Pow-House</i>	377	<i>Burleigh</i>	697
<i>Natthill</i>	72	<i>Scotstown</i>	110
<i>Bowhill</i>	27	<i>Dunroon</i>	54
<i>Lathbrisk</i>	208	<i>Lagg</i>	424
<i>Gleuberuy</i>	75	<i>Cornwarth</i>	863
<i>Preston-Hall</i>	230	<i>Baldon</i>	1495

(3) The rental was as follows, shillings and pence omitted:

	per Ann.
<i>Francis Anderton, Esq;</i>	1425 l.
<i>Hugh Anderton, Esq;</i>	131
<i>John Aplew</i>	60
<i>Richard Butler</i>	382
	Henry

1717.

As the King resolved not to go into Germany this year, the Household removed to Hampton-Court, where he resided for the summer.

At the close of the Session, the following alterations and promotions were made: Mr. Stanhope, first Commissioner of the Treasury, was created Baron of Elvaſton, and Viſcount of Maſon; the Earl of Suffolk, Mr. Chetwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Mr. Dominique, Mr. Moleſworth, Mr. Pelham, Mr. Daniel Pulney, and Mr. Bladen, were appointed Commiſſioners of trade; Lord Cadogan was made General of all the forces in England; and Mr. Boſcawen Vice-Treafurer of Ireland, of which Kingdom the following perſons were made Peers: Trevor Hill, Viſcount Hilborough; Sir Thomas Southwel, Viſcount Southwel; Walter Chetwynd, Viſcount Fitzbarding; Alan Broderick, Viſcount Middleton; Lord Hamilton of Straſb Allan, Viſcount Beyn; John Allen, Viſcount of Kildare. Coniers & Arcey, brother to the Earl of Holderneſs, was removed from his employment of Gentleman of the Horſe, and one of the Commiſſioners for executing the office of Maſter of the Horſe. The Earl of Leiſeſter was appointed Conſtable of Dover-Caſtle, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, in the room of the Earl of Dorſet; and the Duke of Portland was made one of the Lords of the Beſchamber.

Prince Eugene deſigns the Turkſe Belgrade, Aug. 5. Hilt. Reg.

Whilst the King was at Hampton Court, Count Volkra, the Imperial Miniſter, brought him the news of Prince Eugene's victory over the Turks at Belgrade. Prince Eugene, having aſſembled the Imperial army, before the Turks could draw their forces together, reſolved to beſiege Belgrade: To this end he marched his army over the Teyſſe, upon a bridge of boats laid for that purpoſe, and poſted himſelf on the other ſide of the Danube, in ſight of that fortrefs: This unexpected paſſage ſtruck the Infidels into ſuch a conſternation, that their troops ran away in the utmoſt confuſion, while the reſt of the Imperial army paſſed the Danube likewiſe over a bridge, that was laid with all poſſible diligence. The place was immediately inveſted, and lines of circumvallation and contravallation were made from the Save to the Danube, by which means the Imperial camp became ſo ſtrong, that it ſeemed as if one fortrefs had laid ſiege to another. This precaution had its effect; for, when the main

army of the Turks was advanced to relieve Belgrade, they found the Beſiegers ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that they were under a neceſſity of opening trenches to approach their lines: But Prince Eugene had taken his meaſures ſo well before-hand, that, when the Ottoman army appeared, though they were much more numerous and formidable than could be believed, he was in a condition to expect them in his intrenchments, without diſcontinuing his attacks. It was undoubtedly a very extraordinary ſight, to ſee two ſieges at once, and even the Beſiegers themſelves beſieged; the place being ſhut up on all ſides by the Imperial army; and the Imperial army ſhut up on one ſide between two great rivers, and on the other between a town, defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and the enemy's camp ſtrongly intrenched: Thus there was a neceſſity either to conquer or periſh, and the leaſt falſe ſtep would have decided it. But, when things ſeemed reduced to this dangerous criſis, Prince Eugene, inſtead of waiting to be attacked in his intrenchments, marched out of them, and attacked the Turks in theirs, with ſo great bravery and conduct, that he gained a moſt compleat victory, over their almoſt innumerable forces, which was followed the next day by the ſurrender of Belgrade, the key of the Ottoman Empire.

1717.

Mean while, the great preparations, the Spaniards were making by ſea and land, drew the attention of all Europe. When the Emperor ſent his army into Hungary againſt the Turks, who had invaded the Dominions of the Venetians his Allies, the Pope, to whom wars of that kind are always agreeable, obtained repeated aſſurances from the King of Spain, both by letters, and by declarations from his Ambaſſador at Rome, That he would not undertake any thing againſt the intereſts of the Emperor, whilit his arms ſhould be employed in ſo religious a cauſe; and would even aid the Venetians with a ſquadron of men of war and gallies. For which purpoſe he obtained from the Court of Rome an Indulto, for raiſing a ſubſidy of two millions and a half on the Eccleſiaſtical revenues in the Indies; and another for five hundred thouſand ducats on the eſtates of the Clergy in Spain. Accordingly, the King of Spain ſent out the laſt year a ſmall ſquadron of ſix men of war and five gallies,

Great preparations in Spain. Corbet.

Henry St John late Lord Bolingbroke	2552	Henry Oxborough	507
Richard Billborough	19	John Parkinson	5
Thomas Briers	91	William Paul	42
Robert C. 1717	20	John Pl. Jorſton	29
Richard Charley, Eſq;	138	Robert Scarbroock, Eſq;	21
George Clifton	5	William Shaftoe, Eſq;	14
George G. 1717, Eſq;	924	Richard Sherburne	32
Edward Gore	19	Richard Shuttleworth	3
Robert Daniel	18	Robert Shuttleworth	6
John Dalton, Eſq;	661	Ralph Standiſh, Eſq;	67
Earl of Derwentwater	6371	James Singleton	40
Roger Dicconſon, Eſq;	641	Thomas Standley, Eſq;	24
Thomas Feſters, Eſq;	530	Lord Seaforth	517
In Reversion 600,	1100	Edward Swinburne, Eſq;	305
George Gilſon	227	John Sturzecker	10
John Gregory	26	John Thornton, Eſq;	1585
	70	Cryſtopher Trup	58
Gabriel Hethel	102	Joſeph Waſſworth	12
James H. 1717	327	Thomas Wancen	97
Philip H. 1717	238	Thomas Walmsley	51
Jordan Longdale	79	Lord Waddington	5144
John Lyburne	275	Edward Wainſley, Eſq;	226
Duke of Ormond, Eng. and Irel. incumbered	21163	Richard Wainſington	14

(1) The

1717. galleys, which arrived too late in the *Levant*, to be of any service to the *Venetians*, who had before sustained a naval fight with the *Turks*, and had almost finished the operations of the campaign. But this year the preparations in *Spain* were so extraordinary, as gave a jealousy, that, instead of sending assistance to the *Venetians*, the *Spaniards* had a design to make some conquest themselves on the Emperor's Dominions in the *Mediterranean*. The event justified the suspicion. A strong squadron of men of war, with about nine thousand land-forces, commanded by the Marquis de Lede, sailed from *Barcelona* the 20th of *July*, and, landing at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, made a speedy and entire conquest of that Island which belonged to the Emperor, and was in no good condition of defence.

Spain attacked the Emperor.

During this expedition, the Marquis of Grimaldo, Secretary of State at *Madrid*, sent a letter to the *Spanish* Ministers in foreign Courts, to be published as a manifesto or declaration of the reasons of those proceedings, the substance of which was: 'That all *Europe*, as well as himself, might well be surprised to find the military preparations of his Master, which were designed to second the efforts of the Christian army according to promises made to the Pope thereupon, on a sudden turned against that very power, in the attack of *Sardinia*; but that, as he had opportunity of learning the reasons of such a conduct from his Majesty's own mouth, he thought fit to communicate the same, to be, That though his Majesty had born with great magnanimity the sacrifice of many of his territories to the public tranquillity by the late peace; upon the presumption that such a condescension would secure the repose of a Nation, whose good fortune was not answerable to its virtue; yet as the Arch-Duke, contrary to the faith of treaties, encouraged and supported the desertion of his subjects in *Catalonia*, by frequent succours from *Naples*, and other places, and seemed, by all his measures, resolved on all opportunities of giving him disquiet in his Dominions; his Majesty had looked upon the war with the *Turks* to have opened to him a gate of revenge, in recovering those territories which had been usurped from him by the Arch-Duke. That all overtures of pacification on his Majesty's side, had rather inflamed the Arch-Duke's conduct in his prejudice; and that because declarations had been published in many parts of *Europe*, injurious to his Majesty's honour and dignity, and particularly because the great Inquisitor of *Spain* had been seized, though furnished with his Holiness's passport, and in despite to that authority, necessary to support the due regards of his subjects; his Majesty was resolved to employ those forces in a lawful revenge, which were at first designed against the enemies of the Arch-Duke (1). These reasons did not appear satisfactory: For whatever, unfairness had been practised by the Emperor, it was long before the King of *Spain's* promise,

not to molest the Emperor whilst he was at war with the *Turks*. And the detention of a single subject was too weak a ground for a proceeding of such violence. However, the King of *Spain* promised (by the Marquis Beretti Landi, his Ambassador at the *Hague*) to proceed no further against the Emperor, and to suspend all operations, in order to give time and opportunity to the powers of *Europe* to think of expedients for reconciling their differences, and securing the tranquillity and balance of power in *Italy*. The Marquis also complimented the King of *Great-Britain* and the *States*, with the arbitration of that important affair.

King George and the Regent of *France* were England not only guarantees of the neutrality of *Italy*, and *France* but the King was moreover engaged in a defensive Alliance with the Emperor. Pursuant therefore to the King of *Spain's* promise, they concerted measures in conjunction with the Imperial Minister, for an accommodation between the Emperor and King Philip, on such terms as should be equally advantageous and honourable to both, supply the defects of the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Baden*, and establish, on a more solid basis, the tranquillity of *Europe*; with a resolution of compelling by force that party, which should refuse to accede to those stipulations, and obstruct the general good. The Abbot du Bois came to *London*, the Lord Stanhope was sent to *Madrid*, and the Lord Cadogan to the *Hague*. These Negotiations gave birth to the famous treaty, called the Quadruple Alliance, which was concluded the next year. It was agreed, that the Emperor should renounce all pretensions to the Crown of *Spain* (a point King Philip had much at heart) and part with *Sardinia* to the Duke of *Savoy*, in lieu of which the Duke was to surrender *Sicily* to the Emperor. The Succession to the Duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, which the Queen of *Spain* (of the House of *Farnese*) claimed by inheritance, in default of male-issue, was to be settled on her eldest son: The King of *Spain*, not being satisfied with this partition, continued to make very formidable preparations by sea and land, without any regard to the admonitions of *England* and *France*. Upon which King George ordered a strong squadron of ships of war to be fitted out, as will presently be seen.

Before the Parliament met, the following incident happened. The Earl of Peterborough, of Peterborough, whether with a design only to travel, as was given out, or charged with some secret Negotiation, was gone into *Italy*. Before his departure, he had conferred with the Duke of Marlborough, and at *Paris* had talked with the Duke of Orleans: He was said to carry with him larger remittances than was usual for travellers, even of his rank. The Pretender was then at *Urbino*, where he had notice sent him from *St. Germain* to be upon his guard, there being a design to destroy him. He gave information of it to *Rome*, and Pope Clement XI. sent orders to all places

1717.

(1) The King of *Spain* had not yet acknowledged him for Emperor.

At the same time, the Cardinal Paulucci, Secretary of State to the Pope, wrote a circular letter to clear his Holiness from the imputation of any collusion in that affair, by greatly enlarging upon the resentment

No. 92. Vol. IV.

with which he treated so perfidious a breach of promise in his Catholic Majesty, not to fall upon any of the Dominions of the Emperor during his war with the *Turks*, and for the performance of which his Holiness had engaged in the most solemn manner.

1717. places round *Urbino* to examine all foreigners, especially *English*, and seize such as should be suspected.

The Earl of *Peterborough* came at that very time to *Bologna* with a few armed followers. He was immediately seized with his papers, and confined to *Fort Urbino*, and his people sent to prison. His papers were examined, but, nothing being found against him, he was himself interrogated. He said, he was come to pass some time in *Italy* for the benefit of the air, and that his people were armed for his defence. He was close confined for a month, and no person suffered to speak with him. He was at length set at liberty with all possible civilities, and afterwards had an authentic reparation for the insult, the Cardinal Minister having declared, that he had been seized unadvisedly, and without sufficient cause. The news of the Earl of *Peterborough's* confinement was highly resented by the people in *England*, but the King was content with demanding and receiving reparation for the affront. The Pope agreed to write with his own hand a letter to an Ally of *Great Britain*, by which he would declare, that the Legate of *Bologna* had violently and unjustly, without the knowledge of his Holiness, caused the Earl of *Peterborough* to be seized upon suspicions, which proved to be ill-grounded; that then the Cardinal *Paulucci*, Secretary of State, and the Cardinal Legate of *Bologna*, should send each a declaration to the *English* Admiral in the *Mediterranean*; the first to shew the Pope's disavowal, and the other to assure him, that, out of complaisance to his friends, and upon unjust suspicions, he had ordered a Peer of *Great Britain* to be apprehended on his travels, for which he had begged the Pope's pardon, and desired his *Britannic* Majesty's. This letter and these declarations were accordingly sent, and are preserved, to shew the Earl of *Peterborough's* innocence, and the falsity of the suspicions.

A difference between the King and the Prince.

On the 2d of *November*, the Princess of *Wales* was delivered of a Prince, at *St. James's*, and the King two days after paid her a visit, and returned to *Hampton Court*. The young Prince was baptized the 28th of the same month, and died not long after. This Baptism occasioned an unhappy difference between the King and the Prince. It seems, the Prince

had designed the Duke of *York*, Bishop of *Osnaburg*, the King's Brother, to be one of the Godfathers, and had reason to believe the King was satisfied with his choice. But, when the ceremony came to be performed, the Duke of *Newcastle* stood Godfather with the King, not as proxy for, or representing the Duke of *York*, but for himself, and in his own name and person. This the Prince took ill of the Duke, not as he acted in obedience to his Majesty's command, but as if the Duke had done, or at least seemed officious to do, something which he was not commanded. This proceeding sensibly touched the Prince, and raised his indignation to that degree, that he could not help shewing it; but, as soon as the ceremony was over, spoke some warm words to the Duke, expressing his resentment at what he had done. Upon report of these words to the King, his Majesty thought fit to give a sudden mark of his displeasure, by sending his commands to the Prince to keep his own apartment till his pleasure was farther known; to which he immediately submitted: Soon after this his Majesty's farther pleasure was signified to the Prince, that he should leave *St. James's*; accordingly he quitted the Palace, the Princess going along with him, and retired to the house of the Earl of *Granham*, in *Albemarle-Street*; but the children, by the King's order, remained at *St. James's*. Soon after this, his Majesty's pleasure was signified to all the Peers and Peeresses of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and to all Privy-Counsellors and their Wives, that all persons, who should go to see the Prince and Princess of *Wales*, should forbear coming into his Majesty's presence. Besides, such, as had employments under the King and Prince both, were obliged to quit the service of one of them.

Soon after this difference, there was printed in the *Amsterdam Gazette* a letter in *French*, said to be written by one of the Secretaries of State to the foreign Ministers, dated at *Whitehall*, *Decemb. 14, 1717*, giving an account of the whole affair, of which the Author of the *Critic* (a weekly paper) published a translation (1).

The Parliament met the 21st of *November*, Third Session of K. George's Fifth Parliament. and the King came to the House of Peers with the usual solemnities. His speech had been prepared with great care, by reason of the importance of the occasion.

(1) The letter was as follows:

S I R,

His Majesty having been informed that several reports, for the most part ill grounded, are spread abroad concerning what has lately passed in the Royal Family, he has ordered me to send you the inclosed account of it.

As soon as the young Prince was born, the King caused himself to be informed of what was wont to be observed in the like cases in this Kingdom, in regard to the ceremony of Baptism; and having found by the records, that, when it was a Boy, and the King was Godfather, it was the custom for him to nominate, for second Godfather, one of the principal Lords of his Court, who for the most part was the Lord Chamberlain; he named for this function the Duke of *Newcastle*, who now bears that charge; naming at the same time for Godmother the Dutchess of *St. Albans*, first Lady of Honour to the Princess. Nevertheless, his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* conceived such a dislike at this, that on *Thursday* last, after the solemnity of the Baptism was over, finding himself no longer master of his temper, he drew near to the Duke of *Newcastle*, and gave him very reproachful words, upon supposition that he had solicited that honour in spite of him: The King was still in the chamber, but not near enough to hear what the Prince said to the Duke. This last thinking himself obliged to inform the King of it, and the Prince having confessed the matter to the Dukes of *Kingslon*, *Kent*, and *Roxburgh* (whom his Majesty sent to him the next day upon this occasion) his Majesty ordered him by a second message, not to go out of his own apartment till further order: On *Saturday* the Prince wrote a letter to the King, and the next day (*Sunday*) another: But, his Majesty not finding them satisfactory, and having besides other reasons of discontent at several steps the Prince had taken, he caused him to be told yesterday in the afternoon, by his Vice-Chamberlain Mr. *Cooke*, that he should be gone from the Palace of *St. James's*; and to the Princess, that she might continue in the Palace as long as she thought convenient; but that, as for the Princesses her daughters, and the young Prince, the King

King

1717 tance of the matters he had to speak of, and was attended with the expected success. The speech was as follows :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM very glad I have been able to bring the sitting of Parliament into a more proper and usual season of the year. I hope, such an early meeting will not only be a benefit to the public, but a convenience to your private affairs.

" As I have always had at heart the security and ease of my people, so I never kept up any troops, but for their protection, and have taken every opportunity to disband as many as I thought consistent with their safety. I have reduced the army to very near one half, since the beginning of the last Session of Parliament, and lessened them to such a number, as will neither be a burden to my good subjects, nor an encouragement to our enemies to insult them.

" You cannot but be sensible of the many attempts, which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of *Europe*, and of these Kingdoms. They only pretend not to see, who are not afraid of them. But, as no application has been wanting, on my part, to preserve the public tranquillity, I have the pleasure to find my good offices have not been altogether unsuccessful, and have reason to hope they will, in the end, have their full and desired effect.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I question not, but you are very well pleased to find, that your endeavours for lessening the national debts have, at the same time, raised the public credit; and that whatever was proposed, for that end, is actually and completely effected. This success must chiefly be attributed to that just and prudent regard you have shewn to Parliamentary engagements.

" It was with a view of procuring and settling a lasting tranquillity, that I demanded the extraordinary Supply, which you granted me last Session. The credit, which this confidence reposed in me hath given us abroad, has already been so far effectual, that I can acquaint you, we have a much better prospect than we had. I have ordered an account to be laid before you of the very small part of that Supply, which, as yet, has been expended. Any further issues, that may be made of it, shall be laid before you. And you may be assured, that every part of it shall either be employed for your service, or saved to the public.

" I have ordered to be laid before you a state of the deficiencies of the present year, and the several estimates for the service of the next, which you will find considerably diminished. I rely upon your making the ne-

cessary provision for them; not doubting of the continuance of that zeal for the good of your Country, which hath been so eminently conspicuous in every Session of this Parliament.

" I cannot, in justice, avoid putting you in mind, that several arrears of pay and subsidy, incurred before my Accession to the Crown, are claimed by foreign Princes and States. I shall order them to be laid before you, to the end you may put them in a method of being examined and stated; which will very much tend to the honour and credit of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I could heartily wish, that at a time, when the common enemies of our Religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it; both at home and abroad, all those, who are friends to our present happy Establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant Interest; of which, as the Church of *England* is unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so will she reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing by the union and mutual charity of all Protestants.

" As none can recommend themselves more effectually to my favour and countenance, than by a sincere zeal for the just rights of the Crown, and the liberties of the people; so I am determined to encourage all those, who act agreeably to the constitution of these my Kingdoms, and consequently to the principles, on which my Government is founded.

" The eyes of all *Europe* are upon you at this critical juncture. It is your interest; for which reason, I think it is mine, that my endeavours for procuring the peace and quiet of Christendom should take effect. Nothing can so much contribute to this desirable end, as the unanimity, dispatch, and vigour of your resolutions for the support of my Government."

This speech, as it appears, was worded with great caution, particularly with regard to the army, and the Protestant Dissenters. The King, by saying he had so lessened the troops, that they would neither burthen his subjects nor encourage his enemies, prevented any intended addresses for a farther reduction. His wishing that all the friends of the Establishment would concur in some method for strengthening the Protestant interest, tended to the repeal of the severe laws made in the last reign against the Dissenters, which had been prevented by the commotions in the Kingdom, and which he thought might be accomplished this Session. He had, ever since his Accession, declared for Toleration, and seems here to promise his favour and countenance to such as should be of his mind.

The

King would have them remain with him in the Palace, and that the Princess should be permitted to see them as often as she desired it. However, the Princess, being unwilling to leave the Prince her Husband, went

with him to the house of the Earl of *Grantham* her Lord-Chamberlain, where their Royal Highnesses lay last night.

1717.
The Lords
address.

The Lords without any debate voted an address, in which they thanked the King for disbanding so many troops, and for his unwearied application towards settling the peace of Europe, assuring him, that nothing should be wanting on their parts towards supporting him with the utmost zeal and vigour, till his endeavours had the desired effect. They concluded with saying, 'We have a grateful sense of your Majesty's concern for the Protestant Religion, and the Church of England, as by law established; which, as it has always been the chief of the Protestant Churches, so it can never be so well supported, as by strengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the Protestant interest.'

The Commons
address.

An address of thanks was also voted by the Commons, but not without some debates. It was moved by the High-Church party, that the King's general expression, *to concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest*, should be thus softened, *to concur in the most effectual methods for strengthening the Protestant interest of these Kingdoms, as far as the laws now in force will permit*. But this motion was rejected, and the address passed as it had been drawn up; wherein, after having thanked the King for bringing the sitting of Parliament into a more proper season of the year, and assured him of their endeavours to answer his gracious intentions, by improving their early meeting (as much as they were able) to the public benefit, they expressed their lively sense of his concern for the welfare of the people by the reductions he had made from time to time of the land-forces. 'It is (say they) our peculiar happiness to see ourselves governed by a Sovereign, who is not influenced by any notions of greatness that are inconsistent with the prosperity of his subjects, and who proposes to himself the ease of his people, as the chief glory of his Reign.'

We acknowledge, with hearts full of duty and gratitude, your Majesty's unwearied endeavours to prevent the many attempts which have been set on foot to disturb the peace of Europe, and the quiet of these Kingdoms; and have the more reason to apprehend the ill consequences of such attempts, since there are those, who, as they would be thought to see no danger in them, give us reason to believe, that they would not be troubled at their success.'

Proceedings of the
Commons.

This approbation of the King's sentiments was followed with assurances of most effectually supporting him in such measures as he should judge necessary, and of cheerfully granting such Supplies as the public service should require. Concluding, 'It is a pleasure to us, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon us at this critical juncture, since we have thereby an opportunity of shewing the world the just confidence we repose in your Majesty, and our unshaken resolutions to support your Government, in such a manner as shall enable your Majesty to settle the peace of Christendom.'

The Commons began with fulfilling their promise concerning the Supplies. Estimates and accounts were called for, to see what was wanted to settle the establishment of the army, navy, and ordnance as usual. Ten thousand men, at 4*l.* a month each, were voted for the sea-service; and 224,857*l.* 14*s.* 11*d.* was granted for the ordinary of the navy.

When the motion for a Supply for the army 1717. was made, it was opposed by Mr. Shippen, Sir Debates William Wyndham, and others. Mr. Walpole, about the army, made a speech that lasted above an hour, wherein, Dec. 4. besides the common topic of the danger of a standing army in a free Nation, he insisted on four principal points: '1. That whereas they were given to understand, that the army was reduced to sixteen thousand and odd men, it still consisted of about eighteen thousand, which was one third part more than the number of land forces in Great-Britain amounted to formerly in time of peace. 2. That there was no due proportion observed, either between the number of the horse, dragoons, and foot, or between the number of the officers and soldiers, that were kept standing, inasmuch that, of about 11000*l.* which the pay of a reduced regiment of foot amounts to, near 7000*l.* goes toward the pay of the Officers, and 4000*l.* only to the private soldiers. 3. That the keeping up so great a number of Officers was, in effect, the maintaining of an army almost double of what was intended, since the soldiers, that were wanting to complete the Companies and Regiments, might be raised with a drum, in twice four and twenty hours. 4. That the pay of General Officers, which amounted to above 20000*l.* was an expence altogether needless, and unprecedented, in time of peace.' Mr. Craggs, Secretary of War, answered Mr. Walpole, and observed, in general, 'That, in all wise Governments, the security of the State is the rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his Majesty, both in the augmentation, and the reduction of his forces, had not only consulted the safety but likewise the ease of his people. That, though, as was suggested, the Nation paid, at present, near eighteen thousand men, yet there were only sixteen thousand three hundred forty seven, who could give any jealousy, unless some people should think our liberties in danger from the Chaplains, Surgeons, Widows of Officers, and such inoffensive persons, who were included in the first number. That therefore there were not much above four thousand men more now in Great Britain, than there were kept up after the peace of Ryswick; which number must be thought very moderate by all, who wish well to the present happy Settlement, considering, that the embers of an unnatural Rebellion lately extinguished, were still warm, and the discontents industriously fomented by the enemies of the Government. That the Parliament had ever contented themselves with fixing the number of forces, that were thought necessary to be maintained; but had left to the Crown the manner of reducing and modeling that number. And therefore, if they should now do otherwise, it would be but an indifferent return to that gracious and tender regard, which, on all occasions, his Majesty had shewn to the security and ease of his subjects. That, after all, it was no less a piece of justice than matter of prudence, to keep up as great a number of Officers as possible; for, besides the occasion, which this Nation may have for them for the future, it was but reasonable to acknowledge the past eminent services of Gentlemen, who, having been brought up to no other trade but war, had no other way to subsist and provide for themselves and families. Mr. Craggs was supported by



In the Possession of John Tennant Esq.

W. Kneller pinx.



1717. by several Members, particularly Sir David Dalrymple, who declared for keeping up sixteen thousand men at least one year longer, urging, 'That the discontents ran still as high in Scotland, as before the late Rebellion; of which he alledged several reasons. But Mr. Walpole and others were, on the contrary, of opinion, that twelve thousand men were sufficient. The debate having lasted some hours, the question was going to be put, Whether the number should be sixteen thousand, or twelve thousand, when Mr. Shippen made a speech, in which, among many other vehement expressions, he said, 'That the second paragraph of the King's speech seemed rather to be calculated for the meridian of Germany than Great-Britain: And that it was a great misfortune, that the King was a stranger to our language and constitution.' These reflections gave great offence to several Members, and Mr. Lechmere urged, 'That the same was a scandalous invective against the King's Person and Government, of which the House ought to shew the highest resentment; and therefore moved, that the Member, who spoke those offensive words, should be sent to the Tower.' Upon which Mr. Walpole said, 'That, if the words in question were spoken by the Member, on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a punishment for his rashness: But, as what had been said in the heat of this debate might have been misunderstood, he was for allowing him the liberty of explaining himself.' But Mr. Shippen not thinking proper either to retract or excuse what he had said, he was voted

to the Tower by a majority of one hundred and seventy-five against eighty-one.

The next day it was resolved, that the guards and garrisons in Great-Britain should be sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven effective men, and that the sum of £81,618 l. should be granted for their maintenance: That 130,361 l. 5 s. 5 d. should be given for the half-pay of the reduced Officers. After this was settled as usual the pay of the forces in America, and the garrisons of Gibraltar and Port-Mabon. When these resolutions were reported, several of them were debated. The pay of the army was reduced to 650,000 l. by a majority of fourteen voices only, one hundred and seventy-two against one hundred and fifty-eight. The sum for the half-pay Officers was reduced to 94,000 l. (1).

An attempt was made this Session to lower the value of guineas. Mr. Aylmer having taken notice of the great scarcity of the silver coin, occasioned chiefly by the exportation of silver, and importation of gold, proposed, that a speedy remedy might be put to the growing evil, by lowering the value of gold species. Upon this the King was addressed for the representations made by the Officers of the Mint to the Treasury, in relation to the gold and silver coins. Accordingly Mr. Lowndes presented to the House several papers relating to the coins, and particularly Sir Isaac Newton's representation to the Lords of the Treasury (2). Then Mr. Aylmer renewed his motion, and was seconded by Mr. Caswell, who made a long speech on the various values, which, at different times, gold and

(1) At the same time the following regulations were agreed to:

I. That no person shall be intitled to half-pay, who was a minor under the age of sixteen years at the time when the regiment, troop, or company in which he served was reduced. II. That no person shall be intitled to half-pay, except such persons who did actual service in some regiment, troop, or company. III. That no person, having any other place or employment of profit, civil or military, under his Majesty, shall be intitled to half-pay. IV. That no Chaplain of any garrison or regiment, who has an ecclesiastical benefice, or other preferment in Great-Britain or Ireland, shall be intitled to half-pay. V. That no person shall be intitled to half-pay, who hath resigned his Commission, and has had no Commission since. VI. That no half-pay shall be allowed to any person by virtue of any warrant and appointment, except to such persons who would have been otherwise intitled to the same as reduced Officers. VII. That half-pay shall not be allowed to any of the Officers of the five regiments of dragoons, and eight regiments of foot, lately disbanded in Ireland, except to such as were taken off the establishment of half-pay in Great-Britain.

(2) This representation, being reckoned a curious piece, is here inserted at large:

In obedience to your Lordships order of reference August 12, that I should lay before your Lordships a state of the gold and silver coins of this Kingdom in weight and fineness, and the value of gold in proportion to silver, with my observations and opinion, and what method may be best for preventing the melting down of the silver coin; I humbly represent, that a pound weight Troy of gold, 11 ounces fine, and 1 ounce alloy, is cut into 44 half guineas; and a pound weight of silver, 11 ounces 2 penny weight fine, and 18 penny weights alloy, is cut into 62 shillings; and, according to this rate, a pound weight of fine gold is worth 15 pounds weight, 6 ounces, 17 penny weight, and 5 grains of fine silver, reckoning a guinea at 1 l. 1 s.

Numb. XCIII. Vo l. IV.

6 d. in silver money. But silver in bullion exportable is usually worth 2 d. or 3 d. per ounce more than in coin. And, if at a medium such bullion of standard alloy be valued at 5 s. 4 d. half-penny per ounce, a pound weight of fine gold will be worth 14 pounds weight, 11 ounces, 12 penny weight, 9 grains of fine silver in bullion. And at this rate a guinea is worth but so much silver as would make 20 s. 8 d. When ships are laden for the East-Indies, the demand of silver for exportation raises the price to 5 s. 6 d. or 5 s. 8 d. per ounce, or above; but I consider not those extraordinary cases.

A Spanish pistole was coined for 32 reas, or 4 pieces of eight reas, usually called *pieces of eight*, and is of equal alloy, and the 16th part of the weight thereof. And a Doppio Moeda of Portugal was coined for ten crusados of silver, and is of equal alloy, and the 16th part of the weight thereof; gold is therefore in Spain and Portugal of sixteen times more value than silver of equal weight and alloy, according to the standard of those Kingdoms; at which rate, a guinea is worth 22 s. 1 d. But this high price keeps their gold at home in good plenty, and carries away the Spanish silver into all Europe; so that at home they make their payments in gold, and will not pay in silver without a premium. Upon the coming in of a plate-fleet, the premium ceases, or is but small; but, as their silver goes away and becomes scarce, the premium increases, and is most commonly about 6 per cent. which being abated, a guinea becomes worth about 20 s. 9 d. in Spain and Portugal.

In France, a pound weight of fine gold is reckoned worth 15 pounds weight of fine silver; in raising or falling their money, their King's edicts have sometimes varied a little from this proportion, in excess or defect; but the variations have been so little, that I do not here consider them. By the edict of May 1709, a new pistole was coined for 4 new Lewises, and is of equal alloy, and the 15th part of the weight thereof, except the errors of their Mints. And by the same edict fine gold is valued at fifteen times its weight of fine silver, and

1717-18. and silver coins have borne, with respect one with another, according to the plenty or scarcity of either; he suggested, That the over-valuation of gold, in the current coins of Great-Britain, had occasioned the exportation of great quantities of silver species; and, to that purpose, laid open a clandestine trade, which of late years had been carried on by the Dutch, Hamburgers, and other foreigners, in concert with the Jews, and other traders here, which consisted in exporting silver coins, and importing gold in lieu thereof, which being coined into guineas at the Tower, near fifteen pence was got by every guinea, which amounted to about 5 per cent. and, as these returns might be made five or six times in a year, considerable sums were thereby got, to the prejudice of Great-Britain, who thereby was drained of silver, and over-stocked with gold: Concluding, That, in his opinion, the most effectual way to put a stop to this pernicious trade, was to lower the price of guineas, and all other gold species.

This speech was received with applause, and an address was voted, and presented to the King, for a Proclamation to forbid all persons to utter or receive guineas at a higher rate than one and twenty shillings for each guinea. Pursuant to this address the Proclamation was issued the next day, after which the Commons adjourned till the 13th of January.

The lowering the value of gold, which was

thought a proper expedient to procure a greater circulation of silver species, had, during the recess, a contrary effect, either, as was supposed, through the covetousness of some monied men, who hoarded up silver, in hopes that the same would be raised; or out of fear that gold would still be lowered; or through the malice of the disaffected, who, by the same method, thought, if not to distress the Government, at least to raise murmurings against it among the common people, upon account of the stop which was thereby put to petty trade. In order therefore to remedy this great evil, as soon as the Commons met, they came to a resolution, 'That this House will not alter the standard of the gold and silver coins of this Kingdom in fineness, weight, and denomination: The Lords came also to the same resolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in to prevent the melting down of the silver coin.

Upon a message delivered to the Lords by the Lord Chancellor, and to the Commons by Mr. Comptroller, both Houses adjourned for a few days. It was generally believed this adjournment was occasioned by some measures that were then taken, in order to reconcile the Royal Family, which not having the desired effect, it was expected the King would, on the day of meeting, have come to the House of Peers, and acquainted the Parliament with some matters of importance; but the Court took another course,

and at this rate a guinea is worth 20 s. 8 d. half-penny. I consider not here the confusion made in the monies in France, by frequent edicts to send them to the Mint, and give the King a tax out of them. I consider the value only of gold and silver in proportion to one another.

The ducats of Holland, and Hungary, and the Empire, were lately current in Holland among the common people in their markets and ordinary affairs, at 5 guilders in specie, and 5 stivers, and commonly changed for so much silver monies in three guilder pieces, and guilder pieces as guineas are with us for 1 s. 6 d. sterling; at which rate a guinea is worth 20 s. 7 d. half-penny.

According to the rates of gold to silver in Italy, Germany, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden, a guinea is worth about 20 s. and 7 d. 6 d. 5 d. or 4 d. for the proportion varies a little within the several Governments in those Countries. In Sweden, gold is lowest in proportion to silver, and this hath made that Kingdom, which formerly was content with copper money, abound of late with silver, sent thither (I suspect) for naval store.

In the end of King William's Reign, and the first year of the late Queen, when foreign coins abounded in England, I caused a great many of them to be assayed in the Mint, and found by the assays, that fine gold was to fine silver in Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, Italy, Germany, and the Northern Kingdoms, in the proportions above-mentioned, errors of the Mints excepted.

In China and Japan, one pound weight of fine gold is worth but 9 or 10 pounds weight of fine silver; and, in East India, it may be worth 12. And this low price of gold in proportion to silver carries away the silver from all Europe.

So then, by the course of trade and exchange between Nation and Nation in all Europe, fine gold is to fine silver as 14 $\frac{1}{2}$, or 15 to one; and a guinea, at the same rate, is worth between 20 s. 5 d. and 20 s. 8 d. half-penny, except in extraordinary cases, as when a plate-silver is just arrived in Spain, or ships are laden here for the East Indies, which cases I do not here consider. And it appears by experience as well as by reason, that

silver flows from those places where its value is lowest in proportion to gold, as from Spain to all Europe, and from all Europe to the East-Indies, China, and Japan; and that gold is most plentiful in those places, in which its value is highest in proportion to silver, as in Spain and England.

It is the demand for exportation which hath raised the price of exportable silver about 2 d. or 3 d. in the ounce above that of silver in coin, and hath thereby created a temptation to export or melt down the silver coin, rather than give 2 d. or 3 d. more for foreign silver; and the demand for exportation arises from the higher price of silver in other places than in England, in proportion to gold; that is, from the higher price of gold in England than in other places, in proportion to silver, and therefore may be diminished by lowering the value of gold in proportion to silver. If gold in England, or silver in East-India, could be brought down so low as to bear the same proportion to one another in both places, there would be here no greater demand for silver than for gold to be exported to India: And if gold were lowered only so as to have the same proportion to the silver money in England, which it hath to silver in the rest of Europe, there would be no temptation to export silver rather than gold to any other part of Europe: And to compass this last, there seems nothing more requisite, than to take off about 10 d. or 12 d. from the guinea, so that the gold may bear the same proportion to the silver-money in England, which it ought to do by the course of trade and exchange in Europe; but if only 6 d. were taken off at present, it would diminish the temptation to export or melt down the silver-coin, and by the effects would shew hereafter better than can appear at present, what further reduction would be most convenient for the public.

In the last year of King William, the dollars of Scotland, worth about 4 s. 6 d. half-penny, were put away in the North of England for 5 s. and at this price began to flow in upon us; I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and they ordered the Collectors of taxes to forbear taking them, and thereby put a stop to the mischief.

At the same time, the Lewidors of France, which were worth but 17 s. and three farthings apiece, passed

1717-18. course, to the great disappointment of some persons (1).

A design against the King's life by James Shephard
About this time a design against the King's life was discovered. The Author of it seemed to be fitter for *Bedlam* than *Newgate*. His name was *James Shephard*, a youth of eighteen years, apprentice to a coach-maker in *Devonshire-street*. On the 24th of *January*, he came to the House of *Mr. John Leake*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and, not finding him at home, left a letter with the maid, who delivered it to *Mr. Leake's* daughter. When *Mr. Leake* came home, the letter was given him, who, upon reading the superscription, found it directed for the Reverend *Mr. Heath*; upon which he doubted of its being for him; but being told by the maid, that it was left for him; and considering, that there was no such person as *Mr. Heath*, a Clergyman, in that neighbourhood, he opened the letter, and, having read it to himself, told his maid and daughter, it was a wicked and villainous letter, and then read it to them, and afterwards threw it into the fire. But, upon considering the matter, and suspecting that some person might have sent it, with a design to get his house searched, and fix an odium upon him, he went to *Sir John Fryer*, Alderman, the next morning, and acquainted him with the matter. *Sir John* advised him to secure the Writer of the letter, if he should call again at his house, as it seems he had promised to do. According to

his promise he called again in three days, when 1717-18.

Mr. Leake asked him whether his name was *James Shephard*, and if he had left a letter for him on the *Friday* before? He answered in the affirmative; upon which he was seized and carried before *Sir John Fryer*; *Shephard* owned to him the bringing of the letter; and being asked, if he had a copy of it? he answered, he had no copy about him; but, if he had pen, ink, and paper, he could soon write one; which he did, and gave it to *Sir John*; who observing to him, that he had not put his name to it, he immediately subscribed it, affirming, that he believed it to be a true copy of the letter he had left at *Mr. Leake's*; and that if, at all, it differed only in some few words. The copy was as follows:

S I R,

'From the many discontents visible throughout this Kingdom, I infer, that, if the Prince now reigning could be by death removed, our King being here, he might be settled on his Throne without much loss of blood. For the more ready effecting of this, I propose, that if any Gentleman will pay for my passage into *Italy*, and if our friends will intrust one so young with letters of invitation to his Majesty, I will, on his arrival, smite the Usurper in his Palace. In this confusion, if sufficient forces may be raised, his Majesty may appear; if not he may retreat or conceal himself till a fitter opportunity.

Neither

fed in *England* for 17 s. 6 d. I gave notice thereof to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and his late Majesty put out a proclamation that they should go but at 17 s. and thereupon they came to the Mint, and 1400000 l. were coined out of them; and if the advantage of 5 d. one farthing a *Lewidor* sufficed, at that time, to bring into *England* so great a quantity of *French* money, and the advantage of three farthings in a *Lewidor* to bring it to the Mint, the advantage of 9 d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, may have been sufficient to bring the great quantity of gold which hath been coined in these last fifteen years, without any foreign silver.

Some years ago, the *Portugal* Moeders were received in the West of *England* at 28 s. apiece; upon notice from the Mint that they were worth only about 27 s. 7 d. the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury ordered their Receivers of taxes to take them at no more than 27 s. 6 d. Afterwards, many Gentlemen in the West sent up to the Treasury a petition, that the Receivers might take them again at 28 s. and promised to get returns for this money at that rate, alledging, that when they went at 28 s. their Country was full of gold, which they wanted very much: But the Commissioners of the Treasury considering, that at 28 s. the Nation would lose 5 d. apiece, rejected the petition. And, if an advantage to the Merchant of 5 d. in 28 s. did pour that money in upon us, much more hath an advantage to the Merchant of 9 d. half-penny in a guinea, or above, been able to bring into the Mint great quantities of gold without any foreign silver, and may be able to do still, till the cause be removed.

If things be let alone till silver money be a little scarcer, the gold will fall of itself; for people are already backward to give silver for gold, and will, in a little time, refuse to make payments in silver, without a premium, as they do in *Spain*, and this premium will be an abatement in the value of the gold: And so the question is, Whether gold shall be lowered by the Government, or let alone till it falls of itself, by the want of silver-money?

It may be said, that there are great quantities of silver in plate, and, if the plate were coined, there would be no want of silver-money: But I reckon that silver is safer from exportation in the form of plate than in

the form of money, because of the greater value of the silver and fashion together; and therefore I am not for coining the plate, till the temptation to export the silver-money (which is a profit of 2 d. or 3 d. an ounce) be diminished: For, as often as men are necessitated to send away money for answering debts abroad, there will be a temptation to send away silver rather than gold, because of the profit, which is almost 4 per cent. And, for the same reason, Foreigners will chuse to send hither their gold rather than their silver.

All which is most humbly submitted to your Lordships great wisdom.

Mint-Office,
Sept. 21. 1717.

ISAAC NEWTON.

(1) The King consulted the Judges about some matters in dispute between Him and the Prince. He gave notice of it to the Prince, that he might send some persons to set forth and support his pretensions. His Royal Highness sent *Sir Robert Raymond*, *Mr. Carter*, *Mr. Darnel*, and *Mr. Reynolds*. The first point was, Whether the care of the education of the Royal Family belonged of right to the King? The Judges were most of them for the affirmative, alledging, besides other arguments, the example of *King Charles II.* who educated his two Nieces in the Protestant Religion, and married them to Protestant Princes against the will of the Duke of *York*, his Brother. They cited also the example of *King William*, who appointed Governors and Preceptors for the Duke of *Gloucester*, Son of the Princess *Anne*, presumptive heir of *Great-Britain* by the new establishment.

The other point was, Whether the King could retain for the maintenance of the Children some part of the hundred thousand pounds granted by Parliament to the Prince of *Wales*? The Judges were divided upon this point, but, however, in such a manner as seemed to favour the Prince. This consultation proved fruitless. The Prince and Princess stood their ground, and, though they left to the King the education of their Children, they refused to contribute towards the expense. The King made his Grandson, *Prince Frederick*, Duke of *Gloucester*, and formed the young Princesses Household.

(1) When

1717-18. pany crave leave to acknowledge; with the greatest sense of gratitude, the many marks of your Royal favour, which the Company have received, ever since your Majesty's happy Accession to the Crown: and in particular, the honour done them in becoming a Proprietor in their stock.

They therefore do, in the most humble and dutiful manner, beseech your Majesty will be graciously pleased to grant them the further honour of using your Royal Name for their Governor in the ensuing election.*

The King agreeing to their request, sent a message to the House of Commons, acquainting them, that, having condescended to permit himself to be chosen Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, he recommended it to the House to consider of proper methods to remove any difficulties that might arise on that occasion. Immediately a bill was brought in, and passed both Houses, enabling the King to be Governor, and exempting him from taking the usual oaths.

On the 3d of February, the King was unanimously chosen Governor by the whole Company, consisting of fifteen hundred and eighty-three persons. At the same time were chosen a Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor. As every thing is influenced by party in England, the Whigs of the company had formed their plan, to chuse under the King Mr. Samuel Sheppard and Sir Theodore Janssen; but the Tories laid their measures so well, that Sir James Baleman, one of that party, was elected Sub-Governor, by a majority of nine hundred and eighty-three against six hundred, and the Whigs were forced to be satisfied with chusing Mr. Sheppard for Deputy-Governor.

One of the principal subjects of debate, this Session, was the bill for regulating the land-forces, and punishing mutiny and desertion. As the Court had occasion for their whole strength to carry this bill, care was taken that all the absent Members should be summoned, so that the House, when the bill was brought in, was more numerous than had been known for many years past. The debate ran chiefly upon the power of Courts-martial, to punish mutiny and desertion with death. Mr. Hutchinson began with urging, That a Court-Martial was never allowed of in England in a time of peace, as being inconsistent with the rights and liberties of a free people; and moved, that the offences committed by the soldiers be cognizable and punished by the Civil Magistrate. Mr. Hutchinson was seconded by Mr. Harley, who, to shew the danger of a standing army, governed by martial law, quoted, with great commendation, a book written by a noble member of that House, in-

titled, *An account of Denmark*. Upon this the Lord Moleworth (Author of that book) endeavoured to shew, that this was not a parallel case: That the present posture of affairs in Great-Britain was very different from the state of things in Denmark at that juncture; and that, the Commons having already declared it necessary to maintain standing forces; it was no less necessary to keep those forces within the bounds of duty and discipline by the ordinary rules of martial law, as was ever practised in all civilized Nations. General Lumley, and some others, were of Mr. Hutchinson's opinion; and, on the other hand, Sir Joseph Jekyll was for keeping up the martial law, at last, a year longer. But the main dispute was between Mr. Craigs and Mr. Walpole. After they had done speaking, Mr. Lechmere, who had been hitherto silent, rose up and spoke with great weight, particularly in answer to what Mr. Walpole, as well as Mr. Hutchinson, had advanced, that a Court-martial, in time of peace, was altogether unknown in England. He shewed; on the contrary, that the Court of Admiralty, which is allowed in times of peace, as well as of war, has an equal power in relation to seamen, with a Court-martial in relation to soldiers.

When the debate was over, and the question put, Whether Courts-martial should punish mutiny and desertion with death, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of eighteen voices only, two hundred and forty-seven against two hundred and twenty-nine. So that there were four hundred and seventy-six Members in the House, besides three Whigs, and six or seven Tories, who happened to be shut out when the question was put. The Abbot du Bois, the French Minister, having desired to be present at this debate, he was admitted *incognito*, a favour which, that day, had been refused to several Peers.

When the bill came to be read the last time, and the question put for passing it, there were a hundred and eighty-six votes for it, and but a hundred and five against it. This great majority was ascribed to Mr. Walpole's voting for it, and his having declared to his friends, 'That, tho', in the debate about the bill, he was for having mutiny and desertion punished by the Civil Magistrate, yet he had still rather those crimes should be punished by martial law than not at all.' The bill, having passed the Commons, was sent up to the Lords.

When the bill came before the Lords, it occasioned very warm debates, and many speeches were made on both sides, of which these are some of the most remarkable (1). The Lord Harcourt bill

Debates in the House of Lords about the mutiny bill
Pr. H. La

(1) When the bill was read the second time in a very full House, the Earl of Oxford began with saying, * That, as long as he had breath, he would speak for the liberties of his Country: and that he was not only against this bill, because he thought a Martial Court inconsistent with the rights and privileges of Englishmen, but also against the keeping up so great a number of forces; which, being altogether useless in a time of profound peace, could not but raise just apprehensions, that something was intended against our happy and ancient Constitution. To which it was answered, * That the Nation had the happiness to be governed by a Prince, who, since his Accession to the Throne, had convinced every body, that he desired no more troops than what were absolutely necessary for the safety and No. 93. Vol. IV.

tranquillity of his Dominions: That whoever would impartially and seriously consider the present circumstances of affairs, must own, that the number of troops that were kept standing was very small: That it could not be denied, that the Pretender had a great many friends both at home and abroad, who watched all opportunities to foment and take advantage of our intestine divisions: That, on the other hand, Great-Britain stood guarantee for the neutrality of Italy, which was then threatened with an Invasion: And therefore it was matter of prudence, as well as of necessity, to keep up a competent force, both to suppress any insurrection at home, or to repel any insult from abroad; and to make good our engagements for maintaining the repose of Europe. Hereupon a late Minister † said, He

† Earl of
trafford.
was S

1717-18. *Harcourt* spoke against the bill, and urged, among other things, 'That the Parliament, that is, the Representative of the whole Nation, were ever extreme jealous of the Legislative power, with which they are vested; and that the Lords, in a particular manner, ought to be tender of it; because it is a branch of their prerogative to be the supreme Court of Judicature; but that by this bill, whereby the King was enabled to establish Courts-martial, with power to try and determine any offences specified in the articles of war, the Parliament vested a sole Legislative power in the Crown, which was communicated and delegated to a Council of war. That this bill sets aside all other laws, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, in relation to the soldiery; and gives Courts-martial a larger jurisdiction than seemed necessary for maintaining discipline in the army; such jurisdiction extended not only to mutiny, desertion, and breach of duty, but also to all immoralities, and other offences, which might be committed by any officer or soldier, towards any of his fellow-subjects, whereby the law of the land might either be obstructed, or superseded by a Court-martial. That the Officers constituting a Court-martial did, at once, supply the place of Judges and Jurymen, and ought therefore to be upon their oath, upon their trying any offence whatsoever; whereas it is provided by this bill, that they shall be sworn, upon their trying such offences only as are punishable by death. That Martial Courts assume to themselves an arbitrary and unprecedented authority, of which they had a remarkable instance, an Ensign of the guards having been sentenced to death without being heard, which was contrary to *Magna Charta*, and to the birth-rights and privileges of *Englishmen*; and therefore they ought to refrain so dangerous a power.' On the other hand, the Lord *Carteret* said, 'That he had maturely considered the affair now in agitation; not as a person in a public station, but as a private unprejudiced man; and that he was convinced in his judgment and con-

science, that it is necessary both for the support of the present happy Establishment, and the security of the Nation, to keep up the forces now on foot; and that he was confirmed in this opinion, by considering what thoughts the Pretender and his Friends had of this matter, and reflecting, that they have nothing more at heart, than to procure the disbanding of those forces, that have suppressed the late unnatural Rebellion. That he doubted not, but the whole body of the Nobility that made up that august Assembly, was inviolably attached to his Majesty King *George*: That his Majesty had also the best part of the landed and all the trading interest; that as to the Clergy he would say nothing—but that it was notorious, that the majority of the populace had been poisoned, and that the poison was not yet quite expelled. That the dangers which seemed to be apprehended from the present army may be chimerical, or, at least, easily remedied in any subsequent Session of Parliament; whereas the dangers with which the Nation is threatened from the Pretender and his Friends, in case there were no army to oppose them, are real, and the mischiefs that might ensue, upon the success of their designs, irreparable. That, if there had been such a standing force as we now have, timely to suppress the tumults and riots which were raised soon after his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, in all probability there had been no open Rebellion; that, on the other hand, if there had not been troops ready at hand to assist the civil power, in suppressing the late riotous assemblies of the wool-combers and weavers in the Counties of *Devon* and *Somerset*, there had by this time been another Rebellion. That the mentioning *Magna Charta* was, in his opinion, entirely foreign to the present debate: That the thing now in question, and that wherein they were immediately concerned, was to secure and support the Government, and the Protestant Succession, against vigilant, bold, and restless enemies; and that they had the more reason to be upon their guard,

was surprized to hear, that the noble Lord, who spoke last, was not better acquainted with some matters of fact; but that he thought himself obliged to inform the House, That, by the treaty concluded and signed at *Utrecht* in *March* 1713, between the Ministers of *Great-Britain* and *France*, the late Queen, of glorious memory, was guarantee for the neutrality of *Italy*, and the Islands in the *Mediterranean*, only during the evacuation of *Catalonia*, and till the conclusion of a general peace: For the truth of which, his Lordship appealed to his Colleague in that Negotiation. He added, that, since that time, the state of things was quite altered, and those in the Ministry could best tell, what engagements had been entered into, either with the Emperor of *France*. Hereupon it was thought necessary to know the contents of those new treaties; and therefore it was moved, to address his Majesty, that the same might be laid before the House: Which address was agreed to, but was never presented.

On the 20th of *February*, it was moved, 'That it be an instruction to the Committee, that they do provide that no punishment shall be inflicted at any Court-Martial, which shall extend to life or limb.' Some reasons were given for supporting this motion; but it was answered, That such a clause would render the bill ineffectual, banish all manner of discipline from the army, and consequently render it entirely useless. Hereupon there arose a warm debate, which lasted from two o'clock in the afternoon, till seven in the evening.

Herein it was endeavoured to be shewn, That so numerous a force, as was allowed by that bill to be maintained in time of peace, was not only dangerous to itself to a free Nation, but was yet rendered more dangerous, by their being governed by martial law; a law unknown to our Constitution, destructive of our Liberties, and not endured by our Ancestors. To which it was answered, That, among the ancient *Romans*, the wisest people in the world, and the greatest lovers and assertors of public liberty, martial laws and discipline were invigorated by decrees of the Senate, and were in force in times of peace as well as in times of war. And replied to, in substance, that it was much better to attend domestic than foreign examples; whereupon were produced several instances drawn from the history of *Great-Britain*, that a standing army, in time of peace, was ever fatal, either to the Prince or to the Nation. But hereunto was urged, that those, who are vested with the Legislative power, ought not, on all occasions, to govern themselves by precedents, but rather, by the present situation of affairs, because it is very difficult to find examples perfectly agreeing with the various circumstances of times: That it was judged, the number of troops, which the Commons had thought fit to keep standing, was absolutely necessary for the security and safety both of the Government and Nation; and therefore it was no less necessary to make a law to keep that army within the rules of duty and discipline, unless they would render useless those very forces which must be owned to be necessary. Here-

unto

1717-18. guard, in that the trumpeters of sedition and rebellion had again forcibly intruded into several Pulpits in *Scotland*.

Objections being raised against the preamble of the bill, wherein it was suggested, that the number of sixteen thousand three hundred and forty-seven men was necessary, it was moved, that the number should be reduced to twelve

thousand. But this motion was rejected; as was also another, for leaving out the clause, which enabled the King to constitute articles of war. After this, the whole bill was agreed to, and passed by a majority of eighty-eight against sixty-one. However, several Lords entered their protest (1).

The

unto somewhat was again suggested, about the danger of a standing army made subject to martial law; but it was maintained, on the contrary, that the forces then on foot were necessary both for the support of the Government, and the protection of our Allies; that their Lordships ought to consider, that, when the late Rebellion broke out, they had double the number of regular troops, and yet the Government was obliged not only to send for some regiments from *Ireland*, but also for a body of auxiliary troops from *Holland*; and that, since the said forces were necessary, the bill in question, which was only to render them useful, was no less necessary. A Lord hereupon, among other things, said, That, before the noble Peer, who spoke last, was born, he had seen the time, when the Nation was in danger of losing their liberties by a standing army; and then his Lordship endeavoured to shew, that the power of life and death, which by that bill was given to a Court-martial, was unnecessary, unusual, and unjust. After this followed the speeches of Lord *Harcourt* and the Lord *Carteret*, as above in the context.

(1) As soon as the Parliament broke up, the Speakers against the Mutiny-bill published their speeches, for which they were severely censured by the Author of *the Critic*, and their speeches boldly examined. The King also, soon after the end of the Session, ordered articles to be published for the regulation and government of the army, pursuant to the power lodged in him by the Act. The substance of the articles is as follows:

I. All Officers and Soldiers (not having just impediment) shall diligently frequent divine service, in such places as shall be appointed for the regiment, troop, or company to which they belong; and such as either wilfully or negligently absent themselves from divine service or sermon, or else, being present, do behave themselves undecently or irreverently during the same, if they be Officers, they shall be severely reprehended at a Court-Martial; but, if private soldiers, they shall, for every such first offence, forfeit each man 1 s. to be deducted out of their next pay; and for the second offence shall forfeit 1 s. and be laid in irons for twelve hours; and, for every like offence afterwards, shall suffer and pay in like manner; and the money so forfeited shall be applied to the relief of the sick soldiers of such troop or company, to which the offender does belong.

II. If any sutler, in any of our forts, garrisons, camps, barracks, or guards, shall, during divine service or sermon, presume to sell any beer, brandy, wine, or other liquors, or any kind of victuals, or other merchandize, he shall be delivered over to the Civil Magistrate, to be punished according to law.

III. Whosoever shall use any unlawful oath or execration (whether Officer or Soldier) shall incur the penalties expressed in the first article.

IV. If any Officer or Soldier shall presume to blaspheme the holy and undivided Trinity, or the Persons of God the Father, God the Son, or God the Holy Ghost, or shall presume to speak against any known article of the Christian Faith, he shall be delivered over, by the commanding Officer, to the Civil Magistrate, to be punished according to law.

V. If any Officer or Soldier shall abuse or prophane any place dedicated to the worship of God, or shall offer violence to any Chaplain of the army, or any other Minister of God's word, he shall be liable to such penalty or corporal punishment, as shall be inflicted on him by a Court-Martial.

VI. If any Officer or Soldier shall presume to use any traitorous or disrespectful words against the sacred Person of his Majesty, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, or any of the Royal Family, or shall behave himself with contempt or disrespect towards the General, or other Commander in Chief of the forces, or speak words tending to his hurt or dishonour, he shall be punished according to the nature of his offence, by the judgment of a Regimental or General Court-Martial.

VII. If any Officer or Soldier shall excite, cause or join in any mutiny or sedition, in the company, troop, or regiment to which he belongs, or in any other company, troop, or regiment in his Majesty's service, or on any party or post, where the duty is done by detachment from several regiments, or otherwise, in the army, he shall suffer death, or such other punishment as a General Court-Martial shall inflict.

And if any Officer, Non-Commission Officer, or Soldier, shall hear any words tending to mutiny, or sedition, or, being any way privy thereto, do not immediately use his utmost endeavours to suppress the same, as also to discover it to his Superiors, if an Officer, he shall be cashiered; if a Non-Commission Officer or Soldier, he shall be severely punished at the discretion of a Court-Martial.

VIII. If any Officer or Soldier shall refuse to obey the lawful orders of his superior Officer, he shall be punished with death, or otherwise, as a General Court-Martial shall think fit.

X. All Officers and Soldiers who have received pay, or have been duly listed in our service, and shall desert the same, either in the field, upon a march, in quarters, or in garrison, and be convicted thereof before a General Court-Martial, shall suffer death, or such other punishment, as by the said Court shall be inflicted.

XII. If any Officer or Soldier shall persuade or advise any other Officer or Soldier to desert our service, he shall suffer such punishment, as shall be inflicted by the sentence of a General Court-Martial.

XVI. If any Officer, Non-Commission Officer, or Soldier, shall be accused of any capital crime, or of any violence or offence against the person, estate, or property of any of our subjects, which is punishable by the known laws of the land; the commanding Officers of every regiment, troop, or company, are hereby required to deliver over such accused person to the Civil Magistrate, so soon as applied to; and are also to be aiding and assisting to the Officers of Justice, in the seizing and apprehending such offender, in order to bring him to trial, under pain of our highest displeasure.

XIX. No Officer or Soldier shall use any reproachful or provoking speeches or gestures to another, upon pain of imprisonment, and asking pardon of the party offended, in presence of his commanding Officer.

Nor shall any Officer or Soldier presume to send a challenge to any other Officer or Soldier to fight a duel, upon pain of being cashiered, if he be an Officer; or suffer the severest corporal punishment, if a Non-Commission Officer or private Soldier.

And if any Officer or Non-Commission Officer, commanding a guard, shall wittingly and knowingly suffer any person whatever to go forth to fight a duel, he shall be punished as above: And all Seconds also, and Carriers of challenges, in order to duels, shall be taken as Principals, and punished accordingly.

All Officers, of what condition soever, have power to part and quell all quarrels, frays, and other disorders,

1717-18.
A bill about the
forfeited
estates.
Pr. H. C.

The affair of the forfeited estates caused likewise great debates. A bill was brought in for vesting the forfeited estates in Great-Britain and Ireland in Trustees, to be sold for the use of the public; and for giving relief to lawful Creditors, by determining the claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective Ex-

chequers the rents and profits of the estates till 1717-18. This bill was attended with warm debates in both Houses, which, though they did not obstruct its passage, produced some very equitable clauses. The time of claiming was prolonged, and twenty thousand pounds sterling was reserved, out of the sale of the estates in Scotland,

ders, though of another company, troop, or regiment; and to command Officers to arrest, and Soldiers to prison, until their proper Officers be acquainted therewith.

And whoever shall refuse to obey such Officers, (though of inferior rank) or draw his sword upon him, shall be punished as a General Court-martial shall appoint.

Nor shall any Officer or Soldier upbraid another for refusing a challenge, since, according to these our orders, they do but do the duty of soldiers, who ought to subject themselves to discipline; and we do acquit and discharge all men who have quarrels offered, or challenges sent to them, of all disgrace or opinion of disadvantage in the obedience hereunto; and whosoever shall upbraid them, and offend in this case, shall be punished as a Challenger.

XXI. Every Non-Commission Officer and Soldier, who shall insult himself in our service, shall, at the time of his so insulting, or within a month afterwards at the farthest, be taken before a Justice of Peace by the insulting Officer, or the Officer commanding the troop or company into which he is lifted, and shall there take the following oath.

I swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord King George, and to serve him honestly and faithfully in defence of his Person, Crown, and Dignity, against all his enemies and opposers whatsoever, and to observe and obey his Majesty's orders, and the orders of the Generals and Officers set over me by his Majesty.

So help me God.

XXVIII. All Officers and Soldiers are to behave themselves orderly in quarters and on the march; and whoever shall commit any waste or spoil, either on walks of trees, parks, warrens, fish ponds, houses, or gardens, corn-fields, inclosures, or meadows, or shall maliciously destroy any property whatever belonging to any of our subjects, or belonging to any person whatever, unless by order of the then Commander in Chief of our forces, to annoy rebels, or other enemies in arms against us, he or they, that shall be found guilty of offending herein, shall (besides such penalties as they are liable to by law) be punished according to the nature and degree of the offence, by the judgment of a Regimental or General Court-Martial.

XXIX. No Officer shall demand billets for quartering of more than his effective men, nor quarter any women or children in the house assigned him for the quartering of Officers and Soldiers, without the consent of the owner; nor shall take money for freeing of Landlords from quartering of Officers or Soldiers, under pain of being cashiered for it.

XXX. Every Officer commanding a regiment, troop, company, or party, whether in settled quarters, or on the march, shall see his own quarters, and the quarters of every Officer and Soldier under his command, paid, according to the rates specified in the act of Parliament now in force.

And, upon every payment to be made in quarters, the said Officer shall give public notice thereof to the Landlords, in order to see them satisfied as aforesaid: And in case any such regiment, troop, company, or party, shall be ordered to march, before money may be come to the hands of the commanding Officer as aforesaid, he is hereby required, before his departure out of any town or village, to make up the accounts with all persons concerned in money due to them for quartering of Officers and Soldiers, for what time soever he shall have happened to remain there; and grant to every such party a signed certificate for the same,

therein specifying the name of the regiment, troop, or company such Officers or Soldiers do belong to, under pain of being cashiered for it, upon proof of having wilfully offended herein.

XXXI. On marches, the commanding Officers are to apply to the proper Magistrates for the carriages necessary for the service, and to pay for them according to the Act of Parliament in that behalf, taking care not to abuse, nor to suffer any under their command, to beat or abuse the waggons, or other persons attending such carriages, nor to put more than twenty hundred weight on any wayne or waggon so furnished to them by the Country.

And whatever Officer shall be convicted of offending herein, or of refusing to grant certificates in case of failure of money, as in the preceding article, shall, by the judgment of a General Court-Martial, be cashiered, or otherwise punished, according to the degree of his offence.

XXXII. All Officers commanding in garrisons, in quarters, or on marches, shall keep good order, and redress all such abuses or disorders as may happen to be committed by any Officer or Soldier under their command: And if on complaint made to any such commanding Officer, of beating of Landlords, or extorting of more from them than they are obliged by law to furnish; of Soldiers disturbing of fairs or markets, or committing of any other kind of riots, to the disturbing or disquieting our people; he, the said Commander, who shall refuse or omit to see justice done on the offender, and reparation made to the party injured, so far as part of the offender's pay can enable him, he shall, upon proof thereof, be punished by a General Court-Martial, as if he himself had personally committed the crimes or disorders complained of.

XXXVII. If any Officer shall protect any person from his Creditors, otherwise than is allowed by the present Act of Parliament; or any one who does not actually serve in the ranks, and consequently do all the duties of a Soldier (according to the true intent and meaning of the said act) he shall be cashiered for it.

XLIV. In case any Officer, Non-Commission Officer or Soldier, be accused of any violence or offence against the person, estate, or property of any of our subjects, punishable by any of our Civil Courts or Magistrates, the Officer, to whom such accusation is brought, shall not proceed to the trial of such offender or offenders by a Court-martial, within the space of eight days, unless at the desire of the person or persons injured; and in case no application be made to the commanding Officer in quarters, during the space of eight days, by the person or persons injured, the offender or offenders may be tried by a Court-martial for any offence mentioned in these articles; provided that, within the space of the said eight days, the person injured hath not proceeded to the prosecution of such offender before a Civil Court or Magistrate, and notice given thereof to the Officer, commanding in the quarters where such offence shall be committed.

XLV. These our rules and articles are to be observed by, and do in all respects regard our troops and regiments of horse and foot guards, as well as our other forces.

XLVI. The foregoing rules and articles shall be read and published at the head of every regiment, troop, and company mustered or to be mustered in our service, once every two months at farthest, and are to be duly observed by all Officers and Soldiers in our service; and also by our companies of Gunners, and other military Officers of our trains of artillery, with such alterations only as relate to the payment of Soldiers quarters and carriages, which in the Kingdom of

Ireland

1717-18. land, for erecting schools, and eight thousand for building barracks (1).

Before the Session ended, the King sent a message to the Commons, which was read by the Speaker as follows:

The King's message to the Commons.
 Pr. H. C. 'His Majesty being at present engaged in several Negotiations of the utmost concern to the welfare of these Kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe; and having lately received information from abroad, which makes him judge that it will give weight to his endeavours, if a naval force be employed where it shall be necessary, does think fit to acquaint this House therewith; not doubting, but that, in case he should be obliged, at this critical juncture, to exceed the number of men granted this year for the service, the House will, at their next meeting, provide for such exceeding.'

This message was well received, and it was unanimously resolved to present an address to thank the King for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preserve the tranquility of Europe; and to assure him, that they would make good such exceedings of seamen, as he should find necessary to obtain those ends.

On the 21st of March, the business of the Session being over, the King went to the House of Peers, and, having passed all the bills, ordered the Lord-Chancellor to read the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I Cannot put an end to this Session, without returning my hearty thanks to so good a Parliament, for the dispatch which has been given to the public business. You will, I hope, in your private capacities, feel the convenience of an early recess; and, I am persuaded, the public will receive great benefit, by the seasonable zeal and vigour of your resolutions in support of my Government. Nothing can add so much to the credit and influence of this Crown, both at home and abroad, as the repeated instances of your affection to me. This steadiness and resolution of yours will, I hope, enable me to procure, against your next meeting, such treaties to be concluded, as will settle peace and tranquility among our neighbours. If, through the blessing of God, my endeavours to this end prove successful, I shall have the satisfaction to silence even those, who will never own themselves convinced; and to let all the world see plainly, that what I have most at heart, is the good and welfare of my people, who may then be eased in their taxes, and enriched by their trade.'

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'I must return you my particular thanks for the Supplies you have so cheerfully granted, and

Ireland are to be regulated by the Lord-Lieutenant thereof, and in our islands, provinces, and garrisons beyond the seas, by the respective Governors of the same, according as the nature of the thing shall require: And notwithstanding it is expressed in the 16th article of these our rules and orders, that every commanding Officer is required to deliver up to the Civil Magistrate all such persons (under his command) as shall be accused of any crimes which are punishable by the known laws of the land; yet in our garrison of Gibraltar, island of Minorca, forts of Placentia and Annapolis-Royal, where our forces now are, or in any other place beyond the seas, to which any of our troops may hereafter be commanded, and where there is no form of our Civil Judicature in force, the Governors or Commanders respectively are to appoint General Courts-martial to be held, who are to punish criminals by their sentence, as has been practised heretofore, and authorized by former articles of war.

(1) There was also a debate in the House of Commons about the trade with Sweden, which had been interrupted by a proclamation. The Merchants having presented a petition for opening the trade, Mr. Jackson (late Resident at Stockholm) was called in and asked by Mr. Cragg, whether he was of opinion, That, if the trade were opened with Sweden, our Merchants would be upon a better foot than they are at present? Mr. Jackson answered, 'That, in his opinion, the contrary would happen: For now that the Swedes are distressed for want of our commodities, particularly corn and salt, they are inclined to facilitate to us, underhand, the purchase of their iron; whereas, if the prohibition of trade with them was taken off, they would immediately provide themselves with what they want; and, knowing at the same time, that there are amongst us a set of men, who make it their study and business to embarrass the Government, the Court of Sweden would be more stiff than ever, and render the purchase of the iron more difficult to us.' Some Members of the House being offended at Mr. Jackson's reflection on a set of men (by which it was plain he meant the Tory-party) cried out, *Custody, Custody*: But the No. 93. VOL. IV.

more moderate contented themselves with putting him upon explaining himself. Hereupon Mr. Jackson replied, That he meant the Merchants, who presented unreasonable petitions. This being by some looked upon rather as an aggravation than an excuse, the cry of *Custody, Custody*, was repeated; but Mr. Walpole brought him off, by suggesting, 'That that Gentleman had lived so long in a despotic Government, where petitions and representations of that nature are accounted capital crimes, that he had forgot the rights and privileges of his Countrymen; and therefore moved, that his unguarded expressions might be excused; and, nobody opposing Mr. Walpole, Mr. Jackson withdrew. Then, the Petitioners and some other Merchants being called in, and farther heard, they represented, among other particulars, 'That, since the prohibition of trade with Sweden, they bought Swedish iron of the Dutch, 4*l.* per ton dearer than before; and that, whereas the English were formerly about 30000*l.* per annum gainers by the trade with Sweden, they now lost about 90000*l.* But this was contradicted by Mr. Cragg, who suggested, That the exports from Stockholm for England had never amounted to 120000*l.* in one year; and therefore the difference of the profit and loss could not come up to this last sum. After some other speeches, the debate was adjourned till that day month, before which the Session ended.

There was another debate about a bill for erecting Hospitals and Workhouses in Bristol, in which there was a remarkable clause, abrogating the *Sacramental Test* in the case of the Guardianship of the Charities. However, the bill passed with the clause.

A bill, directing that *St. Giles's Church* should be rebuilt, instead of one of the fifty new Churches, occasioned a debate in the House of Lords, and was opposed by some of the Bishops, as a misapplication of the money granted for pious uses. They also proposed that the words of *Pious Memory* should be added in the preamble after the Queen's name; but the bill passed without any amendment, upon which it was protested against by five Bishops and several Lords.

1717-180 " and for the late instance of your confidence in
 " me. I promise you, that my endeavours shall
 " not be wanting to make use of both to the
 " best advantage, for the good of my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The practices which are daily used by a
 " most restless and unhappy set of men, to dis-
 " turb a Government, by whose clemency they
 " are protected, require our utmost attention
 " and vigilance. I must therefore recommend
 " it to you, that, in your several stations and
 " countries, you will endeavour to quell that spi-
 " rit of disaffection, which our common ene-
 " mies are so industrious to foment."

Then the Lord-Chancellor prorogued the Par-
 liament to the 20th of May; and afterwards,
 by several prorogations, to the 11th of No-
 vember.

*Changes in
 the Mi-
 nistry.*

About this time there were some changes in
 the Ministry. Sir Edward Northey was re-
 moved, and Mr. Lechmere was made Attorney-
 General in his room. The Earl of Sunderland
 was made President of the Council, and first
 Commissioner of the Treasury. The other Com-
 missioners were, Aylmer, Wallop, Baillie, and
 Clayton. Mr. Craggs, and the Lord Stanhope
 (who and Lord Cadogan were soon after created
 Earls) were appointed Secretaries of State. The
 Earl of Berkley was placed at the head of the
 Admiralty, with Sir George Byng, Sir John Jen-
 nings, Mr. Cockburne, Mr. Cbetwynd, Sir John
 Norris, and Sir Charles Wager. The Earl of
 Holderness was made first Commissioner of the
 Board of Trade. In April, the Lord-Chancel-
 lor Cowper (who had been made an Earl) re-
 signed the Great Seal, and went immediately in-
 to the Country. Though it had been reported
 some months that he desired to retire, yet his
 resigning his employment, at that juncture, was
 a great surprize to the public, and no small grief
 to all unprejudiced persons. The judges Tracy,
 Pratt, and Mountague, were made Commis-
 sioners of the Great Seal; but, about a month after,
 the Lord Parker was made High-Chancellor,
 and Sir John Pratt Chief-Justice.

*Great pre-
 parations
 in Spain.*

The great scene of action this summer was in
 the Mediterranean. Though the King of Spain
 had promised to suspend all operations, after the
 conquest of Sardinia, and refer his differences
 with the Emperor to the mediation of England,
 France, and Holland, he rejected all their propo-
 sals for an accommodation, and continued his
 warlike preparations by sea and land. By the
 care and diligence of his Prime Minister Cardi-
 nal Alberoni, a formidable armament was ready,
 by the month of May, at Barcelona, consisting
 of thirty ships of the line and frigates, seven
 galleys, four bomb-vessels, four hundred and
 forty transport-ships, forty mortars, fifteen hun-
 dred mules, one hundred and fifty thousand fas-
 cines, three hundred thousand stakes for intrench-
 ments, a vast quantity of warlike stores, and
 provisions for many months. On board this
 fleet were embarked thirty-six battalions, six re-
 giments of horse, four of dragoons, one thou-
 sand artillery men, a hundred and fifty carpenters
 and other mechanics, a company of sixty miners,
 and a brigade of fifty engineers. To furnish
 the Supplies, the Receivers of the revenue were
 ordered to pay in certain sums to the Royal

Treasury: The Grandees, Prelates, Provinces, 1718.
 Cities, taxed themselves voluntarily for this expe-
 dition, and raised regiments at their own ex-
 pence. These preparations had been the work
 of more than two years.

This powerful fleet set sail the beginning of
 June: The design of it was not known but by
 the event. It was not doubted, but the con-
 quest of the Kingdom of Naples was aimed at,
 and all possible measures had been taken to pre-
 vent it. Alberoni had deceived all Europe; for
 Sicily was what the Cardinal intended to attack,
 and the reasons which determined him to it were
 very plausible.

In the first place, Sicily not belonging at that
 time to the Emperor, this expedition seemed to
 give no handle to the Courts of London and
 Paris, since, by their late treaties, they had only
 engaged to assist the Emperor, in case his Do-
 minions were attacked, and not the Duke of
 Savoy, who was not supposed to be in danger.
 In the next place, the Cardinal was informed of
 the Duke's inclination to be reconciled with the
 Emperor, and give him Sicily without any re-
 gard to the rights of Spain. Lastly, Sicily not
 being in a state of defence, the conquest would
 be easy, and prepare the way for the others he
 intended to make.

During these preparations in Spain, King George
 had ordered (as hath been said) a strong *A strong*
 squadron to be fitted out in the spring. The *squadron fitted out.*
 Marquis de Monteleone, the Spanish Ambassador
 at the Court of England, being alarmed at it,
 represented, in a memorial dated the 18th of
 March, 'That so powerful an armament, in time
 of peace, could not but cause umbrage to the
 King his Master, and alter the good intelligence
 that reigned between the two Crowns.' The
 King answered, 'It was not his intention to
 conceal the subject of that armament: And he
 designed soon to send Admiral Byng with a
 powerful squadron into the Mediterranean, in
 order to maintain the neutrality of Italy, against
 those who should seek to disturb it.'

In the mean time, the Negotiations were car- *The Qua-*
 ried on with all possible diligence. The Abbot *duple Al-*
du Bois, in the name of the Duke of Orleans, a- *liance.*
 greed with the British Ministers at London upon
 the terms for an accommodation between the
 Emperor and the King of Spain, and had fre-
 quent and long Conferences on that subject with
 the King. These Negotiations produced at
 length the treaty called at first the *Triple Al-*
liance between Great-Britain, France, and Hol-
 land, and, after the Accession of the Emperor,
 stiled the *Quadruple Alliance*. As this treaty is
 one of the most remarkable events of this Reign,
 and an evident proof of the ascendant, which
 two politic Princes in conjunction may have
 over the rest, it will not be improper to insert
 the plan and principal articles.

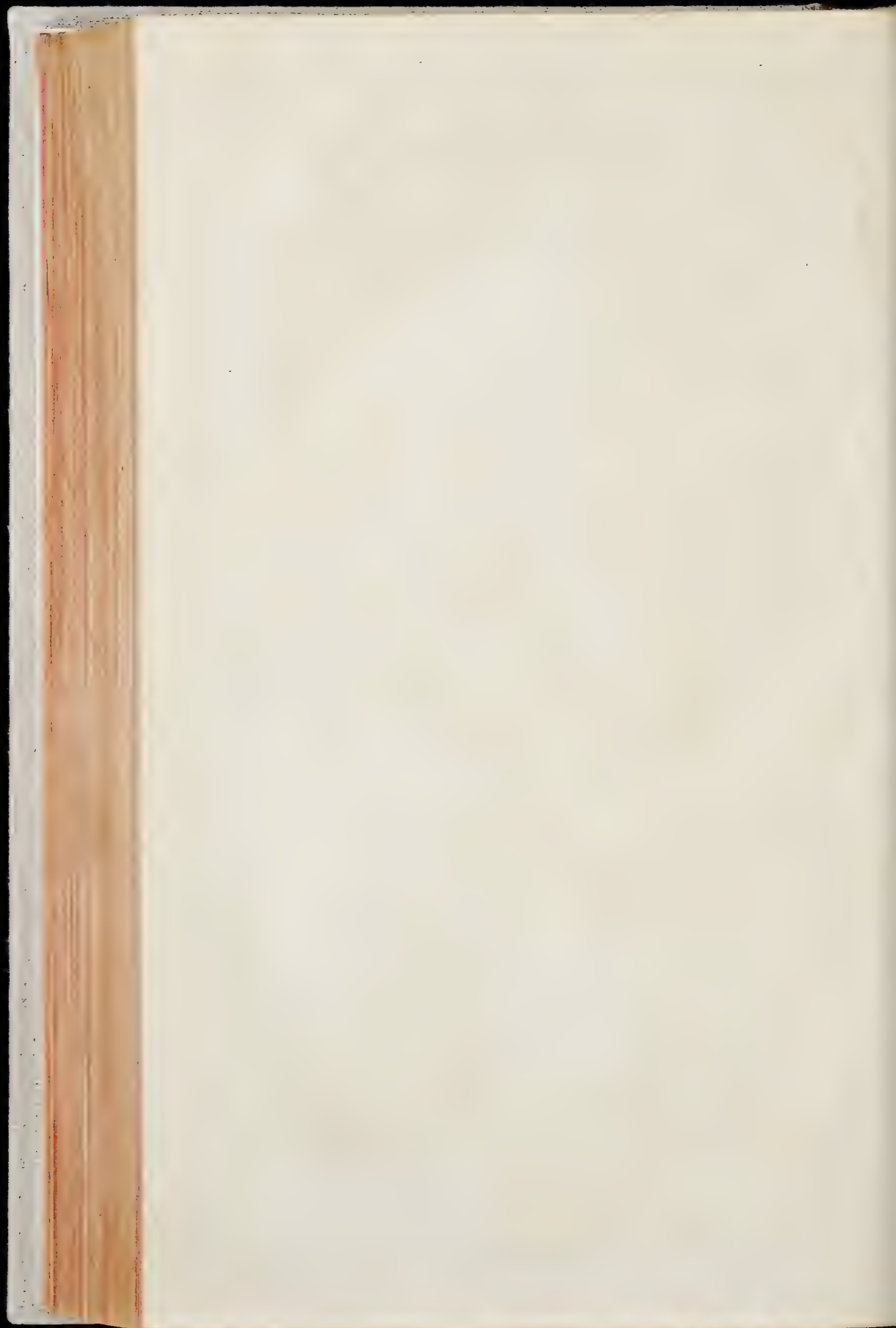
The design of the Negotiations was declared
 to be, the preservation of the public tranquility,
 by removing the jealousies which were increasing
 between some of the Princes of Europe. Then
 were settled the terms of a peace between the
 Kings of Spain and Sicily and the Emperor.
 These terms, accepted by the Emperor, were
 followed by a separate treaty of Alliance between
 him and the three powers who so far concerned
 themselves in the peace, as to engage to compel
 by force of arms the Kings of Spain and Sardi-
 nia to accept the conditions offered them.

The



In the Collection of the Hon^{ble} John Spencer

engraved by J. P. Kneller. 1734.



1718. The terms imposed on the Emperor and Spain were contained in eight articles:

I. For quieting the disturbances raised contrary to the peace of *Baden*, and the neutrality of *Italy*, the King of *Spain* was to restore to the Emperor, within two months after the ratification of the treaty, the Kingdom of *Sardinia*, and renounce all right and title to the same.

II. In consideration of this, and of King *Philip's* renunciation to the Crown of *France* for himself and posterity, the Emperor was also to renounce for himself, heirs and successors, all right and pretension to any Dominions, of which the King of *Spain* was acknowledged rightful possessor by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

III. In consequence of this renunciation, and because the Duke of *Orleans* had renounced all right to the Crown of *Spain*, on condition the Emperor should never succeed to that Kingdom, his Imperial Majesty was to acknowledge *Philip V.* lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and to give him the titles and prerogatives belonging to him as such.

IV. In return, his Catholic Majesty was to renounce all rights and claims to the Dominions of the Emperor in *Italy* or the *Netherlands*; amongst which the Marquissate of *Final* (yielded to the *Genoese* by the Emperor in 1713) was to be comprehended. He was likewise to renounce the right of reversion of *Sicily* to the Crown of *Spain*, which he had reserved to himself in the treaty of *Utrecht*.

V. The Duchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* were to be accounted for ever as male fiefs of the Empire, and were to descend in default of the male heirs to the Queen of *Spain's* eldest son. As the consent of the Empire was necessary, the Emperor was to use his utmost endeavours to obtain it. *Leghorn* was to remain a free port; and the King of *Spain* was to yield to his Son the town *Porto Longone*, with what he possessed in the island of *Elba*, as soon as the Prince of *Spain* should be in possession of *Tuscany*. None of these Duchies was to be possessed by a Prince who should at the same time be King of *Spain*, nor was the King of *Spain* ever to take upon himself the Guardianship of that Prince.

The Mediators took several other precautions. It was never to be allowed, during the lives of the possessors of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, that any forces of any Country whatsoever, whether their own or hired, should, either by the Emperor, the Kings of *France* or *Spain*, or even by the Prince appointed to the Succession, be introduced in any garrison, city, port, or town of those Duchies, but for security of the Succession six thousand *Swiss* were to be put into *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*. His *Britannic* Majesty was so convinced of the necessity of this expedient, that he offered to lend his own forces till the *Swiss* could be raised.

VI. The next article was of greater importance, and was that with which King *George* and the Duke of *Orleans* purchased (as may be said) at the expence of *Spain* and *Savoy*, the aid the Emperor was to furnish in defence of the order of the Succession so favourable to them. By this article the King of *Spain* for the sake of the public tranquillity was to consent, that the Emperor should be put in possession of *Sicily*, and renounce the right of reversion of that King-

dom settled by the instrument of cession, and the treaty of *Utrecht*, on condition however of having the reversion of *Sardinia* instead of it.

VII. and VIII. The Emperor and King of *Spain* were to defend each other in the possession of their Dominions, and to perform the conditions of this treaty within two months after ratification. After which all other points were to be settled at a Congress.

The treaty between the Emperor and the King of *Sicily* was of the same nature, only the Mediators spoke more like sovereign arbiters from whom there was no appeal. The preamble ran in a very high strain. The Mediators began with observing, That the cession of *Sicily* by the treaty of *Utrecht* to the House of *Savoy*, instead of promoting the peace, as was intended, had proved the chief obstacle of the Emperor's refusing to accede to that treaty, as all *Europe* could witness. Wherefore (say the Mediators) the powers, by whom the treaty of *Utrecht* was first set on foot, believe that article, which is not essential to the treaty, may justly be altered, even without the consent of the parties concerned, as it tends to the perfection of the treaty by the Emperor's renunciation, and as by the exchange of *Sicily* for *Sardinia* the war will be prevented with which *Italy* is threatened, in case the Emperor should attack *Sicily*, which he has never renounced, and which he has a right to recover after the breach of the neutrality of *Italy* by the seizure of *Sardinia*. It is therefore agreed,

I. The King of *Sicily* shall restore that Kingdom to the Emperor, within two months, at farthest, after the ratification of this treaty.

II. In return, the Emperor shall give to the King of *Sicily* the Island of *Sardinia*, which he shall enjoy, with the title of King; but the reversion, in default of heirs-male, shall be reserved to the Crown of *Spain*.

As there was no proportion between *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, it was fit the Emperor should seem at least to make some farther satisfaction. To this end, the Mediators in the two next articles agreed, that the Emperor should confirm to the King of *Sicily* all the cessions made to him by the treaty of *Turin* in 1703, on condition, however, that all other claims, which he might have by that treaty, should be void. The Emperor was likewise to acknowledge the right of the House of *Savoy* to succeed to the Crown of *Spain*, in case of failure of heirs in *Philip V.* according to the renunciations and treaties of *Utrecht*.

But it signified little to make these regulations, if proper measures were not taken for their support and execution. In this the Mediators were not wanting. *France* and the Emperor, in conjunction with *Great Britain*, promised mutual assistance to put the Emperor in possession of *Sicily*, and to maintain the Succession of the *British* Crown in the Protestant Branch, and to exclude the *Spanish* Branch from the Crown of *Spain*. To these engagements were added the particular measures that were to be taken, to induce or compel the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* to submit to what had been determined for them, in concert with their enemy.

It was agreed to allow them three months, to consider,

1718.

1718. consider, which time was deemed sufficient to examine the conditions, and declare whether they would accept them, after the example of his Imperial Majesty, as unalterable terms to extinguish the present, and hinder a future war. But, if contrary to the wishes of all *Europe*, these two Princes, after the expiration of the two months, refused to comply, the Mediators were to join their forces, and compel them to submit.

It was expressly agreed, that, if one of the Mediators should be attacked on account of the succours lent the Emperor, the others should declare war against the Aggressor, and not lay down their arms, till the Emperor was in possession of *Sicily*, and secure as to his *Italian* Dominions.

If one of the two Kings should accept of the terms, he was to join with the Mediators to compel the other to do the like. If the King of *Spain* refused to comply, the Emperor was to be assisted in the conquest of *Sardinia*: If the King of *Sicily* refused, the Emperor was to be enabled to subdue *Sicily*: If both stood out, *Sicily* was first to be attacked, and then *Sardinia*, the custody of which was to be left to the King of *Great-Britain*, till the Duke of *Savoy* had agreed to the treaty.

After having settled the means of taking *Sardinia* from *Spain*, and *Sicily* from *Savoy*, the penalties were fixed, in case these two Princes should carry their resistance so far, as to make it necessary to have recourse to arms. The Emperor was allowed to recover that part of *Milan*, yielded to *Savoy* by the treaty of *Turin*; and it

was to be agreed to what other Prince the Emperor should give the eventual investiture of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, in exclusion of the Queen of *Spain's* sons.

To shew, however, that nothing but justice and peace was intended, it was agreed, that the Emperor (whatever progress his arms might make) should be contented with the advantages stipulated for him: But, if he could not recover *Sicily* by arms or treaty, he was to be free from any engagement entered into by this treaty, of consenting to make peace with the Kings of *Spain* and *Sardinia*. It was moreover agreed, that the Emperor, when in possession of *Sicily*, should renounce all pretensions to *Spain* and the *Indies*, whether King *Philip* consented or not to the peace, since the guaranty of the Mediators would be to the Emperor a security equal to the renunciations of the King of *Spain*, for *Sicily*, the *Italian* Dominions, and the *Netherlands*.

Such was the *Quadruple Alliance*, by which King *George* and the Duke of *Orleans* intended to preserve the tranquility of *Europe*: But, contrary to their expectations, it proved the occasion of all the quarrels and disputes which afterwards ensued between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*.

The *States-General*, in whose name this decisive treaty was made, did not absolutely refuse to ratify it, but under various pretences suspended their consent. They did not approve of such violent measures; and, having no particular interest in the quarrel, were willing rather to proceed by fair means (1).

To

(1) A letter from a *Swiss* to his friend at *Geneva*, concerning the part the *States-General* ought to act, as to the differences between the Emperor and *Spain*, was published about this time, wherein a brief account is first given of what had passed in the affair, and then the reasons why the *States* are not obliged to enter into any Alliance about it:

“Whilst the Emperor (says the Letter) was in the heat of war with the *Turks*, the King of *Spain*, thinking it a favourable opportunity for pushing his pretensions, resolved not to let it slip. He armed with all possible diligence, and with all the secrecy things of that nature are capable of. He caused all the men of war he had, to be made fit for the service, new ones to be built, others to be bought; he gathered together all the transports he possibly could; he reinforced considerably his old regiments, raised new; and, in short, attacked the island of *Sardinia*, which you know he made himself master of.

What did the King of *Spain* do in this interval? Why, he drew up and published a manifesto to justify his recourse to arms.

The Marquis *Beretti Landi* (whose departure is still lamented here) presented a memorial to the *States-General*, wherein, after having exhibited the reasons which prevailed with the King of *Spain* to attack *Sardinia*, he offered, in the most obliging manner in the world, in the King his Master's name, to put all his concerns into their hands, and to accept of them for Mediators.

The *States-General* were, indeed, sensible of his Catholic Majesty's generosity; but considering, that it was an affair which did not particularly concern them, and that that mediation might directly or indirectly entangle them in the quarrel, they concluded, that it was not their business to undertake it at any rate; and thereupon they answered the Marquis *Beretti Landi* in very general terms.

What happened afterwards? Why, *England* and *France*, acting with the laudable design of preventing

the disorders which this kindling war would infallibly be attended with, enter upon measures agreeable to such a design. In this view, the Abbot *Du Bois* was sent to *London*; the affair was there canvassed; projects of accommodation were formed; care was taken to let the Emperor know soon what they were; Colonel *Stanhope* was sent to *Madrid*, to communicate the proposals to his Catholic Majesty, or at least to sound him upon them. But hitherto not one word was spoken to the *States-General*: Far from consulting them, or hearing their sentiments of the matter, or acting in concert with them, or desiring them (in conjunction with themselves) to contribute to the re-establishment of the tranquility of *Europe*; far from all this, I say, a profound silence was kept as to their part; they were carefully deprived of the knowledge of whatsoever was done: In a word, the *States-General* were not in the question.

But neither was this all; for, after having well examined and debated upon the articles of peace between the Emperor and the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily*, they were committed to writing; and a treaty of Alliance was thereupon concluded between *France*, *England*, and the *States-General*, the chief end whereof was to engage, by all possible methods, the Emperor and the Kings of *Spain* and *Sicily* to subscribe to the conditions expressed in the said treaty.

This treaty being made between *France* and *England*, it was sent to *Vienna*, *Madrid*, and *Turin*, to be approved and accepted; and then only, after all these steps, it was proposed to the *States-General*.

Thus you have an account, in few words, how all things were transacted. I shall shew you by and by, that their High-Mightinesses are not any way obliged to enter into the said treaty. For this purpose, we have nothing to do to examine whether the terms of accommodation, contained in the said treaty, are reasonable and equitable, or not; for even supposing, that they are both the one and the other, I affirm, that the State is not obliged by any engagement to enter into that

1718. To this treaty were added still more effectual methods: King George offered his mediation to the Grand Seigneur for a peace between Him and the Emperor: The mediation was accepted, and a treaty signed at Passarowitz.

Whilst these things were transacting, the King, as he had declared to the Spanish Ambassador, ordered a fleet, strong enough to oppose the progress of the Spaniards, to sail for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng.

The fleet being ready at Spithead, Sir George Byng went to Portsmouth, where he received his instructions, dated the 26th of May (1). These instructions were as follow:

I. Whereas the Crown of Great-Britain, by the several treaties made at Utrecht, the 14th day of March 1713, N. S. with the Emperor and the late most Christian King, became obliged to see an exact observation of the armistice and neutrality then established in Italy, and was guarantee for the full performance of the stipulations at that time solemnly agreed to on that head: And whereas, by a treaty made between Us and our good Brother the Emperor of Germany, at Westminster, the 25th day of May 1716, we stand engaged to assist, maintain, and defend him in the possession of all the Kingdoms, Provinces, and Rights, which he then actually enjoyed in Europe: And whereas the Catholic King hath, in an hostile manner, invaded the territories belonging to the said Emperor, and, by force of arms, hath taken from him the Island and Kingdom of Sardinia, and is still making great and warlike preparations for carrying on his designs further against the other Dominions belonging to his Imperial Majesty in Italy, contrary to the tenor of the aforesaid treaties: And whereas, since this unhappy rupture, we, as a friend to both parties, have not ceased to employ our best offices, in order to accommodate the differences, and put an end to this war, which, if continued, will endanger the public tranquillity of the rest of Europe: And whereas we have made particular and earnest instances with our good Brother the King of Spain, that he would consent to a suspension of arms, during which the Negotiations for peace

might be more easily and effectually carried on:

And whereas his said Catholic Majesty hath appeared to us not averse to the suspending his further enterprizes, and thereby facilitating our good offices towards a happy accommodation: We therefore, for the better fulfilling the several engagements we lie under by the treaties aforementioned, and for promoting, in the best and most effectual manner, the measures that may tend to the bringing about an entire reconciliation and perfect friendship between the said parties now engaged in war, and thereby putting a stop to the fatal consequences, which might otherwise ensue from these hostilities, have thought it fit and necessary, for the purposes aforesaid, and for the welfare of Europe in general, to send a strong fleet of our ships of war into the Mediterranean under your command.

II. You are therefore, upon the receipt of these our instructions, forthwith to proceed to the Mediterranean with our said fleet; and, being arrived in the Straights, you shall immediately give notice to the Catholic King, by our Minister residing at his Court, of your arrival in those seas, and that you are instructed, in our name, to promote all measures, that may best contribute to the composing the differences that are arisen between Him and the Emperor.

III. You shall from thence, without loss of time, wind and weather permitting, proceed to Port-Mabon, and, being arrived there, you shall by express give advice of the same to the Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples, and to the Governor of the Duchy of Milan, and let them know the purport of your instructions, that you are come with our fleet into those parts, to make good our treaties with the Emperor, and to hinder the further violation of the same by the arms of the Catholic King: And to that end you will hold a correspondence with the said Viceroy and Governor during your stay in the Mediterranean, and let them know, that you are to take measures in concert with them, for preventing any further breach of the neutrality of Italy, which by our treaty we are obliged to see preserved: And, as you may probably at Port-Mabon get the best intelligence of the preparations and proceedings both of the Imperialists and

that Alliance, and that it is its interest not to meddle by any means; and that for several reasons.

In the first place, as their High Mightinesses never set up as guarantees for the neutrality of Italy, so nothing obliges them to make steps, in order to restore peace there.

Secondly, Since their High-Mightinesses refused to accept the mediation which the King of Spain so civilly offered them, because they were afraid of bringing themselves into a scrape, they have much stronger reasons to refuse to come into the treaty above-mentioned, now that the King of Spain appears unwilling to accept it, as it is; for them to act otherwise would be to declare themselves parties, after having refused to be Mediators, and, without the least necessity, to fall out with his Catholic Majesty, of whom, hitherto, they have no manner of reason to complain.

In the third place, It is incontestably certain, that this State ought, with all imaginable care, to avoid whatever may involve it in a new war.

However the States-General, after all the endeavours of the Spanish Ambassador to retard the conclusion of the treaty, did at last accede to the Quadruple Alliance on the 22d of December, N. S.

No. 93. VOL. IV.

(1) The instructions were inclosed in a letter from Secretary Craggs:

Cockpit, May 27th, O. S. 1718.

S I R,

I inclose to you his Majesty's instructions, as well with relation to your conduct in the Mediterranean, as to the treaty with the Moors.

After what passed yesterday between my Lord Somersdown, my Lord Stanhope, you and me, when we were together at Lord Stanhope's lodgings, there remains nothing for me but to wish you a good voyage, and good success in your undertakings. I do it very heartily, and am with great truth,

S I R,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

J. CRAGGS.

7 D

1718. and the *Spaniards*, you will accordingly take such stations with our fleet under your command, as may be most proper to obstruct any new hostilities, and to put these our instructions in execution.

IV. And as a suspension of arms, and a forbearance of all acts of hostility on each side, in those parts is absolutely necessary for the setting on foot and concluding the proper Negotiations of peace, you are accordingly to make instances with both parties to cease from using any further acts of hostility. But, in case the *Spaniards* do still insist with their ships of war and forces to attack the Kingdom of *Naples*, or other the territories of the Emperor in *Italy*, or to land in any part of *Italy*, which can only be with a design to invade the Emperor's Dominions, against whom only they have declared war by invading *Sardinia*; or if they should endeavour to make themselves masters of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, which must be with a design to invade the Kingdom of *Naples*; in such case you are, with all your power, to hinder and obstruct the same. But if it should so happen, that at your arrival, with our fleet under your command, in the *Mediterranean*, the *Spaniards* should already have landed any troops in *Italy*, in order to invade the Emperor's territories, you shall endeavour amicably to dissuade them from persevering in such an attempt, and offer them your assistance to help them to withdraw their troops, and put an end to all further acts of hostility. But, in case these your friendly endeavours should prove ineffectual, you shall, by keeping company with, or intercepting their ships or convoy, or, if it be necessary, by openly opposing them, defend the Emperor's territories from any further attempt.

V. And whereas we have thought it for our service, to send four battalions of our forces on board our fleet under your command; upon your arrival at our town of *Port-Mahon*, you are to put the said four battalions on shore there, to relieve the garrisons in our island of *Minorca*; and you are to take the said garrisons on board your ships of war, in order to employ the same in such a manner, and according to such instructions as you shall receive from us.

VI. And whereas we have thought fit to recall our trusty and well beloved *Charles Cornwall*, Esq; whom we had appointed our Plenipotentiary for concluding a peace with the *Moors*, and have impowered you to renew that Negotiation, you are therefore to dispose of the ships now under the command of the said Vice-Admiral *Cornwall*, and employ the whole squadron, or any part thereof, in the manner you shall judge most proper for promoting the several respective services, wherein you are employed in the *Mediterranean*.

He sails
from Spit-
head,
June 4.

The Admiral sailed the 4th of June from *Spithead* with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, a hospital-ship, and a store ship. Being got into the Ocean, he sent the *Rupert* to *Lisbon* for intelligence, and, arriving on the 30th N. S. off *Cape St. Vincent*, he dispatched the *Superbe* to *Cadix* with Mr. *Allix* his Secretary, who carried a letter from him to Colonel *Stanbope* (the present Earl of *Harrington*) the King's Enjoy at *Madrid*, wherein he desired that Minister to acquaint the King of *Spain* with his arrival in those parts, in his

way to the *Mediterranean*, and to lay before him the instructions he was to act under with his squadron, of which he gave a very ample detail in his letter. The Envoy shewed the letter to Cardinal *Aberoni*, who, upon reading it, told him with some warmth, 'That his Master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of *Spain*, rather than recall his troops, or consent to any suspension of arms:' adding, 'That the *Spaniards* were not to be frightened; and he was so well convinced of their fleet's doing their duty, that, if the Admiral should think fit to attack them, he should be in no pain for the success.' Mr. *Stanbope*, having in his hand a list of the *British* squadron, desired his Eminence to peruse it, and to compare its strength with that of their own squadron; which the Cardinal took, and threw on the ground with much passion. Mr. *Stanbope*, with great temper, desired him 'to consider the sincere attention, which the King his Master had always had to the honour and interest of his Catholic Majesty, which it was impossible for him to give greater proofs of, than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole course of the present Negotiations, to procure the most advantageous conditions possible for *Spain*, in which he had succeeded even beyond what any unprejudiced person could have hoped for; and that, though by the treaty of *Utrecht* for the neutrality of *Italy*, which was entered into at the request of the King of *Spain* himself; as also by that of *Westminster* the 25th of May, 1716, his Majesty found himself obliged to defend the Emperor's Dominions, when attacked, he had hitherto only acted as a Mediator, though ever since the enterprize against *Sardinia*, by his treaties he became a party in the war, and for this year last past had been strongly called upon by the Emperor to comply with these engagements; and that even now, when it was impossible for him to delay any longer the sending his fleet into the *Mediterranean*, it plainly appeared by the Admiral's instructions, which he communicated to his Eminence, and by the orders he had himself received, that his Majesty had nothing more at heart, than that his fleet might be employed in promoting the interests of the King of *Spain*; and hoped, his Catholic Majesty would not, by refusing to recall his troops, or consent to a cessation of arms, put it out of his power to give all the proofs of the sincere friendship he always desired to cultivate with his Catholic Majesty.' All that the Cardinal could be brought to promise, was to lay the Admiral's letter before the King, and to let the Envoy know his resolution upon it in two days: But it was nine days before he could obtain and send it away, the Cardinal probably hoping, that the Admiral would delay, in expectation of it, in some of the Ports of *Spain*, and thereby give time for their fleet and forces to secure a good footing in *Sicily*. The answer was wrote under the Admiral's letter in these words: 'His Catholic Majesty has done me the honour to tell me, the Chevalier *Byng* may execute the orders, which he has from the King his Master. *Escurial*, 15 July, 1718.

The Cardinal *Aberoni*.

Mr. *Stanbope*, seeing things tending to a rupture, gave private and early notice of his apprehensions.

1718. henfions to the *English* Consuls and Merchants, settled in the *Spanish* sea-port towns, advising them to guard and secure their effects against any danger of a breach between the two Crowns.

The Admiral pursuing his voyage with unfavourable winds, it was the 8th of *July*, *N. S.* before he made Cape *Spartel*, where the *Superbe* and *Rupert* rejoined him, and brought him advice of the mighty preparations which the *Spaniards* had made at *Barcelona*, and of their fleet sailing from thence the 18th of *June*, *N. S.* to the eastward. In passing by *Gibraltar*, Vice-Admiral *Cornwall* came out and joined him, with the *Argyle* and *Charles* Galley. The Squadron wanting water, and the wind continuing contrary, they anchored off Cape *Malaga*, where having completed their watering in four days, they proceeded to *Minorca*, where the Admiral was to land four regiments of foot, which he carried out from *England*, in order to relieve the soldiers there in garrison, who were to embark, and serve in the Squadron. On the 23d of *July*, *N. S.* he anchored with the Squadron off *Port-Mabon*. Here he received advice, that the *Spanish* fleet had been seen, the 30th of *June*, within forty leagues of *Naples*, steering South-east: Upon which he dispatched away expresses to the Governor of *Milan*, and Viceroy of *Naples*, to inform them of his arrival in the *Mediterranean*; and, having shifted the garrisons of *Minorca*, he sailed from thence the 25th of *July*, *N. S.* and arrived the 1st of *August* in the Bay of *Naples*.

It is impossible to express the joy of those people, at the long-wished for sight of a fleet, which alone could assure their safety. They had been under the greatest terrors, expecting that the prodigious armament of *Spain* would have fallen upon that Kingdom: And though their fears were relieved for the present by the descent of the *Spaniards* into *Sicily*, yet the rapidity with which they had over-run the greatest part of that Island, and a reasonable suspicion, that the Duke of *Savoy* would not much expose his troops to defend the remainder of a Country, which, by the terms of the *Quadruple Alliance*, was to be taken from him, and given to a Potentate, whose power in *Italy* he dreaded, made them look for the enemy soon in *Naples*, where the strong party that had appeared among the *Sicilian* Nobility for *Spain*, made them apprehend, that no less a faction would rise in their favour, upon their invading that Kingdom, where the *Germans* had but twelve (some say eight) thousand men, and the whole Country was ill provided for defence. The common people indeed were generally in the interest of the House of *Austria*, which was greatly owing to the prudent Government of the Marshal Count *Dawn*, their Viceroy, a man endowed with all the qualities fit for that high employment, and the same person who had defended *Turin* so well, when it was besieged by the Duke of *Orleans* in 1706, till it was relieved by the Duke of *Savoy* and Prince *Eugene*. He was of a courteous and affable disposition, but exact and steady in the Administration of Justice; by which means he had suppressed the Banditti, who used to infest the Country; and had put a stop to the murders that were so frequent in the City, not suffering the Churches to exercise their infamous claim of sanctuary for such flagitious crimes. He did not indeed affect that show of

grandeur, which the *Italians* are fond of; but, as his frugal manner of living freed him from the necessity of oppressing them, so there was never any complaint of that kind against him. He was very zealous for the interests of his Master, which he promoted by just and wise measures; and a certain conformity of manners, wherein he and the Admiral resembled each other, begat such a quick confidence and friendship between them, as helped to carry on the service of the common cause with unusual harmony and dispatch.

The fleet sailing with a gentle gale into the Bay of *Naples*, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line of battle, most of them great ships, and three of them bearing flags, afforded such a spectacle, as had never been seen in those parts before. The whole City was in a tumult of joy and exultation. The shore was crowded with multitudes of coaches and people; and such an infinite number of boats came off, some with provisions and refreshments, others out of curiosity and admiration, that the sea between the fleet at anchor and the shore was literally covered. The Viceroy, being incommoded with the gout, sent Colonel Count *Hamilton* to make his compliments to the Admiral, and to let him know the feeble condition he was in; but that, nevertheless, he intended to come off, and make him a visit. The Admiral returned the civility by his first Captain, who, waiting on the Viceroy, told him, the Admiral was sensible of the honour he intended him, but desired he would not give himself the trouble, especially as he was ill; and that he would immediately wait on his Excellency. The Admiral going ashore, attended by the Flag-officers and Captains, in their boats, was saluted, at his landing, by all the cannon round the City and Castles, and was carried to the Duke de *Matalone's* palace, which had been prepared for his reception during his stay at *Naples*. From thence he was conducted to Court through an infinite throng of people, with the greatest acclamations of joy, and all the honours and ceremonies paid to a Viceroy; where entering into Conference with Count *Dawn*, he learnt, that the *Spanish* army, consisting of about thirty thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de *Lede*, had landed the 2d of *July*, *N. S.* in *Sicily*, and had soon made themselves masters of the City and Castles of *Palermo*, and of great part of the Island; that they had taken the Town of *Messina*, and were then carrying on the siege of the Citadel; that the Viceroy did not know how far the *Piedmontese* garrison was to be depended on; but that they must soon be obliged to surrender, if not relieved. That the last letters he had received from *Vienna* gave hopes, that the King of *Sicily* might be entered, by this time, into a particular Alliance with the Emperor, having desired the assistance of his troops, and agreed to receive them into the Citadel. The next morning the Viceroy visited the Admiral, and, renewing their Conference on the measures to be taken in that conjuncture of affairs, it was agreed, that the Viceroy should send General *Wetzel* with two thousand *German* foot in Tartans to *Messina*, to relieve the Citadel and Fort *St. Salvador*; and, as the Admiral was directed by his orders to obstruct any attempts of the *Spaniards* on *Sicily*, he consented to take those troops under his protection; and, accordingly, the transports being got

1718.

1718. got ready, he sailed with them the 6th of August, N. S. from Naples, and arrived the 9th in view of the Faro off Messina.

Here the Admiral paused. He saw with concern a new war rekindled in Europe by the ambition of Spain: He weighed with deep consideration the consequences of his instructions, which made a rupture with that nation unavoidable, if they persisted in their enterprize on Sicily; and being ardently desirous of trying every method of Negotiation, before he proceeded to the extremity of his orders, he dispatched Captain Saunders, his first Captain, to Messina, with a letter to the Marquis de Lede, acquainting him, 'That the King, his Master, being engaged by several treaties to preserve the tranquility of Italy, had honoured him with the command of a squadron of ships, which he had sent into those seas; and that he came fully empowered and instructed to promote such measures, as might best accommodate all differences between the powers concerned. That his Majesty was employing his utmost endeavours to bring about a general pacification, and was not without hopes of success. He therefore proposed to him to come to a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several Courts to conclude on such resolutions, as might restore a lasting peace.' But he added, 'That, if he was not so happy to succeed in this offer of service, nor to be instrumental in bringing about so desirable a work, he should then hope to merit his Excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were, to use all his force to prevent further attempts to disturb the Dominions his Master stood engaged to defend.' The next morning the Captain returned with the General's answer, 'That it would be an inexpressible joy for his person to contribute to so laudable an end as peace; but, as he had no powers to treat, he could not of consequence agree to any suspension of arms, even at the expence of what the courage of his Master's arms might be put to; but should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his Master the King of Spain. That he had a true sense of his accomplished expressions; but his Master's forces would always be universally esteemed in sacrificing themselves for the preservation of their credit, in which cases the success did not always answer the ideas that were formed.'

The Spanish fleet defeated by Admiral Byng. Hist. Reg. Corbett.

The Admiral had received intelligence, that the Spanish fleet departed from Paradise (which is a road at the entrance of the harbour of Messina) the day before his arrival off the Faro, which made him conclude, that they were retired to Malta; and therefore, upon receiving the Marquis de Lede's answer, he immediately sailed, with intention to come with his squadron before Messina, in order to encourage and support the garrison in the Citadel; but, as he stood in about the point of the Faro towards Messina, he saw two of the Spanish scouts in the Faro; and being informed at the same time by a Felucca, which came off from the Calabrian shore, that they saw from the hills the Spanish fleet lying by, the Admiral altered his design, and sending away General Witzel with the German troops to Reggio, under the convoy of two men of war, he stood through the Faro with his squadron, with all the sail he could, after their scouts, imagining they would lead him to their

fleet, which accordingly they did; for before noon he had a sight of their whole fleet lying by, and drawn into a line of battle, consisting of twenty-seven sail of men of war, small and great, besides two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, seven galleys, and several ships laden with stores and provisions, commanded by the Admiral Don Antonio de Castaneta, and under him four Rear-Admirals, Chacon, Mari, Guevara, and Cammock. On the sight of the English squadron, they stood away large, but in order of battle. The Admiral followed them all the rest of that day, and the succeeding night with small gales North-Easterly, and sometimes calm, with fair weather. The next morning early, the 11th of August, N. S. the English being got pretty near up with them, the Marquis De Mari, Rear-Admiral, with six Spanish men of war, and all the galleys, fire-ships, bomb-vessels, and store-ships, separated from their main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore; upon which Admiral Byng detached Captain Walton in the Canterbury with five more ships, after them; and, the Argyle and Canterbury getting within gun-shot of the headmost ship, about six in the morning, the Argyle fired a shot to bring her to; which she not minding, the Argyle fired another, and the Canterbury, being something nearer, fired another, upon which the Spanish ship fired her stern-chace at the Canterbury, and then the engagement began. The Admiral pursuing the main body of the Spanish fleet, the Orford, Captain Falkingham, and the Grafton, Captain Haddock, came up first with them about ten o'clock, at whom the Spaniards fired their stern-chace guns. The Admiral sent orders to those two ships not to fire, unless the Spaniards repeated their firing; which they doing, the Oxford attacked the Santa Rosa of sixty-four guns, and took her. The St. Carlos of sixty guns struck next, without much opposition, to the Kent, Captain Matthews. The Grafton attacked warmly the Prince of Asturias of seventy guns, formerly called the Cumberland, in which was Rear-Admiral Chacon; but the Breda, Captain Barrow-Harris, and the Captain, Captain Archibald Hamilton, coming up, Haddock left that ship much shattered for them to take, and stretched a-head after another ship of sixty guns, which had kept firing on his starboard-bow, during his engagement with the Prince of Asturias. About one o'clock the Kent, and soon after the Superbe, Captain Maister, came up with, and engaged the Spanish Admiral of seventy-four guns, who with two ships more fired on them, and made a running fight till about three, and then the Kent bearing down upon him, and under his stern, gave him her broadside, and fell to the leeward. Afterwards the Superbe, putting for it to lay the Admiral aboard, fell on his weather-quarter, upon which the Spanish Admiral shifting his helm, the Superbe ranged up under his lee-quarter, on which he struck to her. At the same time the Barfleur, in which was the Admiral, being a stern of the Spanish Admiral within shot, and inclining on his weather-quarter, Rear-Admiral Guevara, and another sixty gun ship, which were to windward, bore down upon him, and gave him their broadsides, and then clapped upon a wind, standing in for the land. The Admiral immediately tacked and stood after them, until it was almost night; but there being little wind, and they galing away out of his reach, he left pursuing them, and stood in to the fleet.





1718. fleet, which he joined two hours after night. The *Effex*, Captain *Rowzier*, took the *Juno* of thirty-six guns; the *Mountain*, Captain *Beverly*, and the *Rupert*, Captain *Field*, took the *Volante* of forty-four guns; and Rear-Admiral *Delaval* in the *Dorsetshire* took the *Isabella* of sixty guns. This action happened off *Cape Passaro* about six leagues distance from the shore. The *English* received but little damage. The ship, that suffered most, was the *Grafton*, which being a good failor, her Captain engaged several ships of the enemy, always pursuing the headmost, and leaving those ships, which he had disabled or damaged, to be taken by those, that followed him. Admiral *Byng* lay by some days at sea, to refit the rigging of his ships, and to repair the damages the prizes had sustained; and the 18th received a letter from Captain *Walton* giving an account, that he had taken four *Spanish* men of war, one of sixty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral *Mari*, one of fifty-four, one of forty, and one of twenty-four guns, with a bomb-vessel, and a ship laden with arms; and burnt four men of war, one of fifty-four guns, two of forty, and one of thirty guns, with a fire-ship and a bomb-vessel (1).

The Admiral's proceedings after the battle.

The Admiral, having thus received a full account of the whole transaction, dispatched away his eldest son, Mr. *Byng*, to England; who, arriving at *Hampton-Court* in fifteen days from *Naples*, brought the agreeable confirmation of what public fame had before reported, and upon which the King had already written a letter to the Admiral with his own hand (2). Mr. *Byng* met with a most gracious reception from the King, who made him a handsome present; and sent him back with Plenipotentiary Powers to his father to negotiate with the several Princes and States of *Italy*, as there should be occasion, and with his Royal Grant to the Officers and Seamen of all the prizes taken by them from the *Spaniards*.

Remarks on the conduct of the Spaniards, Corbet.

The conduct of the *Spaniards* in the action of *Passaro* did not answer the vigour of the resolutions they had taken before it. Upon notice of the approach of the *English* Squadron, they held a consultation, in which the question was

not, Whether they should fight or retreat, but in what station they should expect them; Whether go out from *Messina* to meet them, or pass through the *Faro* to the Southward, and, lying by in order of battle, receive them there? Which latter opinion prevailed. But, when the Admiral came up near to them, they soon abandoned their order of battle, and falling into confusion and uncertainty, whether to resist or fly, by doing neither they became an easy prey, and the *English* might be rather said to have made a seizure, than to have gained a victory. There was indeed some disproportion in the strength of the two fleets; but the inequality was not such, as deterred the *Spaniards* from a resolution of fighting, though it was but ill supported afterwards in the execution. But this justice is due to the Admiral *Castañeta*, and to Rear-Admiral *Obacon*, that they made as good a defence with their own ships, as could be expected, and the former was wounded in both legs. It was reported, that, at a consultation of the *Spanish* Admirals, Rear-Admiral *Cannock* gave his opinion, that they should remain at anchor in the road of *Paradise*, ranging their ships in a line of battle, with their broadsides to the sea; which measure would certainly have given the *English* Admiral infinite trouble to attack them. For the coast is so bold, that the largest ships could ride with a cable ashore; and, further out, the currents are so various and rapid, that it would have been hardly practicable to get up to them, but impossible to anchor or lie by them in order of battle. Besides, they lay so near the shore, and could have received such assistance of soldiers from the army to man and defend them; and the annoyance, which the *Spaniards* might have given from the several batteries they could have planted along the shore, would have been such, that the only way of attacking the ships seemed to be by boarding and grappling with them at once, to prevent being cast off by the currents; which would have been a very hazardous undertaking, wherein the *Spaniards* would have had many advantages, and the *English* Admiral have run the chance of destroying his fleet, or buying a victory, if he succeeded, very dear (3).

Admiral

(1) Captain *Walton* was one, whose natural talents were fitter for achieving a gallant action, than describing one; yet his letter on this occasion carries in it such a strain of military eloquence, that it is worth inserting here:

S I R,

• We have taken and destroyed all the *Spanish* ships and vessels, which were upon the coast, the number as per Margin. I am, &c.

Canterbury off *Syracuse*,
16 Aug. 1718.

G. WALTON.

(2) The letter was in *French*, and may thus be translated:

Monsieur le Chevalier Byng.

• Though I have not yet heard from you directly, I am informed of the victory which the fleet has gained under your command, and I was unwilling to delay the satisfaction that my approbation of your conduct might afford you. I thank you for it, and desire you to express my satisfaction to all the brave people who have signalized themselves on this occasion. Secretary
Numb. XCIV. Vol. IV.

Cragg has orders to inform you more at large of my intentions, but I was pleased to assure you myself that I am,

Monsieur le Chevalier Byng,

Hampton-Court,
Aug. 23. 1718.

Your good Friend,

GEORGE R.

(3) Mr. *Corbet*, in his account of the expedition to *Sicily*, inserts here the following digression concerning the affairs of the *Spaniards*:

The counsels of *Spain* were, at this time, under the management of two *Italians*, the Queen and the Abbot *Aberoni*, whom she had raised to the dignity of Cardinal and Prime Minister. They had vast designs in their view, and by secret intrigues with the King of *Sicily*, and other *Italian* Princes and States, had laid no less a scheme, than to exterminate the House of *Austria* and the Imperial power out of *Italy*. And it was thought to be owing to the doubts they had of the sincerity of the King of *Sicily*, that the storm fell first upon his Dominions, which was intended elsewhere. The armament they fitted out was suitable to the greatness of the undertaking; never any Nation sent to sea

1718.

Admiral Byng, having collected his ships after the action, put into *Syracuse* the 19th of *August*, *N. S.* where he found Captain *Walton* and his prizes. *Syracuse* was at that time blocked up by a detachment of the *Spanish* army, into which City Count *Maffei*, the Duke of *Savoy's* Viceroy, had retreated with difficulty from *Parlermo*, and had in the place a numerous garrison. But the first and principal point of the *Spanish* General was to get *Messina* into his hands, as the safest port for their fleet, and the most proper place to facilitate and secure the conquest of the rest of the Island, and from whence they designed to transport their numerous horse, and the greatest part of their foot, over to *Calabria*, and to have carried the war into the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Citadel of *Messina* was defended by a *Piedmontese* garrison, commanded by the Marquis *d'Andorno*; but the Duke of *Savoy*, being unable to support the siege, had solicited the Emperor for his assistance, and a Convention was made between the Viceroy of *Naples* and the Count *de Bourge*, Resident of *Savoy*, whereby the Viceroy was to send a detachment of *German* troops, to be admitted into the Citadel on joint and equal terms of command; for which service Baron *Wetzel* was dispatched away with two thousand foot, as has been before related. But the success of the *English* fleet had raised such a confidence in the garrison, of their security against any attempts from the *Spaniards*, that the Resident endeavoured to elude an agreement, the necessity of which he thought no longer subsisted, pretending want of power to make such a concession without an equivalent, but that he would write to his Court for farther orders. This coming to Admiral Byng's knowledge, he represented in strong terms to Count *Maffei* the unfairness of such a proceeding, and how contrary it was to what he himself had

agreed to, in their Conference together the day before, upon that subject. That such a disagreement, at a time that the Citadel was so vigorously attacked by the enemy, might be a means of their taking it, which the reputation of the *English* fleet would not suffer him to be an idle spectator of; and therefore, if he was resolved to stay till he had instructions from the Court of *Turin*, he should likewise send to his Court for farther orders; and, in the mean time, would retire from the Island to some other place, to refresh his men, and refit his ships, till he should receive new directions from *England*. This had such an effect upon the Viceroy, that he gave immediate orders for putting the agreement in execution, and for admitting *German* troops into the Citadel. This point being adjusted, the Admiral (having sent away Vice-Admiral *Cornwall*, with such of his ships, as wanted refitting, and all the prizes, to *Port-Mabon*, with orders to not suffer the least embezzlement to be made, but to preserve every thing intire, till the King's pleasure should be known) failed himself, on the 23d of *August*, *N. S.* from *Syracuse*, and arrived, the 26th, at *Reggio*, where General *Wetzel* informing him, that he hourly expected a reinforcement of four thousand men from *Naples*, which, with those he had with him, and the garrison in the Citadel, would make about nine thousand men, and, upon their arrival, he should form a project for raising the siege of the Citadel, if the Admiral would stay to countenance and protect him with his fleet; he readily consented, knowing the extreme importance of not letting *Messina* fall into the hands of the enemy, and being directed by fresh orders from *England* to do all he could to prevent it. But, those forces proving insufficient for the execution of the intended project, the General contented himself, with supplying the Citadel from

1718.

an army so numerous, so well appointed, and so provided with all necessaries for a distant expedition; the least implement was not forgotten. All which was owing to the indefatigable care of *Don Joseph Patinbo*, a man of great abilities, who went in the expedition, and had the absolute direction and management of the whole enterprize, except the military command. The world was amazed to see *Spain* exerting a vigour, she had not shewn for above a Century past. Some of the principal prisoners, and *Castaneta* himself, assured the Admiral, that they intended, the summer following, to have at sea fifty sail of the line of battle; which the great preparations in the ports of *Biscay*, and other ports of *Spain*, made very probable. Those in *Biscay*, which were one man of war of seventy guns, and two of sixty, newly built, with an incredible quantity of timber, pitch and tar, and other navel stores, for building more, were all destroyed by an *English* squadron, assisted by a detachment which the Duke of *Berwick* spared from his army, at the solicitation of Colonel *Stanhope* the *English* Minister, who contrived the design, and, serving as a Volunteer in the enterprize, principally contributed to the execution of it.

It should seem but ill policy in a Court, intent on such mighty designs, to provoke and irritate, without cause, a Nation, the most capable in the world of thwarting and defeating them. And yet they seemed to make it a studied point to vex and distress the *English* by all manner of ways in their commerce, inasmuch that their trade with *Spain* was almost ruined and lost. They demanded arbitrary and heavy duties from the *English* factories residing in their ports, from which the treaties expressly exempted them; and, upon refusal of payment, their houses were surrounded by soldiers, their

warehouses and chests broken open, and their goods sold at public outcry. The Royal Officers used them with such injustice and insolence, as if they knew they made their Court by doing so. Every post brought complaints to the *English* Minister at *Madrid*, of new grievances and oppressions. The memorials delivered to that Court for redress were numberless, without the least regard had to them. When any transportation of troops was intended, they immediately embargoed all the *English* Merchant-ships in their ports, compelling their Masters, with great circumstances of severity, to enter into their service, imprisoning them in common goals, if they refused, and obliging them to unload their cargoes, though perishable, and consigned to other markets. They proceeded so far in their unjust treatment, that their Cruizers brought into the ports of *Spain* whatever *English* Merchant-ships they met with in the open sea, though bound to *Italy*, or other parts, and compelled them to unload their cargoes, and enter into their service. Such, as were not used by them for transports, had their seamen taken away to serve in their men of war. Rear-Admiral *Cannock* pressed no less than sixty for his own ship, and one of the Masters, endeavouring to keep his men, had both his ears cut off. The battle of *Passaro* was fortunate to those poor people, for, when the issue of it was known, forty-five *English* transports made their escape from *Messina* to *Reggio*, several of them laden with military stores and provisions; and, their Masters applying to the Admiral, he granted them a convoy to the ports in *Italy*, where they desired to go; but some chose to stay and enter into the Emperor's service, to transport his troops from *Genoa* and *Naples* to *Sicily*.

1718. from time to time with fresh troops from *Reggio*; notwithstanding which, the *Spaniards* pushed on the siege with so much vigour and success, that the Governor surrendered the Citadel by capitulation, on the 29th of *September*, N. S. to the great surprize and dissatisfaction of the *Germans*. The *Piedmontese* part of the garrison was transported by sea to *Syracuse*, and the *Germans* to *Reggio*.

Admiral *Byng* receiving advice, that Rear-Admiral *Cammock* with three *Spanish* men of war, and as many frigates, which had escaped from the battle, was at *Malta*, and that a rich *English* Merchant-ship, homeward bound from *Turkey*, was detained in the port, and in some danger; as likewise five *Sicilian* galleys, which had taken refuge there ever since the arrival of the *Spanish* fleet in *Sicily*; he stood over to that Island, where he learnt that Rear-Admiral *Cammock* had failed from thence five days before with four ships, which he had cleaned there. The Marquis de *Rivaroles*, General of the *Sicilian* galleys, coming off to the Admiral, made great complaints of the partiality and ill usage of that Government, in suffering him to be exposed to daily affronts from the *Spaniards*, and prayed his protection and assistance to get away from thence; upon which the Admiral sent his first Captain with his compliments to the Grand Master, and desired, that those galleys might have free liberty to come out to him. The Grand Master sent off three great Crosses of the order to the Admiral, and with much politeness gave him all the assurances possible of freedom for the galleys to do what they pleased; upon which the Admiral sent word to the Marquis to come out. But he returning an answer, that the *Spanish* ships had laid themselves in the way to stop his passage, and threatening to sink him, if he offered to stir, the Admiral sent to the Grand Master a second message, that, if he suffered the neutrality of the ports to be violated, or any ill treatment to be given to the galleys, he should take the measures, that would be necessary on that occasion; but the Grand Master protesting, that no violence should be used, and that he would be answerable for it, the Admiral sent again to the Marquis to come out, assuring him, that, if the *Spaniards* offered the least obstruction, he would assist him to destroy them in the very port. But, the Marquis continuing under great perplexity and terror, the Admiral, tired with his delay, sent him word, that he was well satisfied of the honour of the Grand Master in preserving the privilege of the port; and therefore, if he would not make use of the present opportunity, he should suspect, that his fears were affected, and used only as an artifice to stay there, and would give himself no farther trouble about him; and accordingly weighed, in order to depart; but this message wrought so upon the Marquis, that he immediately hastened out with his galleys, without any obstruction from the *Spaniards*; but they were in so miserable condition, that the Admiral was forced to lend them seamen and pilots to navigate them, and caulkers to stop their leaks. The *Turkey* ship came out likewise, and joined the Admiral, who sent the galleys under a convey to *Syracusa*; and having seen the *Turkey* Merchant-ship clear of danger, he arrived the 2d of *November*, N. S. in the bay of *Naples*, from whence he sent Rear-Admiral *Delaval*, with two eighty

gun-ships and a fire-ship, home to *England*. Here the Count de *Luzan*, son-in-law to the Marquis de *Rialp*, Secretary of State at *Vienna*, brought the Admiral a gracious letter from the Emperor written with his own hand, and his picture set round with large brilliant diamonds.

The taking of *Messina* was a point of great consequence, as it made the *Spaniards* masters of all *Sicily*, except *Syracusa*, *Trapani*, and *Melazzo* (where the Duke of *Savoy* had still garrisons) and as it deprived the *English* fleet of a port to winter in, there being no other good harbour in those parts. The Emperor saw before him a difficult task, to get possession of an Island, which the Quadruple Alliance had designed for him. The Duke of *Savoy* had only the three aforementioned towns to deliver up, which he scrupled doing without the promised equivalent; and the Emperor had it not to give him. But, tho' the Emperor had gotten these places, the recovery of the rest of the Island was to be a work of conquest. The *Spaniards* had an army well appointed, well paid, and the affections of the people on their side. They would have little feared any enterprizes of the *Germans*, if the sea had been neutral between them.

The Duke of *Savoy* finding himself under circumstances of difficulty, the *Spaniards*, on the one hand, taking most of his towns in *Sicily* from him, and the Emperor, on the other, by virtue of the Quadruple Alliance, demanding his evacuation of the rest, whilst the Island of *Sardinia*, allotted to him by the same treaty, remained in the hands of the enemy; and having jealousy, that, when the Imperialists had obtained their Island, he should be left to get the other as he could, and desiring to have some reasonable security for the one, before he parted with his interest in the other, a Convention was made between those Princes at *Vienna* (Monsieur de *St. Saphorin*, the King's Minister, assisting) dated 29 *December*, 1718, whereby it was agreed to form an army for an expedition to *Sardinia* as soon as possible, towards which the Emperor was to furnish six thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horse, at his own expence, and the Duke of *Savoy* was intirely to evacuate *Sicily*, and join five thousand men of his troops from that Island to act with the Imperialists on that service; and in the mean time, till they could be transported from *Sicily*, they were to co-operate with the *Germans* against the common enemy. This treaty of Convention was sent to *Naples* for the Viceroy, the Duke of *Savoy's* Minister, and Admiral *Byng*, to consult together of the best means to put it in execution. The business hung long perplexed with difficulties on the part of the Minister of *Savoy*, from a jealousy and distrust of the *Germans*; but the Admiral interposing, and removing by degrees all scruples, an agreement was at last concluded and signed between them, upon which the Minister of *Savoy* delivered to the Viceroy his Master's orders to Count *Maffei* to evacuate the towns in his possession to the Imperialists. But the expedition against *Sardinia* did not go on, as will be shewn hereafter.

The winter being now set in, the Viceroy and Admiral *Byng* held frequent consultations together, about the farther operations against the enemy. It was judged absolutely necessary to maintain the post of *Melazzo*, which had been long blockaded, and was now besieged by the *Spanish*

1718.

1718. *Spanish* army, both sides making this their principal point during the winter, the one holding their footing in the Island by means of this place; the other, by taking it, to shut them out. All the troops from *Reggio*, and some horse from *Naples*, being got into the town, under the command of the Generals *Caraffa* and *Veterani*, it was resolved, in a Council of war held the 14th of *October*, to fall upon the enemy. Accordingly, the next morning by break of day, they marched out in two columns, the first consisting of six, and the other of five battalions, and attacked the *Spanish* intrenchments, which they carried, after an engagement of four hours, and got possession of their camp in the center and on the left, with three pieces of cannon. But, the soldiers falling to plunder, the *Spaniards* rallied on their right; and the Marquis *de Leds* coming up at the same time with fresh troops from *Messina*, who had lain short the night before, they attacked the *Germans* in their turns, and drove them back into their camp, under the walls of the town, whose artillery protected the retreat, and prevented a greater slaughter. In the action, about twelve hundred men were killed and wounded on each side, and General *Veterani* was taken.

Melazzo is an ill fortified town, on the North-side of the Island of *Sicily*, not far distant from the *Faro*, standing on a neck of land, which runs out into the sea like an *Isthmus*. *Caraffa* being recalled to *Naples*, Baron *Zumjungen* arrived at *Melazzo* the 27th of *November*, N. S. to command the forces; and being followed by the Generals *Wachtendonck* and *Seckendorf*, with large supplies of troops from *Italy*, and the place being too strait to contain them, they carried their intrenchments out of the town, within less than pistol shot of those of the *Spaniards*; so that, neither side being able to advance farther, both lay all the winter in an unwholesome situation, it being low bad ground, and the trenches filled with water in rainy, and by the sea in blowing weather; so that great numbers of men perished on both sides. The *Germans* had no provisions but what came from time to time in small imbarcations from *Calabria*, and other parts of *Naples*. Rear-Admiral *Cammock*, who was got with his squadron into *Messina*, and the inhabitants of the Island of *Lipari*, who are esteemed bold mariners, and have many armed vessels, lay in the way of intercepting those supplies; and the least disappointment must have starved the garrison, for their consumption was very great, and they had no magazines. It was very hard service, unknown and astonishing to the pilots of that Country, to employ ships cruising in those dangerous seas, during the rigour of the winter. For, when the westerly or northerly winds blow, there is so little sea-room in that narrow station, and the currents set in so strong upon the *Calabrian* shore, accompanied with a vast rolling sea, that it is extremely difficult for ships to work to windward, or indeed to hold their own, and avoid standing on a lee-shore. The Admiral had appointed a squadron, under the command of Captain *Walton*, to cruise upon this station, to hinder Rear-Admiral *Cammock* from coming out of the *Faro*, and to secure the passage of the vessels with provisions for the *German* camp. It chanced to prove such tempestuous weather, that no provisions had arrived in a month at *Melazzo*, and Captain *Wal-*

ton was blown off from his station, and had not been seen nor heard of in six and twenty days. Rear-Admiral *Cammock* took hold of this opportunity to get out of *Messina*, the moment the weather abated, and, appearing before *Tropea* with *English* colours, sent a letter a-shore to the Governor, under a fictitious name of one of the *English* Captains, acquainting him, that he was come thither by Admiral *Byng*'s orders, to convey the imbarcations with provisions to *Melazzo*, and pressed him to dispatch them away, the place being in the utmost distress. Had this stratagem succeeded, it would have intirely ruined the Emperor's affairs in *Sicily*; but the Governor happened to be a wary man, and observing the letter to be written on *Genoa* paper, from that single circumstance conceived a suspicion, which made him refuse to send the imbarcations out to him. In the mean time, the Admiral, being made sensible of the extremities the *Germans* were reduced to, had no other way left, than to fill four men of war (just arrived at *Naples* from *Port-Mabon*) with provisions, directing their Captains to attempt, at all hazards, to get to *Melazzo*, which three of them did with much difficulty and danger (the fourth being disabled by bad weather) and came providentially to the relief of the garrison, at a time they must otherwise have surrendered to the enemy, or perished by famine. A few days after, Captain *Walton* recovered his station, upon the sight of whom, Rear-Admiral *Cammock* retired into *Messina*.

Melazzo being rescued from danger, and reinforced daily with fresh supplies of men and provisions, the *Spaniards*, despairing to take the place, turned the siege into a blockade, and worked hard in fortifying their own intrenchments, in order to keep the *Germans* pent up in the town, and obstruct the descent of the army expected in the spring.

The Admiral having made a proper disposition of ships in different stations round the Island, to keep the sea open to the *Germans*, and shut to the *Spaniards*, was preparing to depart with the rest, that had suffered by bad weather, to rest at *Port-Mabon*, when the Viceroy intreated him to assist at a Conference to be held at the Palace, where he met the General *Caraffa*, *Wetzel*, and the Marquis *de Fuencalada*, General of the *Neapolitan* galleys. The Viceroy opened it by acquainting them, 'That, a truce with the *Turks* being concluded, Prince *Eugene* was sending from *Hungary* a body of about six thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, which, added to the troops in *Melazzo*, was thought a sufficient number for the conquest of the Island. That they would probably arrive at *Naples* in the beginning of *March*, and he should be glad to know their sentiments of the properest place for their landing in *Sicily*, and touched on several propositions about it, as at *Syracusa* or *Taormina*, on the East-side of the Island, or at *Patti* on the North-side, not far Westward from *Melazzo*.? General *Caraffa* objected to the landing at *Syracusa*, 'as it would be a means of prolonging the war: That the place was too distant from *Melazzo*; and, *Augusta* and *Catania* lying in the way, the siege of those places would cost more time and men, than could be spared, besides the garrisoning them afterwards. That their march from thence lay for the most part over barren mountains, amongst a disaffected people,

1718. people, where they should find no subsistence but what they carried with them; and that passing afterwards through narrow defiles into the plain of *Melazzo*, where the enemy lay, was to attack them at too great a disadvantage: And therefore he concluded for seeking the enemy as soon as possible, and for that end to land as near to them as might be.' General *Wetzel*, being next to speak, preferred the landing at *Syracusa*, 'as it would be a work of ease and safety, and done without interruption: That it would probably draw some of the enemy's force that way, and so relieve the troops in *Melazzo*: That it would expose the army too much to land in the neighbourhood of the enemy, who, seeing them approaching from the sea, would easily guess at the place they designed to land, and, leaving a guard in their camp, march a sufficient body of troops to oppose the descent, which was a difficult and tedious work in itself, especially with regard to the debarking the horse.' *Caraffa* asking him, how long he thought the enemy might be marching to the landing-place, after they knew where it would be, and *Wetzel* allowing eight hours, *Caraffa* replied, the foot could be all landed in that time, and formed into proper order to receive the enemy, and the landing the horse might be afterwards a work of leisure. But *Wetzel* adhered to his opinion. The General of the galleys next, in a very long discourse, 'excused himself from giving any opinion upon a subject, that related to the land-service, and, referring himself to what the two Generals had said before him, concluded, that great caution ought to be taken, which ever opinion should be followed.' The Admiral gathering from their discourse, that part of the expected troops were to embark at *Fiume* and *Triefse*, and to come round by sea to *Reggio*, and probably pass on through the *Faro*, to *Naples*, told them, 'That land-forces should be trusted to the sea as little as possible, especially in the early and uncertain season: That, if they landed at *Manfredonia* on the *Atlantic* side, the trajectory would be short, and their march more certain to their rendezvous at *Naples*.' He then went on to deliver his opinion, 'That the troops they expected were not sufficient to recover the Island from the enemy. That it was a great error to hold the *Spaniards* in contempt, whose behaviour hitherto in *Sicily* had given no reason for it. That they were become used to arms and hardships, and the *Germans* would find them

like other men. That, according to a calculation he had made, when those troops should be joined to the forces in *Melazzo*, they would not be able, after leaving the necessary garrisons in the towns, which the Duke of *Savoy* was to deliver up, to bring into the field a greater number than what the *Spanish* army was reported to be; and that, without a considerable superiority, little success was to be expected in a Country, where the ill-will of the people towards them, and their inclinations to the *Spaniards*, were so very evident, that they were to hope for no assistance, but expect every distress from them.' He added, 'That they were not to look upon the enemy as a mouldering army, for, notwithstanding the care of his cruisers, they received frequent recruits from *Spain* and *Sardinia*, and even from *Italy*, in open vessels and boats, which was not always in his power to prevent. And besides, the *Marquis de Lede* had lately raised four regiments of foot, and one of horse, in the Island itself.' The Viceroy acknowledged the force of the Admiral's reasonings, but lamented the distance of the Court of *Vienna*, which hindered them from seeing into, and considering enough these difficulties, and who pursued only one maxim, that, if they sent men, they ought to conquer. The Admiral proposed, that an Officer should be sent to *Vienna*, to represent the posture of affairs to that Court in a better light than they seemed to view them in, and to bring back their final resolutions concerning the operations of the war; and Count *Hamilton* was pitched upon for that purpose.

The Conference being ended, the Admiral took his leave of the Viceroy, and set sail the 3d of February for *Port-Mahon*, to refit his ships, and put them in a condition to go on early with the operations of the campaign, leaving his eldest son at *Naples* to manage his correspondence with the Viceroy, and to inform the Court of *England* of all occurrences in those parts.

The defeat of the *Spanish* fleet made a great Complaint noise, and *England* was upbraided with it as in- of *Spain*. consistent with the rules of good faith, for the observance of which she had always been so famous.

Cardinal *Alberoni*, in his letter to the *Marquis de Monteleone* at *London*, called it an unworthy action. 'His Majesty (says the Cardinal) approves of the justness of your expressions (1), to expose the breach of faith of that Ministry,

(1) Soon after the news of the action in the *Mediterranean*, the *Marquis de Monteleone* wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary *Cragg*, to which the Cardinal here refers. The letter begins thus:

S I R,

'The news that is spread in the world of Admiral *Byng*'s having attacked the *Spanish* fleet, and obtained considerable advantages over them, obliges me naturally not to act in any affair, till I receive orders and instructions from the King my Master, concerning an action so surprising and unexpected, and that even seems to agree but very little with the Declarations made to the Court of *Madrid* by the said Admiral; since they gave to understand, that the *English* fleet would proceed no farther than as a guarantee to defend the Dominions of the Archduke, in case they were invaded.

Nevertheless, as I cannot doubt in the least but that your Excellency makes serious reflections on the just No. 94. Vol. IV.

resentments which the King, my Master, and all the *Spaniards*, must needs have, to see themselves thus assaulted and abused, with so much animosity, by a Nation to whom they have shewn the most favour, and see them act contrary to reason, politics, and even against their own interest, to increase the exorbitant power of the *Germans* in *Italy*, I cannot dispense with my not acquainting your Excellency with the good and generous intentions of the King my Master, that were communicated to me by his letters of the 20th of August, N. S. as also the orders he gave concerning the arrival of the fleet of *Mexico* at *Cádiz*, which in silver and other effects is valued at nine millions of crowns.

His Majesty informs me, that notwithstanding Admiral *Byng*'s declaration, and the intimation that has been given him of the articles lately signed, whereof I send a copy to your Excellency, and that although the said declaration and articles rather denote an obvious design of making war, than that of maintaining

1718. Ministry, in relation to the over-hasty proceedings of Admiral Byng, when nothing was pretended to but a mediation, to facilitate the project of peace, or, at most, to defend the territories actually in the possession of the Archduke in Italy, when my Lord Stanhope was in Spain, at a small distance from the Court, to propose projects of peace and a suspension of arms. In truth (added he) no impartial person can hear, without surprize, that the fleet of his Britannic Majesty did, without any provocation, necessity, or pretence, and forgetting the title of peaceful Mediator, which his Master assumes, attack the fleet of Spain, only to frustrate the expedition against Sicily, after having been at Naples to concert with Count Daun to base an action; received great sums of money, by way of supposed arrears, and, finally, after having come near to Messina, and sent trusty Officers to confer with the Commanders of the King's army, and to assure them, that he would commit no act of hostility.

The best part of Europe (continued the Cardinal) is impatient to hear how the British Ministry can justify so rash a violence. He said, the preserving the neutrality of Italy was a weak argument, since every one knew, that neutrality had long been at an end, and that the Princes, guaranties of the treaty of Utrecht, were entirely free, not only by the scandalous breaches of the Austrians, in the evacuation of Catalonia and Majorca, but also because the guaranty was no longer binding, than till a peace was made with France. He reproached the British Ministry for reviving and supporting the neutrality, not by

an amicable mediation, but by open force, and by artfully abusing the confidence and security of the Spaniards. In proof of what he advanced, he observed, that Admiral Byng, struck with remorse of his unjust conduct, alledged, in his account of the engagement, contrary to the truth, that the Spanish ships drew up first, in a line of battle, and fired upon the English. If he had no design to attack them, Why did he pursue them from the Faro to Syracuse? Why did he send four of the prime sailors of his fleet to come up with them?

On the contrary, Mr. Secretary Craggs, in his answer to the Marquis de Monteleone's letter (referred to by the Cardinal) said, that it appeared by the Admiral's account that the Spaniards began the hostilities: That the action might well be expected by his Catholic Majesty, and therefore ought not to have surprized him, since Admiral Byng, by his letter of the 20th of June, O. S. plainly informed him of his instructions, to which a haughty answer was returned, bidding him follow his orders (1).

Whether hostilities were begun by the English or by the Spaniards, or whatever irregularities there were in the proceedings on either side, the action was not only decisive, but necessary to disconcert the Cardinal's projects, which tended to no less than the involving all Europe in a war, the flames whereof had been so lately extinguished. This is sufficient to justify, in the eyes of true Politicians, a slight breach of faith, supposing there had been any. The Cardinal could never recover this shock; his complaints and invectives, to which he had recourse,

could

a perfect understanding between the two Nations, and undertaking an impartial mediation; yet it is resolved not to make the least change in any thing that relates to trade; that the effects arrived in the said fleet shall be delivered as before to those to whom they belong; and, in a word, that it is his Majesty's will and intention that the treaty of Peace and Commerce should be religiously observed, and that the English should continue to enjoy all the advantages and grants that were given them heretofore.

This last and so singular instance of his Majesty's justice and moderation ought not certainly to have been prevented by the said event, of which he must have received the news a few days after he had given so evident a mark of his favourable dispositions towards the English Nation.

The article mentioned in this letter were delivered by Earl Stanhope to the Court of Madrid, a day or two after the action of Syracuse, and were as follows:

I. That the Catholic King shall have three months to accept of the treaty, reckoning from the day it was signed.

II. That, if his Catholic Majesty does not accept of the same within the said term of three months, then the Confederates shall supply the Emperor with such forces as are stipulated in the treaty of Alliance.

III. That if, in consequence to the assistance given to the Emperor, the King of Spain should declare or make war against any one of the Confederates, either by invading his Dominions, or seizing his subjects, ships, or effects, then the other Confederates shall immediately declare and make war against his Catholic Majesty, and shall carry on the same till such time as satisfaction shall be given to their wronged Ally.

IV. That, in case his Catholic Majesty should refuse to accept of the said treaty, the Confederates shall unanimously dispose of his expectations on the Dominions of Tuscany and Parma, in favour of some other Prince.

V. That the Emperor shall not act within the said term of three months, upon condition that the King of Spain does not act on his side; but that, if his Catholic Majesty, instead of accepting the said treaty, should within the said term act any hostilities, which might prevent the execution of any disposition of the said treaty, then the Allies shall immediately, and without waiting the expiration of the said term, supply the Emperor with such forces as are therein stipulated.

(1) As to the favours shewn the English in regard to their trade (mentioned in Monteleone's letter) Mr. Craggs said, he had the King's commands to repeat the following grievances:

1. Impolts have been laid on our merchandizes, directly contrary to our treaties of Commerce with the Crown of Spain.

2. Several kinds of goods have been prohibited, which are expressly allowed by the same treaties.

3. The schedules for their annual vessels have been denied the South-Sea Company, contrary to the express letter of the treaty; without any better reason given for it, than that it was not for the convenience of the Court of Madrid to grant them.

4. Our Merchant-ships have been seized in all the ports of Spain: The Spanish men of war and privateers have brought them in by force; have obliged them to take out their cargoes, and, to their inexpressible loss, have constrained them to transport the troops, horses, ammunition, &c. for this very expedition which has disordered the affairs of all Europe. I am even assured what I can scarce believe, that owners of these vessels, for endeavouring to struggle with such unheard of proceedings, have had their ears cut off: And that the first thing done by the Spaniards, upon their entering Messina, was to thrust the King's Consul into prison. He then desired him to examine how consistent these things are with the favourable declaration he had made for the trade of Great-Britain.

1718. could not restore his designs, and served only to throw him from that high station, where chance much more than merit had placed him. But, before his fall, he made those two Princes very uneasy, whose superior genius had defeated his projects.

As King George had several reasons for assembling the Parliament, he fixed the day of meeting by Proclamation to the 11th of November. He not only wanted to have the steps he had taken approved, but also to be authorized to support them. Besides, he was acquainted with the enterprising genius of Cardinal Alberoni, knew, he breathed nothing but vengeance, and was preparing some design in favour of the Pretender, as appeared by some expressions which had dropped from him. He was not ignorant that too many were ready for a second Rebellion, which perhaps might succeed, unless proper measures to prevent it were taken. All these considerations induced him to have a speedy recourse to the Parliament.

On the day appointed, the King came to the House of Peers, and opened the Session with the following speech, which was read by the Lord Chancellor to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"SINCE your last recess, I have, by the Blessing of Almighty God, concluded such terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the two greatest Princes of Europe, as will, in all human appearance, induce others to follow their example, and make any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity, not only dangerous, but impracticable.

"These engagements, I am persuaded, will be so much the more agreeable to all my good subjects, as they bind the contracting powers to support the Succession to these Kingdoms in my Family, to which some were not at all, and others not so fully bound by any former treaties.

"During the whole course of these Negotiations, a most strict regard has been had to the interest of Spain, and better conditions have been stipulated for that King, than were insisted upon in his behalf, even at the treaty of Utrecht. But the war in Hungary (which, by our mediation, is since happily ended) having tempted the Court of Spain unjustly to attack the Emperor, and the hopes they have since conceived of raising disturbances in Great-Britain, France, and elsewhere, having encouraged them to believe, that we should not be able to act, in pursuance of our treaties, for the defence of the Dominions invaded by them, nor even to the support of those other essential and necessary conditions of the treaty of Utrecht, which provide against the great Monarchies of Europe being at any time hereafter united under one Sovereign; they have not only persisted in such a notorious violation of the public peace and tranquillity, but have rejected all our amicable proposals, and have broke through their most solemn engagements for the security of our commerce.

"To vindicate therefore the faith of our former treaties, as well as to maintain those, which we have lately made, and to protect and defend the trade of my subjects, which

"has in every branch been violently and unjustly oppressed, it became necessary for our naval forces to check their progress. It was reasonable to hope, that the success of our arms, the repeated offers of friendship, which I have never ceased to make in the most pleasing manner, and the measures taken in concert with the Emperor and the most Christian King to restore the public tranquillity, would have produced a better disposition in the Court of Spain; but I have received informations, that, instead of listening to our reasonable terms of accommodation, that Court has lately given orders at all the ports of Spain, and of the West-Indies, to fit out Privateers, and to take our ships.

"I am persuaded, that a British Parliament will inable me to resent such treatment, as becomes us; and it is with pleasure, that I can assure you of the ready and friendly resolution of our good Brother the Regent of France, to concur and join with me in the most vigorous measures.

"The firm confidence I repose in the affection of my people, together with my earnest desire to ease them of every charge not absolutely necessary, determined me, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of our great Alliance, to make a very considerable reduction of our land-forces; nor could I better express, than by so doing, how little we apprehend the attempts of our enemies to disturb the peace of my Kingdoms, even tho' Spain should think fit to continue some time in war. Our naval force, employed in concert with our Allies, will, I trust in God, soon put a happy end to the troubles, which the ambitious views of that Court have begun, and secure to my subjects the execution of the many treaties in force relating to our commerce.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I must desire you to grant me such Supplies, as will inable me to carry on the service of the year. I have given orders to have the proper estimates laid before you, whereby you will perceive, I have reduced the expence as much as our circumstances can well admit. I have the pleasure to observe to you, that the funds, appropriated for sinking the public debts, have answered above expectation. I must, however, recommend to you to consider of proper methods for improving them, by preventing the frauds and abuses daily committed in the public revenues, not doubting, in all your proceedings, you will have that regard to the inviolable preservation of the public credit, which may quiet the minds of all those, that have trusted to parliamentary engagements.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"There never was a time when your unanimity, your vigour and dispatch, were more necessary to so many good ends, as those we have now in view. I have done my part. It remains with you to give the last finishing to this great work. Our friends and our enemies, both at home and abroad, are waiting the event of your resolutions. And I dare promise

1718.

1718. " promise myself, that the first have nothing to
 " apprehend, nor the other to hope from your
 " conduct in this important juncture, who have,
 " during the whole course of my Reign, given
 " such lively proofs of your zeal and affection to
 " my Person, and of your love to your Country."

How plausible and important soever this speech might be, it occasioned great debates. The addresses that were to be presented drew the attention of both parties: On the manner in which they should be expressed, depended, as it were, the operations of the Session.

Debates on
 an address
 of thanks.
 Pr. H. L.
 Pr. H. C.

The King was no sooner withdrawn, but the Lord Carteret moved for 'an address of thanks to his Majesty, for his care in preserving the public peace, and the balance of power in Europe: For the considerable reduction of the land-forces; and for having obtained further securities of the Succession in his Family: As also to congratulate the seasonable success of his naval forces; and to assure him, that the House would support him in the pursuit of those prudent and necessary measures he had taken to secure the trade and quiet of these Kingdoms, and the tranquility of Europe.' The Lord Carteret was seconded by the Lord Tenham; but several Lords excepted against the congratulating the King upon the seasonable success of his naval forces, and the promise to support him in the pursuit of those prudent and necessary measures he had taken, because it was, in effect, to approve a sea-fight, which might be attended with dangerous consequences, and give the sanction of that August Assembly to measures, which, upon examination, might appear either to clash with the laws of Nations or former treaties, or to be prejudicial to the trade of Great-Britain. That, according to the constant usage of that House, they ought to proceed with the utmost caution and maturest deliberation, in an affair, wherein the honour, as well as the interest of the Nation, were so highly concerned. And Lord Strafford insisted, 'That, before they approved the sea-fight, they ought to be satisfied whether the same happened before or after the signing of the Quadruple Alliance; and therefore moved for an address, that Sir George Byng's instructions might be laid before the House.'

To this it was answered by Earl Stanhope, 'That there was no manner of occasion for such an address, since, by his Majesty's command, he had already laid before the House the treaties, of which the late sea-fight was a consequence; and, in particular, the treaty for a defensive Alliance between the Emperor and his Majesty, made at Westminster the 25th of May, 1716; and the treaty of Alliance for restoring and settling the public peace, signed at London the 22d of July, O. S. After this, he accounted at large for the justice and equity of those treaties, which were calculated to preserve, restore, and settle the peace of Europe, by rendering the treaty of Utrecht effectual, particularly in preventing the union of the two great Monarchies of France and Spain under one Sovereign, and securing the

Succession of these Kingdoms in his Majesty's Family. At the same time he shewed, how the Court of Spain had violated the treaty of Utrecht, and acted against the public faith, in attacking the Emperor's Dominions, while he was engaged in a war against the enemies of Christendom; and in what manner they had rejected his Majesty's friendly offices, and repeated offers of mediating an accommodation between the Emperor and his Catholic Majesty. To which purpose he gave the House an account of his late Journey to, and Negotiations in, Spain. He added, that it was high time for Great-Britain to check the growth of the naval power of Spain, in order to protect and secure the trade of the British subjects, which had been violently oppressed by the Spaniards: To which purpose several letters were read. He concluded with observing, that both with relation to Sir George Byng's instructions, and in all other respects, in this whole affair his Majesty had acted by the advice of his Privy Council: That he was one of that number: And he thought it an honour to have advised his Majesty to these measures, because he was persuaded they intirely agreed with the honour and interest of his Country: That he doubted not, but, upon the strictest examination, those measures would be approved by all true Englishmen, and that he was ready to answer for them with his head.' This speech made a great impression on the whole Assembly; and though several Peers still urged, that the making war, before the declaring of it, was a manifest violation of the laws of Nations; and others raised less material objections; yet, after a five hours debate, it was carried for the address, as moved by the Lord Carteret, by eighty-three votes against fifty. The principal Speakers on the Court-side were, the Lords Carteret and Tenham, and the Earls of Sunderland and Stanhope; and, on the other side, the Dukes of Bucks, Devonshire, and Argyle; the Earls of Nottingham, Cowper, Oxford, and Ilay, the Lords North and Grey and Hartcourt.

In the mean time the same affair was debating in the House of Commons. The Lord Hinchinbroke moved, that the House in an address of thanks should declare their intire satisfaction in those measures, which the King had already taken for strengthening the Protestant Succession, and establishing a lasting tranquility in Europe; and particularly in relation to the Crown of Spain; and their resolution to enable him, in concurrence with his Allies, not only to resent the injuries, that Crown had already done to our commerce, in breach of the treaties subsisting between the two Nations, but to support him in the most effectual manner, in such further measures, as he should judge necessary to compleat the public tranquillity in Europe, and to check the growth of that naval power which must otherwise prove dangerous to the trade of these Kingdoms, and to the repose of Europe. This motion was attended with a very warm debate (1). The opposing side chiefly objected to the words intire satisfaction in those measures

a. bibb

(1) The Speakers for the motion were, the Lord Hinchinbroke, the Lord Tyrconnel, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr. Lechmere, Mr. Secretary Craggs, Mr. Smith, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Gilfrid Lawsons, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Aylmer, Mr. Boscowen, Mr. Bladen, and

Serjeant Mead; against the motion were, Mr. Freeman, Mr. Hyslop, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Snel, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Horne, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr. Cowper, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, the Lord Moleworth, and General Ref.

1718. *which his Majesty had already taken.* In order to have these words left out of the address, it was alleged, 'That it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first day of a Session, to enter upon particulars. That the business in question being of the highest importance, *peace or war*, deserved the maturest deliberation. That, before they approved the measures that had been taken, they ought to examine the treaties, and the reasons, on which those measures were founded, which must needs take up some time; and therefore they ought, for the present, according to the usual custom, to content themselves with returning his Majesty thanks for his most gracious speech, with general assurances of their zeal and affection for his Person and Government; and then appoint a day to take the speech into consideration.' To this it was answered, 'That, though all applications from this House to the Throne differed according to the various circumstances of affairs, yet there were not wanting precedents to support the expressions excepted against, of which some instances were produced. That the measures, which had been taken, were grounded on treaties, that had been laid before them, and which might be examined into as soon as the House thought fit. But that it was necessary, at this critical juncture, when the eyes of all Europe were fixed on this Parliament, early to come to a vigorous resolution, which would not fail having its due weight abroad.' This was warmly opposed by Mr. *Walpole*, who urged, 'That it was against the common rules of proceeding in that House, to approve a thing before they knew what it was: That he was thoroughly convinced of, and as ready as any person in that August Assembly, to acknowledge his Majesty's great care for the general peace of Europe, and the interest of *Great-Britain*: But that the giving sanction, in the manner proposed, to the late measures, could have no other view than to screen Ministers, who were conscious of having begun a war against *Spain*, and who would now make it the Parliament's war. He concluded with observing, that, instead of an intire satisfaction, they ought to shew their intire dissatisfaction with a conduct, that was contrary to the laws of Nations, and a breach of solemn treaties.' Upon this, Mr. *Craggs* gave the House an exact account of the measures, which the King and his Ministers had pursued for restoring and securing the tranquility of Europe; and said, in particular, 'That, upon that view, a treaty of defensive Alliance between his Majesty and the Emperor had been signed in May 1716, and by that very Gentleman, then in high station, who now excepted against these measures. That, at the same time, his Majesty sincerely desired and endeavoured to maintain a perfect friendship with the King of *Spain*, and had even proposed a defensive Alliance to him, before he made one with any other power. That, notwithstanding the engagements his Majesty was under to guarantee the neutrality of *Italy*, and to defend the Emperor in the possession of his Dominions, which, upon the invasion of *Sardinia*, might have justified his Majesty's assisting him against *Spain*, yet the King chose rather to act as a friendly Mediator, and, in concert with the Regent of *France*, endeavoured to find out means of reconciling the interests of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, as the only way to put a

No. 94. Vol. IV.

stop to the war, that threatened *Italy*, and in which all Europe might be involved. That the Catholic King was often sollicitated by the *British* Ministers at *Madrid*, to concur with his Majesty's good intentions, and to give such instructions to the *Spanish* Minister here, as would put it in his Majesty's power to stand up for the interests and advantages of *Spain* in the ensuing Negotiations. That the Catholic King having declined to concert measures with *Great-Britain*, and demanding, in general, satisfaction for the breaches he pretended the Emperor had made upon the treaty of *Utrecht*, the balance of power in Europe, and the security and liberty of the Princes and States of *Italy*; all that his Majesty, with the Regent's assistance, could do, was to obtain of the Emperor such conditions, as were thought most agreeable to his Catholic Majesty; namely, an absolute renunciation of the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and a very considerable settlement in *Italy* for a Prince of *Spain*, particularly the Great Duchy of *Tuscany*. That, as the Emperor's pretensions to *Sicily* were the principal reasons of his opposing the treaty of *Utrecht*, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the treaty of *Baden*, it became necessary, towards an accommodation, to dispose of that Island in favour of his Imperial Majesty, of whom, upon that consideration, his Majesty and the Regent of *France* obtained the disposition of *Sardinia* in favour of the King of *Sicily*. That these were the principal articles of the treaty of Alliance, for restoring and settling the public peace, commonly called the *Quadruple Alliance*, which was a long while depending, and at last signed here, on the 22d of July 1718. That, in order to support the views of this treaty, and to add weight to the endeavours to restore the tranquility of Europe, his Majesty acquainted the Commons, towards the end of the last Session of Parliament, that he intended to employ a naval force, when it should be necessary; whereupon this House unanimously resolved to return his Majesty their thanks for his unwearied endeavours to promote the welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preserve the tranquility of Europe, and to assure his Majesty, that they would make good such exceedings of men for the sea-service, of the year 1718, as his Majesty, in his Royal wisdom, should find necessary to obtain those desirable ends*. That this unanimous resolution undoubtedly implied an intire satisfaction in the measures his Majesty was, at that time, concerting for preserving the tranquility of Europe; and, if an action has since happened, and in consequence of those measures, this cannot, with any justice, be called the war of the Ministers, but the war of the Parliament. That, however, it was not with design of making war, but only of restoring peace, that his Majesty sent a strong Squadron into the *Mediterranean*. That, pursuant to this view, as soon as Sir *George Byng* reached the coast of *Spain*, he wrote a letter to that King, desiring him to accept his Majesty's mediation, and to desist from the hostilities already begun; offering him his service, either to withdraw his troops, or even to assist him, in case the Emperor should not consent to a suspension of arms, which the Admiral proposed, while an accommodation should be negotiated. That the *Spaniards* having with haughtiness rejected his Majesty's repeated amicable projects, and not only

* See p. 561.

7 G

1718. perished in the violation of the public peace, by the invasion of *Sicily*, but likewise broke thro' the most solemn treaties for the security of our trade, it became necessary for his Majesty's naval forces to check these insolent and violent proceedings, as well to maintain the faith of his Majesty's engagements, and prevent the consequences of this war, as to protect and defend the trade of the *British* subjects, which labours under the heaviest hardships and difficulties.* And this particular was confirmed to the House by Colonel *Bladen*, who produced a list of many Merchant-ships taken or detained by the *Spaniards*. Several Members on the opposing side, having, like Mr. *Walpole*, made solemn professions of their duty and affection to the King, and of their readiness to acknowledge his care and constant endeavours for the security and welfare of his people and the tranquility of *Europe*; distinguished between his Majesty and his Ministers, and shewed an unwillingness to approve the measures pursued by the latter, till the treaties, on which these measures were founded, had been fully and maturely examined. Mr. *Craggs* readily admitted of the distinction between the King and his Ministers; adding, 'That he observed, with a great deal of pleasure, how unanimous they were all for the King; and that he should be extremely sorry, if the Ministers should be the occasion of any delay in the House's expressing their duty and affection to him. That, he owned, Ministers were not infallible: That he had the honour to be one of his Majesty's servants, and had gone as great lengths as any in the measures that had been taken; but that he was positive, that, in the course of this whole affair, nothing had been done, that was not intirely consistent with the faith of treaties, and the honour and interest of the nation. That he durst promise, both for himself and the rest of the Ministers, that, if the House came into this vote, which he thought of the highest importance at this critical juncture, no manner of advantage would be taken of it to palliate any faults, which, through human frailty, might have been committed; and that, for his own part, he was ready to undergo the severest examination, whenever the House should think fit to inquire into the conduct of the Ministry.' This speech had great weight with the majority of the House; and Mr. *Craggs* was so strongly supported, that the address, as moved by the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, was at last carried by two hundred and ten voices against one hundred and fifty-five. And, on the 13th of November, the Commons, as well as the Lords, presented their address to the King.

A Supply granted.
Fr. H. C.

The Commons pursuant to their address immediately voted a Supply. They allowed for the sea service thirteen thousand five hundred sailors at 4*l.* a month each, amounting to 702,000*l.* Twelve thousand four hundred thirty-five men were voted for the land service, whose pay amounted to 526,964*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* These sums, with what was voted for making good deficiencies, for the ordinary of the

Navy, and other things, amounted in all to 2,257,581*l.* 19*s.* This Supply was raised by a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, the malt-tax, and a lottery for 500,000*l.* The bills for the land and malt-tax were presented, and both passed in one day, a dispatch not to be paralleled in any Parliament since the Revolution.

The King judging by the disposition of the Parliament, that it would be a proper time to execute a design, he had long been meditating, resolved to attempt it this Session. Ever since his Accession to the Throne he had assured the Church of *England* of his protection, but at the same time declared for a just Toleration, by removing the odious distinctions between Churchmen and Non-conformists. In the former Session he had plainly enough discovered his intention, but the prosecution of it was prevented, by the misunderstanding among the Whigs. The Dissenters, besides the *Occasional* and *Schism* bills, lay under the weight of the *Sacramental Test*. As they had been zealous asserters of the Protestant Succession, they expected to be relieved from these burdens as soon as that Succession took place. To that end consultations had been held the last year, but without any effect*. The affair was now resumed, and debated by the Dissenters in many Meetings, in several parts of the Kingdom. The majority in these meetings were for a general repeal of the acts that they thought hardships upon them, or leaving matters as they stood. But they were assured that the King had pressed the affair to the utmost with the Ministers, and that the Lord *Sunderland* said, it was impracticable, and to attempt a repeal of the Test would ruin all (1). Upon this the Test was given up, after assurances that the Test-Act should also be repealed in a more proper time. Earl *Stanhope* therefore was to move for a repeal of the *Occasional* and *Schism* Acts passed in the latter end of the Reign of Queen *Anne*. Accordingly, on the 13th of December, he told the House of Lords, that, in order to unite the hearts and affections of the well-affected to the present Establishment, he had a bill to offer under the title of *An Act for strengthening the Protestant interest in these Kingdoms*, which he desired might be read. The bill was read, importing in substance a repeal of the acts against *Occasional Conformity*, and the growth of *Schism*, and of some clauses in the *Corporation* and *Test-Acts*. Many of the Peers were surprized at the bringing in this bill at a time, when none but such as were in the secret expected any such thing; and Earl *Stanhope* having moved, that it might be read a second time, it occasioned a long debate. The Author of the bill endeavoured to shew 'the equity, justice, reasonableness, and advantage of restoring Dissenters to their natural rights, and of easing them of these stigmatizing and oppressive laws, that had been made against them in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods, for no other reason, than because they ever shewed their zealous and firm adherence to the

(1) The King told the Lord *Barrington* (a Dissenter) 'that, if there were any hopes of carrying the whole, he would not be against it; but, if there were no hopes, as he was assured by his Ministers, he be-

lieved the Dissenters were too much his friends, to insist upon a thing which might be infinitely prejudicial to him, without doing them any good; but, on the contrary, a great deal of hurt.'

Repeal of the Schism and Occasional bills

* See Note, p. 524.

1718. the *Revolution and Protestant Succession*: Urging, that this desirable union of all true Protestants, as it would certainly strengthen the Protestant interest, so would it rather be an advantage, than any prejudice to the Church of England by law established, which would still be the head of all the Protestant Churches; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* become the Patriarch of all the Protestant Clergy.* He was seconded and supported by the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Stamford*, and some other Lords: But the Dukes of *Bucks*, and *Devonshire*, the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Aylesford*, *Oxford*, *Cowper*, and the Lord *North* and *Grey*, either strenuously opposed the bill, or endeavoured to put off the second reading to a long day. It was alledged in general, 'that this bill, if passed into a Law, instead of strengthening, would certainly weaken the Church of England, by plucking off her best Feathers, investing her enemies with power, and sharing with them the civil and military employments, of which Churchmen only are now in possession.' The Duke of *Devonshire* in particular suggested, 'That it was irregular to bring in a bill of so great consequence, without previously acquainting the House.' But it was readily answered by Earl *Stanhope*, 'That his Grace had forgot, that about two years before he had brought in himself, in the same manner, a bill of much greater consequence;' meaning the bill for suspending the *Act for Triennial Parliaments*. The Earl of *Nottingham* said, among other things, 'That the Church of England is certainly the happiest Church in the World, since even the greatest contradictions contribute to her support; for nothing could be more contradictory, than a bill, which is said to be calculated to strengthen the Protestant interest, and the Church of England, and which, at the same time, repeals two acts, that were made for her further security.' After which he gave his reasons against the repealing those laws. Earl *Cowper* made also a long speech against some parts of the bill, and, among other things, said, 'That he had no manner of prejudice against the Dissenters, but rather a tender regard for them: That as he had been bred in, so he had ever communicated with, the Church of England, which he believed to be the best Protestant Church, and the most agreeable to the primitive pattern of Christianity. But that, however, if he had happened to be at *Geneva*, he would not have scrupled to have communicated with the Protestants there. That he was for giving the Dissenters as much ease, as was consistent with the safety of the Constitution in Church and State, and would readily give his vote for the repealing of the *Schism* act; but that he could not but oppose that part of the bill now laid before them, whereby part of the *Test* and *Corporation* acts were effectually repealed with relation to the Dissenters, because he looked upon those acts as the main bulwark of our excellent Constitution in Church and State, and therefore would have them inviolably preserved and untouched.' The Earl of *May* said, 'That every body knew he was educated in a different way from the Church of England; but, nevertheless, he could not but be against this bill, because, in his opinion, it broke the *Pacta Conventa* of the treaty of Union, by which the bounds both of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland were fixed and settled; and he was apprehensive, if the arti-

cles of the Union were broke with respect to one Church, it might afterwards be a precedent to break them with respect to the other.' The Lord *North* and *Grey* urged, 'That this was an affair of so great importance, that it ought to be maturely considered and debated in a full House,' and therefore moved, That the second reading might be put off for a month. The Duke of *Bucks* was of his opinion, but the friends of the bill, being unwilling to let this affair cool by adjourning it so long, proposed, that the second reading might only be put off till the 18th of December, which was agreed to without dividing.

Upon that day, the bill was read a second time, and a motion made for committing it; but, this being opposed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, and some other Peers, the Earl of *Cholmondley* suggested, That, before they proceeded any further in an affair, wherein the Church was so nearly concerned, he thought it very proper to have, in the first place, the opinion of that venerable bench, pointing to the Bishops. This being unanimously assented to, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* stood up, and declared against the bill, for which he gave his reasons, importing in substance, 'That the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed, are the main bulwark and supporters of the established Church. That he had all imaginable tenderness for all the well-meaning conscientious Dissenters; but he could not forbear saying, that some among them made a wrong use of the favour, and indulgence, that was shewn them upon the *Revolution*, tho' they had the least share in that happy event: And therefore it was thought necessary for the Legislature to interpose, and put a stop to the scandalous practice of *Occasional Conformity*, which was condemned by the soberest part of the Dissenters themselves. And, as to the act against *Schism*, though it might carry a face of severity, yet it seemed needless to make a law to repeal it, since no advantage had been taken of it against the Dissenters ever since it was made.' The Archbishop of *York* (Sir *William Dawkes*) spoke on the same side, and said, 'That the arguments used the other day for this bill had no more weight with him, than they had with his brother of *Canterbury*. He urged in particular the danger of trusting the Dissenters, the open and avowed enemies of the Church, with power and authority; and endeavoured to account for the acts against *Occasional Conformity* and *Schism*, by saying, they were never to be gained by indulgence.' To that purpose he quoted a passage out of a treatise, intitled, *A Persuasive to Lay Conformity*, written by Dr. *Headley* Bishop of *Bangor*, who, as he said, had, since the writing of that book, embraced and maintained other principles. The Bishop of *Bangor* answered the Archbishop of *York*, particularly with relation to the passage quoted out of his treatise. He said, 'He was so far from having altered his principles, that, both before and after he had been promoted to the station he held in the Church, he had endeavoured to bring over the Dissenters; but that he ever was of opinion, that gentle means are the most effectual for that purpose. After this, he shewed at large the unreasonableness and ill policy of imposing *Religious Tests*, as a qualification for civil or military employments, which abridges men of their natural rights, deprives the State of the service of many of its best subjects, and

1718. and exposes the most sacred institutions and ordinances to be abused by profane and irreligious persons. He also endeavoured to prove, that the *Occasional and Schism Acts* were, in effect, *persecuting laws*; and that, by admitting the principle of *self-defence* and *self-preservation*, in matters of Religion, all the persecutions of the Heathens against the Christians, and even the Popish inquisition, may be justified. As to the power, of which some Clergymen appeared so

fond, and so jealous, he owned, that the desire of power and riches is natural to all men; but that he had learned both from Reason and the Gospel, that this desire must be kept within due bounds, and not intrench upon the rights and liberties of their Fellow-creatures and Countrymen.

After these and several other speeches of the Bishops (1), the debate was adjourned to the next day, when, after some clauses concerning the

(1) Dr. Smalbridge, Bishop of Bristol, urged, 'That the late King William having recommended to both houses from the Throne, *That they would leave room for the admission of all Protestants, that were willing and able to serve*; and a clause having been thereupon offered to be inserted in a bill depending in the Lords House, *to take away the necessity of receiving the Sacrament, to make a man capable of enjoying any office, employment, or place of trust*; the clause was rejected by a great majority, as well as another clause (offered also to be inserted in that bill) *to prevent the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon any other account than in obedience to the holy institution thereof*: Adding, that soon after the Lords addressed King William, 'That he would maintain the Church of England, as by law established.' All which he applied to the present case, and so voted against the bill. He was answered by the Bishop of Gloucester, who, among other things, endeavoured to remove the imputation of hypocrisy cast upon the Dissenters. The Bishop of Lincoln made an historical deduction of the affair, and commended the zeal of a noble Earl, when Secretary of State, in promoting a Comprehension, according to King William's desire. He also took notice, that Religion was ever used by crafty men as a blind and pretence to carry on political designs; and he remembered, in particular, in the late Reign, 'That, while our arms were victorious abroad, the Church was in danger at home; but no sooner was a stop put to that glorious war, than the Church was in a flourishing condition.' The Earl of Nottingham, who was meant by that Prelate, and who was the promoter of the *Occasional Bill*, and had opposed the bill now in question, thought proper to justify his conduct, by saying, he was in those days but a young man, and had wanted opportunities to know the Dissenters, whom he had since found to be an obstinate sort of people, never to be satisfied. After which he entered upon the merits of the bill, and voted against it. The Bishop of London did the same, and urged, 'That, in all wise Governments, all offices and places of trust are in the hands of those of the National Church; which his Lordship confirmed by what is practised in Sweden.' The Bishop of Rochester spoke also on the same side, and said in substance, 'That he was not in the House at the first reading of this bill, but that the last Session of Parliament he foresaw from the bill about an Alms-house at Bristol, and the bill for applying part of the fund for the building of new Churches to the rebuilding of an old one (St. Giles's) both which he had opposed, that something of this nature would be attempted. That he was sorry he had been a prophet, since, in his opinion, this bill overturned the foundation of the security of the Church. That this bill even struck at the act of Uniformity, which was confirmed by the act of Union, and so was levelled against the Church of Scotland, as well as against the Church of England. For which reason he hoped, those Peers, who represented the Nobility of Scotland, would be against this bill, particularly a noble Lord, who was too great an enemy to Preticraft, to suffer himself to be Assembly-ridden. He concluded with observing, that we live in a changeable Country; and that the hardships, which the Dissenters now bring upon the Church, may one day or other be severely and with more justice retaliated upon them.' Hereupon Dr. Kennet, the new Bishop of Peterborough, spoke strenuously for the bill, and refuted most of the arguments used on the other side. He said, in substance,

'That he did not design to reflect on any of his Brethren for speaking against this bill, because he supposed they did it out of a sincere zeal for the Church: That, for his own part, he did not believe this bill to be against the Church, but rather for its advantage and security; and therefore he was for it: That he observed from history, that the Church was most safe and flourishing, when the Clergy did not affect more power than falls to their share, and were tender of the rights and liberties of their fellow-subjects; but that, when the Clergy promoted arbitrary measures and persecutions, as some did in King Charles the First's Reign, they first brought scandal and contempt upon the Clergy, and, at last, ruin both upon the Church and State.' Then he shewed the abuse of the word *Church*, which in a true sense is venerable; and illustrated the matter by the words *Holy*, and *Temple of the Lord*, which were sacred among the Jews; but, when those words came to be abused so far as to countenance Rebellion, as in the case of *Dathan*, *Corah*, and *Ahiram*, and other wicked practices, then they rather became words of execration. That, in like manner among us, the words *Church*, and the *Church's danger*, had often been made use of to carry on sinister designs; and then these words made a mighty noise in the mouth of silly women and children; but that in his opinion the Church, which he defined to be a *Scriptural Institution upon a legal establishment*, was founded upon a rock, and could not be in danger as long as we enjoyed the light of the Gospel, and our excellent Constitution.' After this he gave his reasons for his being for this bill, and animadverted upon three things, which had been advanced by other Prelates. 1. *That the Dissenters got more than the Church by the Revolution, though they had the least share in it.* For he shewed, 'they only got a Toleration, which they might have had under King James, if they would have complied with his measures, whereas the Church secured all she now enjoys, which would have been irrecoverably lost, had not the Revolution happened. 2. *That the Churchmen, and even the Clergy, shewed more affection to the present Government than the Dissenters during the late Rebellion:* To which he answered, 'That by the laws, which by this bill were to be repealed, the Dissenters were then under an incapacity to serve the Government, which evinced the necessity of this bill: And as for a Clergyman, who had given signal proofs of his zeal for the Government in the North, that it was well known he was never rewarded for it, but rather disregarded ever since by his neighbours. 3. As to what had been suggested, *That all offices and places of trust ought to be in the hands of those of the established Church*, his Lordship said, he hoped they should never draw precedents from Sweden. He concluded with returning thanks to the lay Lords for bearing so long and so patiently with that bench, leaving the issue of this debate to their judgments; and only taking notice, that as the wisdom of Solomon never more eminently appeared than in discovering the true mother of the child; so their Lordships might easily know the reason, why some persons spoke with so much tenderness for the acts, which by this bill were to be repealed.' Dr. Gifford, Bishop of Chyfter, was of the contrary opinion, and, in particular, excepted against a clause in the bill, whereby a punishment or censure was to be inflicted on such Clergymen, as should refuse to administer the Sacrament to any, that desired to receive it; which, he said, was against the Canons of the Church.

(1) St.

1718. the Test and Corporation Acts were agreed to be left out, the bill was committed, and, being read a third time, passed the House, and was sent down to the Commons, where it was also warmly debated; but at last carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-one against one hundred and seventy (1).

War declared against Spain.

The manner in which the King had, in his speech, mentioned *Spain*, and his saying, that he was persuaded a *British* Parliament would enable him to resent such treatment, were plain intimations of his intention to declare war against that Crown. On the 17th of *December*, the King sent a message to the Commons to acquaint them, that all his endeavours, as well as those of the King of *France*, to procure redress for the injuries done to his subjects by the King of *Spain*, to the unspeakable detriment of their trade, or even to obtain a discontinuance of his unjust hostilities, having proved ineffectual, he had found it necessary to declare war against *Spain*.

After the reading of this message, it was moved for an address to assure the King, that they would with the greatest cheerfulness, and the utmost vigour, assist and support him in the war, till *Spain* was reduced to accept of reasonable terms of peace, and agree to such conditions of trade and commerce as the Nation was justly entitled to by their several treaties. Mr. *Shippen* and some others excepted against the motion, or against some expressions in it, which occasioned a warm debate. They alledged, they did not see the necessity of declaring war against *Spain*, but were rather inclined to believe, the grievances complained of by the Merchants might be amicably redressed. Mr. *Stanhope* assured the House, that he had presented, at least, five and twenty memorials to the Court of *Spain* upon that subject without any success. Mr. *Metuen* endeavoured to account for the dilatoriness of the Court of *Madrid* in the dispatch of commercial affairs, occasioned by the different regulations in the several provinces and ports of *Spain*; which might be the reason why the grievances had not been redressed so soon as might have been expected. It was also suggested, that the Ministers had shewn no great concern for the trade and interest of the Nation, since it appeared, by the answer from a Secretary of State to the Marquis de *Monteleone's* letter, that they would have passed by the violations of the treaties of Commerce, provided *Spain* had accepted the terms of the *Quadruple Alliance*; and that his Majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new acquisitions, but

was rather inclined to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general quiet and tranquillity: That nobody could yet tell how far that sacrifice was to extend; but certainly it was a very uncommon piece of condescension (2). Mr. *Horatio Walpole* made also a long speech, wherein he found fault with the treaty of *Quadruple Alliance*, particularly as to the disposition of *Sicily*, in favour of the Emperor, which was a breach of the treaty of *Utrecht*. Mr. *Walpole*, his brother, likewise exclaimed against the injustice of attacking the *Spanish* fleet before a declaration of war. They were answered by Mr. *Craggs*, and Sir *Joseph Jekyll* closed the debate with saying: 'That some weeks before, when this affair was first mentioned in the House, he was shy of giving his opinion, because he had not then examined the several steps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinced, that, if there was any injustice, it was on the side of the King of *Spain*; and that the conduct of his Majesty and his Ministers was entirely agreeable to the law of Nations, and the rules of Justice and Equity. Was it just, added he, in the King of *Spain* to attack the Emperor's Dominions (*Sardinia*) while he was engaged in a war with the *Turks*, without any declaration of war? Was it just in the same Prince to invade the Dominions of one of our Allies, the King of *Sicily*, without the least provocation? And was it not just in his Majesty to vindicate the faith of his treaties, and to defend and protect the trade of his subjects, which had been violently oppressed?' After these speeches, the address was carried by a majority of a hundred and seventy-eight against a hundred and seven, and presented the next day.

Earl *Stanhope* brought the same message to the House of Peers, and, the like address being moved for, it was carried without a division.

The Declaration of war was published with the usual solemnities, but not with the same acclamations as when war was proclaimed against *France* in the two former Reigns. The Declaration was well drawn, and began with an artful turn, which seemed to intimate as if the action of *Syracusa* had been a consequence of the ill success of the Earl of *Stanhope's* Negotiations at *Madrid*. For after the King had mentioned his being guarantee of the neutrality of *Italy*, his engagement to defend the Emperor's Dominions, and the King of *Spain's* invasion of *Sardinia*: 'We did send (says he) our fleet into the *Mediterranean* this last summer, with a full and earnest intention to make use of its appearance there for setting on foot Negotiations of peace towards recon-

(1) Sir *William Thompson* having urged against the *Schism-Bill*, that it deprived parents of their natural right of educating their Children as they pleased, Mr. *Shippen* answered, 'It was somewhat strange to see so able a Lawyer inconsistent with himself: For, when the twelve Judges were consulted in a case relating to a great Family, he was of the opinion of ten of them, that children may be taken from their parents, and educated as the good of the Nation required.' To this Sir *William* readily replied, 'That, as he never was consulted, so had he never declared his thoughts, in that nice case hinted by that Gentleman, and therefore he could not with any colour of justice be said to have changed his opinion: But that the Member who taxed him with it, and who thereby declared against the opinion of the ten Judges, if he would be consistent with

himself, must now be for the bill that repeals the *Schism Act*, which restored parents to their natural right.'

The Lord *Guernsey* proposed the inserting a clause, that any person, when he came to take the Abjuration Oath, in order to his qualification, should acknowledge, that the Old and New Testament were given by Divine Inspiration, and profess his belief of the ever-blessed Trinity. But this motion was rejected. *Pr. H. C.*

It was observed that the Archbishop *Wake* had protested against passing the very bill, the repeal of which he now opposed, as did also the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Duke of *Devonshire*, and some others.

(2) By the Sacrifice was meant the Cession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, which, it was reported, the Regent of *France* had offered to the King of *Spain*, in case he would accede to the *Quadruple Alliance*.

1718. reconciling the parties engaged in war, and thereby preventing the many calamities that must ensue therefrom. And whereas we did likewise, to testify our most sincere inclinations to peace, send our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor *James, Earl Stanhope*, one of our principal Secretaries of State, to *Madrid*, with full power and commission to offer our most hearty endeavours for re-establishing the quiet of *Europe*, and for cultivating and improving the friendship of the King of *Spain*. And whereas, notwithstanding all the instances we could possibly make, all the tenders of amity and affection we could use, our Plenipotentiary returned without the least hopes of peaceable dispositions in the Court of *Spain*; and our Admiral in the *Mediterranean*, finding also no tendency to amicable measures, was obliged to assist and protect the Emperor's Dominions by force, which were in imminent danger by the further invasion of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and by the great fleets and armies which the King of *Spain* had in those parts.

To shew that the war was not purely on the Emperor's account, the Declaration set forth the seizing of the effects and persons of the *English*, in violation of treaties and antient privileges; and then touched upon the true motives of the war, the dishabing the King of *Spain* to unite the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, or to assist the Pretender. Those were just motives, which though personal to King *George*, and the Duke of *Orleans*, yet were of the utmost concern to the Nations they governed.

*Intrigues
of Spain.*

Cardinal *Alberoni* was not idle whilst measures were taken to crush him. He raised troops, fitted out ships, put the coasts in a posture of defence, sent succours to *Sicily*, and provided for the safety of *Sardinia*. But, what efforts soever *Spain* might make, he was sensible of the impossibility to resist the three most powerful States of *Europe* combined against him. To efforts therefore he joined plots and intrigues to support his undertakings. He began with the Duke of *Orleans*, believing, if he could remove him, the forces of *France* would be at his disposal, at least they would not be employed against him, and King *George*, deprived of so powerful an Ally, would be obliged to moderate his zeal for the Emperor's interests.

*Alberoni's
fratilities
discovered
in France.*

The plot was easy to be laid, and was so well conducted, that the success seemed infallible. *France* abounded with malecontents, and the Regent had many enemies who either wished his removal, or the execution of the late King's will. These malecontents, in order to be supported, had recourse to the *Spanish* Court, where the resentment against the Duke of *Orleans* procured them a favourable hearing. The Prince de *Cellamare*, the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Paris*, was ordered to treat with them. The plot was soon formed; Bishops, Magistrates, Nobles, Priests, Monks, Officers, and Governors, were ready for the undertaking, and were numbered among the Conspirators. The project was to seize the Regent in some party of pleasure, which he frequently made about *Paris* with his Mistresses, the King's person was at the same time to be secured, and proper orders were to be issued to the Governors of the Provinces and Towns to assemble the Parliaments, for settling the Government, whilst the States of the Kingdom should meet, and make a final determina-

tion of matters. Many papers were kept in a readiness to justify these undertakings, and encourage the people to support them.

The mines were charged and ready to spring, when the affair was discovered. The first advice came from King *George*, who warned the Regent of some attempt contriving against his Person and Government. This notice, though general only, was of great use. The Duke of *Orleans* and the Abbot du Bois were very vigilant. Several persons were suspected, particularly the Duke and Dutches of *Maine*, and the *Spanish* Ambassador, all whom were narrowly watched, till the whole affair was discovered by the following accident. The Prince de *Cellamare*, for the greater safety, entrusted his dispatches to the Abbot de *Portocarrero*, nephew of the Cardinal of that name, and to one of the sons of the Marquis de *Monteleone*. These Gentlemen (with only Sir *Joseph Hodges* who passed for an *English* Lord) set out from *Paris* in a Post-chaise. They had not gone above two leagues before the chaise broke down in a slough. The postilion observed, the Abbot shewed much more concern for his portmanteau than for himself, and heard him say, he would not have lost it for a hundred thousand pistoles. The postilion, having conducted them to the first stage, returned to *Paris*, and gave immediate notice to the Government, of what he had seen and heard. Upon which they were pursued and overtaken at *Poitiers*. Their persons were seized, and the portmanteau sent to *Paris*, wherein were found two letters which plainly discovered the plot. The Prince de *Cellamare* was put under a guard, and his papers were sealed up with his and the Regent's seals, to be delivered to the persons the King of *Spain* should send to receive them. A few days after the Prince was conducted to the frontiers of the Kingdom. The Marquis de *Pampadour* and several other persons of note were imprisoned. The Duke of *Maine* was sent prisoner to the Citadel of *Dourlens* in *Picardy*, and the Duchesse to the Castle of *Dijon* in *Burgundy*. The Cardinal de *Polignac* was ordered to his Abby of *Aubin*, that place being allowed him for his prison.

On the 29th of *December*, war was declared at *Alberoni's* *Paris* against *Spain*. The Declaration was accompanied with a long manifesto, shewing the causes of rupture between *France* and *Spain*, and concluding with the following paragraph, in relation to Cardinal *Alberoni's* plot: 'We now see with horror what it was that made the Minister of *Spain* inaccessible to all projects of peace. He would thereby have seen all the odious plots which he formed against us prove abortive: He would have lost all hopes of laying this Kingdom desolate, of raising up *France* against *France*, of having the management of Rebels among all the orders of State, of kindling a civil war in the bosom of our Provinces; and, in fine, of becoming to us the scourge of Heaven, by putting in execution those seditious projects, and springing that mine which was, according to the words of the Ambassador's letter, to serve as a prelude to the Conflagration. What a recompence is this to *France*, for the treasures and blood of which she has been so profuse for the sake of *Spain*!'

To support the reasons alledged in the manifesto, armaments were prepared in *France* and *England*. The beginning of *January*, an army

1718-19. of thirty-six thousand men were on the march towards Spain. Ships of war were fitted out for several expeditions. The barrenness of the Country where the war was to be carried occasioned great expences, especially for provisions. The Duke of Orleans was at some loss for a General: Marshal Villars, to whom he offered the command, refused it, affirming he would never draw his sword against the House of Bourbon, but the Duke of Berwick, not being so scrupulous, accepted of the command.

Cardinal Alberoni's intrigues were not confined to France, he had formed the same designs against King George. The Pretender was treated with, who readily came into the Cardinal's views to annoy his enemy. The Duke of Ormond repaired to Spain the latter end of the year, and measures were taken to stir up their friends in Great-Britain, and engage them to support the designs of Spain.

The Pope was doubtless in the secret, and his affection for the Chevalier de St. George hindered him from consenting, that he should be exposed, till it was seen what success the first attempt might have. He suffered him, however, to go into Spain. The Pretender was watched, and there was need of address to escape the vigilance of the Germans, who were spread over the Ecclesiastical State. He had lately left Urbino, where he resided, and was come to live at Rome. He went from thence on a sudden, and caused it to be reported, that he was gone to Bologna. He sent thither the Earls of Mar and Perth, with one Paterfon, who was to pass for their Master. This artifice was attended with the expected success: All three were arrested at Voghiera by the Imperialists, but presently after released. As for the Pretender, he came to Nettuno without any accident, and embarked for Cagliari, from whence he came to Roses in Catalonia, the beginning of March.

He was magnificently received at Madrid, where he entered in one of the King's coaches, attended by the Guards, and was conducted to the palace of Buen-retiro. On the morrow he was visited by the King, the Queen, the Prince of Asturias, and the Great Officers of the Crown, and complimented by them as King of Great-Britain. Upon his arrival, the Squadron, which had been fitting out some time for this expedition, sailed from Cadiz towards England, consisting of ten men of war and transport-ships, with six thousand regular troops on board, mostly Irish, with arms for ten or twelve thousand men. The Duke of Ormond was the conductor of this undertaking, with the title of Captain-General of the King of Spain: He was to publish, in the proper places, a declaration in that King's name, wherein he said, that for many very good reasons he had resolved to send part of his land and sea-forces into England and Scotland, to serve as auxiliaries to King James: What had confirmed him in his resolution, was the certain advices he had received, that many of the two Nations, notwithstanding their strong inclination to acknowledge that Prince for their Sovereign, durst not openly declare for him, because they did not see him supported by any of the States of Europe, who had either power or will to assist them: That, to remove this difficulty, and others that might arise, he declared he was determined to use all his power for the restoration of a Prince, to a Country belonging to him

by undeniable right: That he hoped Providence would favour so just a cause; but, that the fear of ill success might not hinder any person from declaring readily for him, he promised a secure retreat in his Dominions, to all that should join him, and, in case they were forced to leave their Country, he declared, that every sea or land Officer should have the same rank as he enjoyed in Great-Britain, and the soldiers should be received and treated like his own.

These preparations had not been so secret, but the King had received timely notice to take the necessary precautions: The Duke of Orleans, in return for the same favour, had acquainted him with all he could discover. A proclamation was published against the Duke of Ormond, and the other Lords that were with him, with a reward of 5000*l.* for seizing the Duke, and of 1000*l.* for each of the rest, and of 500*l.* for every Gentleman.

As the rumour of the invasion increased, some forces were ordered into the North and into the West of England: The States-General had notice to have two thousand men ready to transport into England when occasion required; and were, at the same time, desired not to suffer the suspicious embarkations of ammunition and men that were making at Amsterdam, which they agreed to, notwithstanding the endeavours of the Spanish Ministers to the contrary. Above all, the naval armament against the Spanish Squadron was hastened; and, upon the repeated advices of the Regent, the King came to the House of Peers, and said, That he had given orders to the Lord-Chancellor to declare to both Houses a matter of the greatest importance. Upon this the Lord-Chancellor read the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"H A V I N G received from our good Brother and Ally, the most Christian King, repeated advices, that an Invasion will suddenly be attempted from Spain against my Dominions, in favour of the Pretender to my Crown, I have judged it convenient to make you acquainted with it, and shall, on my part, take all the necessary measures to defeat the designs of our enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"This attempt, if it proceed, must engage me in some farther expences by sea and land than provision has been made for. I must therefore recommend it to you, that I be enabled in such manner, as you shall judge convenient, to make the necessary dispositions for our security; and you may depend upon it, that I shall upon this, and all other occasions, have as much regard to the ease of my people, as shall be consistent with their safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The many proofs, I have had of the affection and loyalty of this Parliament, leave me no room to doubt of your steady and vigorous perseverance in support of my Person and Government upon this occasion."

This speech had all the effect the King could expect or desire. Both Houses assured him of their

1718-19.

Preparations against it.

The King acquaints the Parliament with the intended Invasion.

Invasion from Spain.

1718-19. their support; and the Commons desired him to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he should think fit, promising to make good any increase of expence on that account. With these assurances of the Parliament, the King had the satisfaction to see his Allies exert their zeal in his defence. The States sent over the two thousand men; and the Marquis de Prié, Governor of the *Austrian Netherlands*, six battalions of Imperialists. The Duke of Orleans offered no less than twenty battalions, but it was not thought proper to accept his offer. These precautions taken by the King were very just, but, as it happened, they proved needless. The Spanish fleet came with a fair wind as far as Cape Finistere, when a violent storm arose, which lasted two days and two nights. The fleet was entirely dispersed, and disabled from pursuing their course. The Admiral's ship of sixty-four guns, having lost all her masts, made for the coast of Spain, as did all the rest in the best manner they could. By this storm, the men and horses were for the most part rendered unseizable.

The design of the Spaniards defeated.

Some Spaniards landed in Scotland.

Though the Spanish Squadron miscarried, two frigates arrived at Kintail in Scotland. These frigates sailed from Port-Passage the latter end of February, and came to Kintail the 16th of April, without having seen any of the Spanish fleet in their way. They brought with them the Earls of Seaforth and Marischal, and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with three hundred and seven Spaniards, being a detachment of twelve men in a company of Don Pedro de Castro's regiment of foot, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel, with six Captains, six Lieutenants, and as many Ensigns. They brought also arms for two thousand men. The Lieutenant-Colonel was assured there were ten thousand men in arms ready to join him, but, very few appearing, he kept the frigates two days, resolving to go off again, but he was at last prevailed with to let them sail. The two Earls and the Marquis, who had ventured themselves with so small a force, went with the Spaniards and joined the Rebels. After this junction, they possessed themselves of Donan-Castle, and put in it a garrison of fifty men; but Captain Boyle, in the Worcester, and some other ships came before the place, and took the garrison prisoners. In the mean time, General Wightman was ordered by the Lord Carpenter, to march with the forces under his command in quest of the Rebels. He marched from Inverness the beginning of June, and, having halted one day at the head of Lochness, came up with them at a place called the pafs of Glenfhill, which they gave out they were resolved to defend; but, upon the approach of the King's troops, they immediately deserted it, and retired to another pass called Stracbell, where they were more advantageously posted. The General, having viewed their situation, made the following disposition for the attack: On the right were posted all the Grenadiers under the command of Major Milbourn, being about a hundred and fifty in number, who were sustained by Mountague's

and defeated by General Wightman. June 10.

regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurence, and a detachment of fifty men commanded by Colonel Harrison; the rest of the regiment being in garrison at Inverlochy. These were supported by Haffel's Dutch regiment, and four companies out of Amerongen's. This wing had fifty-six of Lord Strachmaver's men in the flank, under the command of Ensign Mackay; and the whole wing was commanded by Colonel Clayton, who acted as Brigadier upon this occasion. The left wing consisted of Clayton's regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Reading, and had on the flank about fourscore men of the Monroes, under the command of Mr. Monroe of Calcairn. The Dragoons, which were a hundred and twenty in number, commanded by Major Robertson, and had made their march from Inverness without the loss of a single horse, or the least inconvenience, were ordered to keep the road, having four cohorts placed in their front. The Major-General himself was posted in the centre, where every one had free access to him for orders.

The Rebels forces consisted of one thousand six hundred and forty Highlanders, besides three hundred Spaniards, and a body of five hundred Highlanders, who were posted on a hill, in order to make themselves masters of the baggage of the King's troops, it being always one of their chief aims. From this disposition it is evident, that the King's forces actually engaged did not exceed eight hundred and fifty men, besides the one hundred and twenty Dragoons, and one hundred and thirty-six Highlanders. The left wing was ordered to begin the attack; and the Rebels always, as they had fired their muskets, skipping off, and never venturing to come to a close engagement, were driven from rock to rock, the King's forces chasing them above three hours, till they gained the top of the hill, where the Rebels were immediately dispersed. The Earl of Seaforth and Lord George Murray were wounded. There were twenty-one men killed, and an hundred and twenty-one wounded. Officers included, of the King's troops, who lay on their arms all night, in order to bring off the wounded; and marched the next morning to Glenfhill, where about two in the afternoon the Spaniards surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion, and delivered up all their arms and ammunition. Their Commander said, the Earl of Seaforth and all the rest were shifting for themselves, and believed, they would endeavour to get off as soon as possible at the sea-port towns, where they could hope to have friends to let them escape. General Wightman acquainted the Lord Carpenter, that he had taken two hundred and seventy-four Spaniards prisoners, and was making a tour through the difficult part of Seaforth's Country, to terrify the guilty, and preserve the well affected, and that he had utterly dispersed the Rebels, the chiefs of whom, Seaforth, Tullibardine, Marischal, and others, were gone off to the Lewis or Orkney Islands. Thus ended Cardinal Alberoni's enterprize upon Great-Britain (1).

When

(1) A marriage was this year agreed upon for the Pretender, with a Daughter of Prince Sobieski, eldest Son of John Sobieski King of Poland, who had gained so much honour by raising the siege of Vienna. But

the Court of Vienna thought fit to interest itself so much in preventing this intended marriage, that the Princess was stopped in passing through Tirol into Italy, and carried into confinement at Inspruck. Great application

1718-19. When the King sent the message to both Houses about the *Spanish* Invasion, the Lords were debating upon the famous Peerage bill. This bill, by which the number of Peers was to be limited, is said to have been chiefly intended to put a restraint on the Prince of *Wales*, when his Succession should take place, from whom the present Ministry could expect but little favour. Be this as it will, the Whigs had exclaimed against the numerous promotion of the Peers by Queen *Anne*, particularly the creation of twelve Peers at once, in order to gain a superiority in the House of Lords, and, to prevent the like for the future, it was resolved to bring in a bill to fix the number of Peers (1). The person by whom this bill was moved for, was the Duke of *Somerset*, who, on the last day of *February*, represented in the House of Lords, that, the number of Peers being of late years very much increased, especially since the Union of the two Kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to fix the same, both to preserve the dignity of the Peerage, and to prevent the inconveniences, that may attend the creation of a great number of Peers to serve a present purpose; of which they had a remarkable instance in the late Reign. He therefore made a motion for the bringing in a bill to settle and limit the Peerage in such a manner, that the number of *English* Peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number, which upon failure of male issue might be supplied by new creations; and that, instead of the sixteen elective Peers, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of *Scotland*, whose number upon failure of heirs male should be supplied by some other *Scottish* Peers. The Duke of

Argyle (who was now Lord Steward of the Household) seconded this motion, which was also supported by the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Carlisle*, before they came to any resolution; and thereupon his Lordship, the Earl of *Oxford*, excepted against it, and said, 'as it tended to take away the brightest gem from the Crown, it was matter of wonder to see it supported by those, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, seemed under the strictest obligation to take care of the *Royal Prerogative*. That therefore there must be a *secret meaning* in this motion; but for his own part, though he expected nothing from the Crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, because this would put it out of the power of the Crown to reward merit and virtuous actions.' To this the Earl of *Sunderland* answered, 'that, though the number of Peers were limited, yet the Crown should still be the fountain of honour, and preserve its prerogative of creating new Peers upon the extinction of old titles for want of male issue, which happened frequently; and that those extinctions would give the Prince on the Throne sufficient opportunities to bestow honours upon Commoners of distinguished merit and abilities.' The debate being adjourned to the 2d of *March*, upon that day, Earl *Stanhope* delivered to a full House the following message from the King:

George R.

'His Majesty being informed, that the House of Peers have under consideration the state of the Peerage of *Great-Britain*, is graciously pleased to acquaint this House, that he has so much

at

application was made to the Emperor for her release; but he continued inflexible, and seemed the more to extend his authority in this affair, as the whole Family of *Sobieski* lay under great and uncommon obligations to him, on account of pensions and considerable allowances, which they received from him, in acknowledgment of the great services of the late King of *Poland* to the Empire. Prince *James Sobieski*, Father of this young Princess, held his subsistence chiefly at the Emperor's pleasure. On this occasion he went therefore to *Vienna*, to make his submission to the Emperor, whom he understood to be highly displeased with him; but his Imperial Majesty would be no ways reconciled to him, or agree to a continuance of his customary allowance upon any other terms, but his intirely breaking off the match.

Whilst intercession was making for her liberty, the Princess *Sobieski* escaped from her confinement in the beginning of *May*, in man's cloaths, and, repairing to *Bologna*, was there married by proxy to the Pretender, then in *Spain*. A few days after she went to *Rome*, where she was very kindly entertained by the Pope and some of the Cardinals. She seemed impatient to be conducted to her Spouse; but the hazard of the present conjuncture, and the uncertainty of his residence, till his projects were brought to some crisis, made the Pope continue her under his care at *Rome*. No other opportunity of correspondence could therefore be obtained but by letters; and, about the latter end of *June*, an account was brought to *England* of one *Maffey*, who was sent from *Rome* with dispatches from Her to the Pretender and Cardinal *Alberoni*; and, quickly after, Earl *Cadogan* had notice of a person of the same name in *Holland*, with letters and papers of consequence; whereupon, at his instances, *Maffey's* lodgings were searched, and his person and papers secured.

(1) The same day this bill was brought in, there No. 95. VOL. IV.

was printed and delivered to the Lords, a list of the Peers existing at the time of King *James I's* Accession to the Crown, and of those who have since been advanced to the Peerage; as also of the several Peers extinct in his and the succeeding Reigns. By this list it appears that,

At the death of Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> , the number of <i>English</i> Peers was			
King <i>James I.</i> created	59	extinct	added
King <i>Charles I.</i>	62	17	45
King <i>Charles II.</i>	59	21	38
King <i>James II.</i>	64	53	11
K. <i>William</i> and Q. <i>Mary</i>	8	8	0
Queen <i>Anne</i>	30	21	9
King <i>George</i>	30	24	6
	20	10	10
	332	154	119
Extinct	154		
Remains	178		

At the time of debating the bill, the state of the Peers was as follows:

The Prince of <i>Wales</i> and Duke of <i>York</i>	}	2
Dukes		
Earls		22
V. counts		73
Barons		13
		68
		178
Archbishops and Bishops		26
Peers of <i>Scotland</i>		16
		220

7 I

(1) The

1718-19. at heart the settling the Peerage of the whole Kingdom upon such a foundation, as may secure the freedom and constitution of Parliaments in all future ages, that he is willing, that his prerogative stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work.

A motion being made for an address of thanks for this message, the Earl of Nottingham excepted against it, saying, It was unusual for the King to take notice of any thing depending in Parliament, before the same was laid before him in a Parliamentary way. But the Duke of Bucks over-ruled this objection, and said, It could not be supposed, that the King alone should be ignorant of what every body else knew; and that since his Majesty was pleased, for the good of his subjects, to suffer his prerogative to be restrained, they ought readily to accept, and thankfully acknowledge, so great and so gracious a condescension. Upon this the address was agreed to, and the debate was put off to the next day; when the Earl of Sunderland, in a long speech, ran over the several changes, that had happened in the Peerage since the Reign of Queen Elizabeth to this time; urged the necessity of limiting the number of Peers; and proposed the Duke of Somerset's scheme with relation both to the English and Scots Peers. Earl Cowper in answer to this speech endeavoured to shew, 'That what was intended to be done with relation to the Scots Peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of Union, and the highest piece of injustice; for it was no less than to deprive persons of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture on their part; urging, that the Scots Peers, who should be excluded from the number of the twenty-five hereditary, would be in a worse condition than any other subjects, since they would be neither electing nor elected, nor representing, nor represented, which could not fail of raising dangerous discontents amongst them. That besides it would be a breach of trust in those, who represented the Scots Peerage, wholly to divest their principals of a power, with which they had intrusted them only for a few years: And therefore he was of opinion, that the Scots Peers ought to have been consulted, before any steps were made in so nice and so important an affair.' These objections were answered by the Earls of Sunderland, Stanhope,

and Cadogan, the Dukes of Bucks and Newcastle, the Bishop of Gloucester, and some other English Lords, who were supported by several Scots Peers, particularly the Dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, the Marquis of Annandale, and the Earl of Illy. In the first place, it was alledged, 'That the settling the Peerage, in the manner proposed, was rather a benefit than a disadvantage to the Scots Peerage, whose Representatives were thereby increased by nine, and all made hereditary: And as for those Peers, who, for the present, would be excluded, they would afterwards have a chance to come in, upon failure of any of the twenty-five: That this regulation could not be looked upon as a violation of the Union, two things only being made unalterable fundaments of that contract, Religion, and the Proportion of public Taxes: That the consulting of the Scots Peers in this affair, would be altogether improper and unparliamentary, and attended with great inconveniences. The Earl of Illy in particular represented, That the bringing in a number of Peers into that House, by election, was certainly derogatory to the dignity of that August Assembly, and of the highest Tribunal in the united Kingdoms: And therefore he had long before wished to see this defect in the Union rectified, and the Scots Peers freed from that ignominious mark of distinction, which made them be looked upon as dependant on the Court and Ministry, and not at liberty to vote like the other Members, for the good and interest of their Country.' The Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Townshend, and some other Peers, declared, 'That they were not against the settling and limiting the Peerage, but only against the doing it in such a manner, as, in their opinion, was unjust, and might be attended with dangerous consequences.' But, after a long debate, resolutions agreeable to the Duke of Somerset's motion was agreed to, and the Judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (1).

As this affair had made a great noise, and alarmed, not only the generality of the Scots Peers, but also many of the English Commons, a Pamphlet, said to be written by Mr. Benson, called the *Plebeian*, was published against the bill, which was answered by Mr. Addison, in his paper called the *Old Whig*. In these papers, the chief arguments, on both sides of that important

Dispute about the Peerage-bill.

(1) The resolutions about the Scots Peers were these six:

I. That, in lieu of the sixteen elective Peers to sit in this House on the part of Scotland, twenty-five Peers, to be declared by his Majesty, shall have hereditary Seats in Parliament, and be the Peers on the part of the Peerage of Scotland.

II. That such twenty-five Peers shall be declared by his Majesty, before the next Session of Parliament.

III. That nine of the said twenty-five shall be appointed by his Majesty to have immediate right to such hereditary seats in Parliament, subject to the qualifications requisite by the laws now in being.

IV. That none of the remaining sixteen, so to be declared by his Majesty, or their heirs, shall become sitting Peers of the Parliament of Great-Britain, till after the determination of this present Parliament, except such as are of the number of the sixteen Peers now sitting in Parliament on the part of Scotland and their heirs.

V. That if any of the twenty-five Peers, so to be declared by his Majesty, and their heirs, shall fail, some one or other of the Peers of Scotland shall be appointed by his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to succeed every such Peer so failing, and every Peer so appointed shall be one of the Peers on the part of the Peerage of Scotland, in the Parliament of Great-Britain, and so, *toties quoties*, as often as any such failure shall happen.

VI. That the hereditary right of sitting in Parliament, which shall accrue to the twenty-five Peers of Scotland, to be declared by his Majesty, shall be so limited, as not to descend to females.

The Resolutions concerning the English Peers (which were agreed to the next day) were these five:

I. That the number of Peers of Great-Britain, on the part of England, shall not be enlarged, without precedent right, beyond six above what they are at present: But, as any of the said present Peers, or such fix new Peers, in case they be created, shall fail, their number

1718-19. portant question, are largely and fully displayed (1).

The Peerage bill dropped. Whilst the public was in expectation of the issue of this affair, a sudden stop was put to all farther proceedings. Earl Stanhope, when the bill came to be read the third time, made a speech, wherein he observed, 'That this bill had made a great noise, and raised strange apprehensions: And since the design of it had been so misrepresented, and so misunderstood, that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other House, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity.' Upon this, the third reading was put off a fortnight, by which means the bill was dropped for this Session: For the King, four days after, came to the House of Peers, and put an end to the Session with the following speech, which the Lord-Chancellor read to both Pr. H. C. Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM now come to put an end to this Session, in which you have shewn many great and seasonable proofs of your duty and affection to my Person and Government, and of your care for the safety and welfare of your Fellow-subjects.

By the blessing of God on our endeavours, we have hitherto disappointed the ill designs of our enemies, who flattered themselves with success from our unhappy divisions.

We perceive, by the rash and wicked counsels which have lately prevailed in the Court of Spain, that the desperate and extravagant projects of one ambitious man, though not capable of giving fears to their neighbours, may occasion to them some expence and trouble.

That Court being influenced by counsels odious and destructive to the Spaniards, who find themselves neglected and oppressed, after having endeavoured to foment conspiracies and seditions both here and in France, and stooped to practices unusual, accompanied by manifestoes of a stile unheard of among great Princes, has at last proceeded to acknowledge the Pretender.

As this news has given great surprize to all Europe, I question not, but it will be received by every good Briton with indignation and contempt.

It is our happiness, at this juncture, to find ourselves assisted by the greatest powers in Europe against an enemy, that has no Allies, but

those, who would betray the Government, under which they live, and are protected.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I thank you very heartily for the Supplies you have granted me this year. The manner, in which you have raised them, without any new burden to my people, the great addition you have made to the fund for sinking the debts of the Nation, the discharge of the Exchequer bills, and the provisions you have made to pay whatever remains justly due to foreign States and Princes, are the strongest proofs of your wisdom, as well as of your zeal for my Service, and the good of your Country. You may observe, I have hitherto been very cautious of making use of the power you have given me, to increase our forces by sea and land. If our enemies should oblige me to a greater expence, it shall be employed for your service. This is what the trust you reposed in me requires at my hands, and what I owe to so dutiful and affectionate a House of Commons.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

There being nothing more desirable, at all times, than a firm Union between Protestants, I reflect with satisfaction upon the law you have passed this Session, which will, I hope, prove effectual to that purpose. As it is a signal instance of moderation and indulgence in our established Church, so I hope it will beget such a return of gratitude from all Dissenting Protestants, as will greatly tend to her honour and security, both which I shall ever have near at heart.

I have always looked upon the glory of a Sovereign, and the liberty of a Subject, as inseparable; and think it is the peculiar happiness of a British King, to reign over a free people. As the civil rights, therefore, and privileges of all my subjects, and especially of my two Houses of Parliament, do justly claim my most tender concern; if any provision designed to perpetuate these blessings to your Posterity remains imperfect, for want of time, during this Session, maturely to discuss and settle matters of so great importance, I promise myself, you will take the first opportunity to render my wishes for your happiness compleat and effectual, and to strengthen the Union, which is of so much consequence to the welfare of this Kingdom.

" If

number may be supplied by new creations of Commons, natural born subjects of this Kingdom. and so, *zates quies*, as often as such failure shall happen.

II. That no person be at any time hereafter created a Peer by writ, nor any Peerage granted by Patent for any longer estate than for the grantee, and the heirs male of his body.

III. That there be not any restraint on the Crown to create any of the Princes of the Blood Peers of Great-Britain, with right to sit in Parliament.

IV. That, whenever any of the Lords now sitting in Parliament, whose sons have been called by writ, shall die, then it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, to create a Peer to supply the number so lessened.

V. That every creation of a Peer hereafter to be made

contrary to these resolutions shall be null and void to all intents and purposes.

(1) The *Plebian* has the following expressions: 'The greatest Traitor to civil society, that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if such a one can be found, who shall contend for such a bill, should it be proposed among the Commons, with the assurance in his pocket of being a Peer, as soon as the bill passes. And should he succeed, which God forbid, that honour, which is to be the reward of so base a treachery, will be a lasting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilst any notion of honour remains among mankind.'

Mr. Benson was soon after removed from his post of Surveyor-General of his Majesty's works, and was succeeded by Sir Thomas Huet.

(1) An

1719.

" If the circumstances of my affairs shall allow
 " of my going abroad this summer, I shall take
 " the same care of your interests, as if I remain-
 " ed here. The many Negotiations, which
 " will be on foot, to restore the peace of the
 " North, in which the trade and tranquillity of
 " this Kingdom may be very much concerned,
 " will make my presence there of great use to
 " these my Dominions. And, as in that case I
 " design, by the blessing of God, to meet you
 " early next winter, I will only recommend to
 " you most earnestly, that, laying aside all ani-
 " mosities, you would, in your several Coun-
 " ties and Stations, use your utmost endeavours
 " to preserve the public peace, and see a due
 " execution of the laws."

After this speech, the Parliament was pro-
 rogued to the 19th of May; and afterwards, by
 several prorogations, to the 23d of November (1).

The King
 goes to Ha-
 novver.

Soon after the prorogation, the King declared
 his intention of going to Hanover, and appoint-
 ed for Lords Justices, in his absence, the Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor Parker,
 the Dukes of Kingston, Argyle (now also Green-
 wich) Newcastle, Bolton, Marlborough, and Rox-
 burgh, the Earls Sunderland, Berkeley, and Stan-
 hope, and Secretary Craggs. The Prince and
 Princess of Wales, not being appointed Regents,
 retired into the Country, and appeared no more
 till the King's departure, a few days after which
 they came to St. James's to see the young Prin-
 cesses, who kept a levee twice a week: And to
 them it was, that the Lords Justices, and a nu-
 merous appearance of foreign Ministers, Nobil-
 ity, and Gentry, made their compliments on
 the King's birth-day, who was entered into the
 sixtieth year of his age.

As the King thought his presence in Germany
 necessary to forward the many Negotiations that
 were on foot, he set out the 11th of May, and,
 after a short passage of seventeen hours, arrived
 in Holland. With the King embarked Earl
 Stanhope, the Dukes of Munster (now Dukes
 of Kendal) and the Lord and Lady How, with
 some others. The King staid two days at Of-
 naburg, and came to Herenhausen, the 18th of
 May.

He makes
 peace with
 Sweden.

The death of the King of Sweden having re-
 moved the chief obstacle to the peace of the
 North, the King turned his thoughts first that
 way. The new Queen, who had succeeded her
 Brother Charles XII, as well as the whole Na-
 tion, were desirous of peace; drained of men
 and money, they were unable to make war:
 Almost the whole army, led by the late King to
 the fatal expedition of Norway, miserably pe-
 rished. But it was not sufficient to give peace to
 Sweden, it was necessary also to disarm her other
 enemies, and bound their pretensions. These
 enemies were the Czar, and the Kings of Den-
 mark, Prussia, and Poland. King George, dis-
 pleased with the Czar, whom he suspected of

having entered into all the projects which had
 been formed against him, resolved to keep no
 measures with him. He began with a sincere
 reconciliation with Sweden, then endeavoured to
 soften the King of Denmark, and induce the two
 others to proceed with great moderation, to ac-
 knowledge him for Mediator, and join with him,
 if necessary, to compel the Czar to accept of equi-
 table conditions.

The Duke of Orleans, in concert with King
 George, had offered his mediation to Sweden for
 a reconciliation with that Prince. The offer was
 accepted, and, in July, a provisional treaty was
 signed, by which a peace was to be concluded
 as soon as possible, agreeable to the plan, and
 terms agreed upon with the Mediator. This was
 punctually performed, and in November, the Sieur
 de Bassewitz, Minister of his Britannic Majesty, as
 Duke and Elector of Brunswick, signed the peace
 with the Plenipotentiaries of Queen Ulrica.

By this treaty Sweden gave up for ever, to the
 Royal and Electoral House of Hanover, the
 Duchies of Bremen and Verden, with all their
 rights and dependencies, according to the treaty
 of Osnaburg, of the 23d of October, 1648, by
 virtue of which the Kings of Sweden had en-
 joyed them. On the other hand, the Elector of
 Hanover engaged to continue to his new subjects
 their rights, privileges, effects, and religion; and
 to discharge the engagements of his prede-
 cessors in those Duchies. Moreover, he obliged
 himself to pay to the Queen of Sweden a million
 of Rix Dollars at two payments; the first before
 the signing of the treaty; the second, five or
 six weeks after the exchange of the ratifications.
 He engaged likewise to renew, both as King of
 Great-Britain, and Elector of Hanover, the Alli-
 ances formerly established with his Predecessors
 and the Kingdom of Sweden. Lastly, the treaty
 of Westphalia was renewed with a reservation of
 demanding and accepting the guaranty of the
 Emperor, and, according to circumstances, of
 some other powers.

At the same time the Lord Carteret, Amba-
 sador Plenipotentiary from Great Britain to the
 Court of Sweden, was employed to negotiate the
 confirmation of this treaty of peace, by an Al-
 liance between the two Crowns, still under the
 mediation and guaranty of France. But this
 Alliance was not concluded till the next year, as
 will be related.

These Negotiations with the Queen of Sweden
 were not the most difficult; she readily agreed
 to a peace, and considered it as the ground of
 her safety, and the end of her miseries. But it
 was not the same either with the King of Den-
 mark or the Czar, who looked upon these Nego-
 tiations as the ruin of their schemes, and an ob-
 stacle to their conquests. As for King Augustus,
 he entered intirely into the views of the King of
 Great-Britain, and was contented with being
 acknowledged King of Poland; he did not even
 require, that the interests of his Competitor
 should

(1) An act passed after the Restoration, obliging
 all Mayors and Aldermen, &c. at their admission
 into offices, to sign a declaration against the solemn
 league and covenant, on a considerable penalty. As
 this act was still in force, and all the Magistrates liable
 to the penalty of it, because the declaration had been
 universally neglected, on a petition of the Lord
 Mayor and Aldermen of London, an act passed this

Session to repeal it, under the title of an act for quit-
 ting and establishing Corporations.

The Trustees of the forfeited estates delivered in an
 account of the value of the estates of Papists, which
 had, in pursuance of an act, for that purpose, been
 register'd in the several Counties of England, amounting
 to 375,284*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* 4.

(1) Captain

1719. should be abandoned, and consented, that, in the provisional treaty, the Queen of Sweden should reserve to herself the liberty of demanding for him what she should think proper.

The King of Prussia was a little more difficult; but he complied at last, and, accepting the mediation of Great-Britain, granted a suspension of arms till the conclusion of the peace.

The King of Denmark had made great preparations for an expedition against Sweden, which he was to execute in person: He had already had some success, but of a sudden he desisted, and, consenting to a suspension of arms for six months, accepted of the mediation of France and Great-Britain, and, after numberless disputes, gave way to the instances of the Mediators, and accepted of a sum of money by way of satisfaction for the conquests, which he was obliged to restore. The Czar was the only Prince who would not comply, but sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Baffes of Sweden, where twelve or fifteen thousand Muscovites landed, and made a dreadful ravage. The English fleet, which, under Sir John Norris, was in those seas, to support the Negotiations, had orders to treat the Russian fleet, as Admiral Byng had done that of Spain; but the Czar recalled his fleet, and prevented the blow. Thus stood affairs in the North; it was time now to see what was done in the Mediterranean this summer.

Whilst Admiral Byng and the Viceroy of Naples were waiting for the return of Count Hamilton, whom they had agreed to send to Vienna, to represent the posture of affairs, and bring back the final resolutions of that Court concerning the operations of the war, the Admiral sailed to Port-Mabon to refit his squadron (1).

Signor Patinho had hitherto resided in Messina, directing the affairs of the Island for the interest of his Master with great prudence; but, his presence being wanted at the Court of Spain,

he embarked on board a Felucca, on the 16th of January in the night, and put to sea, attended by two gallees. If the darkness had continued an hour longer, he would have undoubtedly fallen into the mouths of two of the English cruisers, which chafed his gallees into a bay near Palermo; but the Felucca escaped, and landed him in Italy, from whence he proceeded to Madrid, and, by his counsels and industry, all methods were used for supporting their army in Sicily with recruits of men, and all necessities of war. The Venetians and Genoese, and even the French Consuls in the ports of Italy, notwithstanding the severe prohibitions of the Regent, were corrupted to give them all the assistance possible; and, though many vessels were taken, many escaped. As to the French, Admiral Byng found himself under a difficulty how to treat the ships of a Nation, that was in strict Alliance with England. He made loud complaints of their partiality, till at last the Regent gave him leave to confiscate all those he met with in the service of Spain, which put some stop to their clandestine proceedings (2).

Admiral Byng, having refitted most of his squadron at Port-Mabon, hastened away from thence with four men of war the 30th of March, leaving the rest to follow him, and arrived the 4th of April at Naples, where he hoped to find the army from Hungary arrived, and in a readiness to embark; but, contrary to his expectations, he saw every thing in extreme backwardness, partly for want of money.

On the 23d of April, Count de Mercy arrived at Naples from Vienna, to take upon him the command of the whole army. He was a native of Lorraine, but brought up in the Emperor's service, where he had risen to the rank of General of the horse. He was of a tall graceful presence, with a very soldierlike appearance, but had the misfortune of being short-sighted, almost to purblindness. He had great strength of body

1719.

Affairs in the Mediterranean. Corbet.

Patinho returns to Spain.

(1) Captain Matthews being left with a squadron at Penetelia, to observe Rear-Admiral Cammuck, and hinder his escaping out of Messina to the Southward, had the good fortune to run one of them ashore, a ship of sixty-four guns, called the *S^{te} Roselia*; and another called the *St. Pedro* of sixty guns was cast away in Tarento-Bay. Cammuck himself, endeavouring to get away to Spain in a small frigate of twenty-two guns, was chased the 6th of February by a ship of Captain Matthews's squadron, and escaped with much difficulty in his boat to Catania, but the frigate was taken, with all his effects and papers, amongst which was a commission from the Pretender, appointing him Admiral of the white squadron.

This unhappy man was a native of Ireland, and, being bred up at sea, had raised himself to the post of a Captain, and served in Queen Anne's war, with no bad character. But associating himself with those who were enemies to the House of Hanover, and becoming obnoxious to the Government, on the Accession of that Family to the Crown, he abandoned his Country, and entered into the service of Spain, where he was promoted to the rank of a Rear-Admiral, and served in that post in the expedition against Sicily. He had never been noted to want courage, but, in the action of Passaro, he ran away among the first, and escaped to Malta, affording an instance, how much a consciousness of guilt and dread of punishment depresses the heart, more than the fear of an enemy. He was a vain boasting man, with a roving unsettled head, filled with airy schemes and projects, without any judgment or discretion.

No. 95. Vol. IV.

He assured Signor Patinho, that he could put most of the English fleet into his hands, in recompence for that which he had lost; and, in that senseless confidence, wrote a letter to the Admiral, to let him know, that he had the Pretender's commands to assure him, if he would bring over the greatest part of his fleet to Messina, or to any port in Spain, he would create him Duke of Abemarle, with a Royal Bounty of one hundred thousand pounds to support the honour and dignity of that rank; and that every Captain should have ten thousand pounds, and the seamen a gratuity of two months wages. That Signor Patinho would satisfy him of the King of Spain's security for the performance of this agreement, and that no body else but the Dukes of Ormond and Mar were in the secret. Whether he wrote by direction or not, does not appear, but the letter met with the contempt it deserved. He likewise sent another letter to Captain Watson, with the promise of a reward of ten thousand pounds, a Commission of Admiral of the Blue, and to be made an English Peer, if he would bring his ships into Messina, which the honest Captain brought to the Admiral, with vehement expressions of abhorrence and indignation.

(2) Mr. Corbet mentions here an instance or two of the unfair practice of other Nations at this time upon the English trade, and which, it is apprehended, will always be the case, whenever England is engaged in foreign wars. The Admiral having intelligence from Genoa, that a privateer of twenty-four guns had been fitted out by French Merchants of that place, and was cruising with a Spanish Commission off of Cape Corse,

7 K and

1719.

and mind, and was indefatigable in the use of both, when necessary. He was full of fire, and his conversation abounded with wit and humour. He had great skill in courting and caring persons, when he wanted to gain any point, but, at other times, his behaviour discovered much haughtiness. He had an insatiable thirst for glory, which was seconded by a bold and most resolute temper, always headed his troops himself, and seemed to have a sort of passion for fighting. He was seldom in any action but he was wounded, and was not esteemed a fortunate Officer. He despised an enemy too much, was impatient for engaging, and had the character of not caring what men he sacrificed to obtain his purpose, when a few days patience might perhaps have succeeded as well without it; which opinion made the soldiers uneasy under him, as they were in continual apprehensions of being led to the slaughter. Upon the whole, as he had great parts, and great experience of service, he must have made a great General (as he was a complete fine Gentleman) if he had had a cooler temper, or could have commanded it better. But with all his faults he was certainly in the superior rank of men, of which there needs no better proof, than that he was a favourite of Prince Eugene. He was now going to encounter an old school-fellow in the Marquis de Lede, who was a Fleming by birth, and a good General under a quite opposite character, being as different from the other in person, as he was in temper. He was of a low misshapen stature, not affable nor open in his disposition, but much esteemed for his judgment and prudence, and was of great military experience too. He was as cautious and circumspect, as the other was bold and enterprising; and, in this respect, both seemed to be in their proper employment, the one in a situation of defence, and the other of attack. It was thought, that, in the course of this war, he slipped some opportunities, which the oversight, or wants of the Germans, gave him of acting upon them to advantage; but, he considered, that he was in a Country, where he was shut up from receiving any considerable supplies of men, while the enemy poured in what numbers they pleased, and that any large diminution

of his troops might endanger the whole, and therefore made it a principal point to preserve his army as much as possible, and with the advantage of the passes, and the affection of the country people, to distress and disable his adversary, which he effected with much skill and wisdom, and maintained the honour of the arms of Spain with great reputation; and at last, when the King his Master was forced by the weight of the Alliances against him, to relinquish the Island, he brought a gallant army back into Spain (1).

Whilst the troops were arriving, and the vessels to transport them getting ready, Admiral Byng assisted at several Conferences with the Viceroy of Naples and General Mercy, about the intended descent on Sicily. All agreed, that Syracuse was out of the way, but it was not so easy to determine, whether it would be best to land at Palermo, or near Melazzo. Palermo was judged safest, and would not only make them Masters of the capital City, but also of the fertile Province of Mazzara, from whence they might easily draw provisions and necessaries for the subsistence of the army. But Melazzo was most expeditious, as it would press the enemy closer, and bring matters more quickly to a decision; and this opinion prevailed. But, when they came to examine into the state of their military stores, they were so deficient in a train of artillery, that the Admiral yielded to supply them with cannon, powder, and ball from the Spanish prizes, rather than suffer time to be lost for want thereof.

All things being at length got ready, the army embarked, consisting of ten thousand foot, and three thousand five hundred horse, all choice troops, and the flower of those, that had lately served victoriously in Hungary. The Admiral sailed from the Bay of Baie, the 22d of May, N. S. with eight men of war, and above two hundred transports; and, on the 27th in the evening, arrived before Melazzo, from whence General Zumingen came off, and advised Count de Mercy to land in the Bay of Patti, about twenty miles westward, the coast to the eastward being all guarded by the enemy. Upon this, so good a disposition and order was made, that, the

and having no small frigates with him, he converted the *Los Hospital* ship into a frigate, and, putting twenty guns and one hundred men into her, sent her, under the command of Captain Prothero, in quest of the said privateer. The Captain fortunately met with her off the Island of Copraia, and after a smart engagement took her. She had one hundred and thirty men, most French, of whom fifty-six were killed, and nineteen wounded, with the loss only of two men in the *Los*, and four wounded. The Admiral directed the prisoners to be sent to Thoulon, and delivered into the custody of the Intendant; and he wrote to the English Ambassador at Paris to represent those proceedings to the Regent, to whose justice he left the prisoners. Another ship was fitted out at Venice, with fifty guns, and two hundred and fifty men, all Venetians, except three Spaniards, and eight English; and having taken a Spanish commission at Malta, which Signor Patinbo had lodged there for her, she went a cruising on the coast of Spain. The Admiral, being informed of it, sent the *Orford* and *Rupert* after her, the latter of which, meeting with her off of Peniscala, engaged and took her by boarding, having killed sixty-one men, and wounded twenty-nine, with the loss only of one man killed and three wounded.

(1) The City of Naples was at this time full of General Officers, and persons of high quality and distinction, and abounded in all the pleasures of that delightful climate. The Viceroy was studious of making the place agreeable to the Admiral, as much out of affection, as politeness. On the festival day of St. Januarius, he appointed him a box near his own, to behold that famous ceremony. The blood continued long without liquifying, at the approach of the head of the Saint. The vast concourse of people began to shew signs of concern: They fell first to praying, afterwards proceeded to groans and lamentations; and, at length, such a confused murmuring and uneasiness was perceived among them, that the Viceroy, being apprehensive of some ill consequences, sent Count Hamilton to the Admiral, to beg he would not take it ill, if he desired him to retire, not knowing what effect it might have upon the populace, if they should take it into their heads to attribute the failing of the miracle to the Saint's being displeased at his presence. The Admiral had no sooner quitted his box, and was stepping into the Viceroy's Coach, but he heard a prodigious shout of, *è fatto, è fatto, it is done, it is done*; and such joy and exultation appeared in every countenance, as if they had been delivered from some terrible calamity.

1719. the next morning early, all the foot landed in less than two hours, and most of the cavalry by three in the afternoon, having only lost two horses in the voyage.

Upon the landing of the Imperialists, the Marquis de Lede decamped with precipitation, and marched, without halting, to *Franca Villa*, a strong post, thirty-two miles distant, in a mountainous Country, and from whence three roads led to *Palermo*, *Messina*, and *Syracusa*. Count de Mercy arrived, by easy marches, at *Melazzo*, and found in the Spanish camp some cannon, with ammunition and utensils of war, which the haste of the Spaniards had left behind.

Whilst matters were preparing here for the further operations of the army, Count *Seckendorf* was detached with a body of two thousand five hundred foot, and one hundred and fifty horse, to reduce the Islands of *Lipari* to the Emperor's obedience, which he effected, after some resistance, in four days time. This conquest was absolutely necessary to keep open the navigation between *Naples* and *Sicily*, which had been disturbed by the armed vessels of those Islands. *Lipari*, the principal Island, is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants, a bold people, addicted to pillage, and the best mariners in those parts.

It was now under deliberation, whether the army should go and besiege *Messina*, or follow the Spaniards, who were strongly intrenching themselves at *Franca Villa*. *Messina* had a numerous garrison, and was well provided for a long siege, which might waste away the summer, whilst the Spaniards got in the corn, now near ripe, and kept the magazines of the Island in their possession. It was therefore determined to march towards the enemy, and to endeavour to bring them to battle. The hasty retreat they had made from *Melazzo* animated Count de Mercy so much, that he did not imagine they would make any great stand at *Franca Villa*, but that he should trample them under foot (which was his expression) when he came up with them. The way to the enemy lay through a barren mountainous Country, and it took up so much time to get together a few mules and horses for carriage from *Calabria*, that the army did not move from *Melazzo* till the 17th of June, N. S. amounting to about twenty-one thousand men. They suffered a most painful march of three days, through wild unknown roads, broken up, and rendered almost unpassable by the enemy, conducted by ignorant guides, and climbing over craggy rocks and precipices, the soldiers oppressed with the weight of their ammunition, and six days bread, which they carried, besides their arms, with a fiery sun burning over their heads, and harassed and assaulted all along the heights and eminences by the armed peasants of the Country, mixed with some Spanish foot; but arriving, the 19th in the afternoon, on the top of the mountain of *Tre Fontane*, they discovered the enemy incamped below, in the valley of *Franca Villa*. At the sight of their camp, a shout of joy ran through the whole army, in hopes of coming to a decisive action, which seemed to promise favourably to them, it not being imagined, that the enemy could post themselves in a bottom, with so much advantage against an army defending from higher ground upon them.

The situation of the Spanish camp was in this manner. The rapid river *Cantara*, whose banks are of a steep quick rock, from six to eight feet perpendicularly deep, and runs through the valley of *Franca Villa*, was in their front. Their left was on the rising grounds about *Franca Villa* (the town lying behind in their center) and extended to a high mountain, where they had placed some armed peasants, and a few foot. On the other side of the river (but joined by a bridge to the town of *Franca Villa*) was a steep rock, with a convent of *Capuchins* upon it. Here they placed five battalions of their best troops, in as many rows of intrenchments cut into the rock, one above the other; and at the point of the rock was a small battery of two pieces of cannon of three pounders. On their right they had carried on a fortification of large stones, like a wall, all along the river, as far as a high rocky hill, which had a convent on the top, as advantageously fortified, as that of the *Capuchins*; and, close behind the hill, the steep river *Castiglione* runs into the *Cantara*, by means of whose confluence, and the neighbouring mountains being guarded by armed peasants, the Spaniards were secure from any danger in their rear. It was unfortunate to the Germans, that not one deserter, nor even a peasant of the country (who were all up in arms in favour of the Spaniards) came over to give them the least information, so that they knew little of the strength and advantage of the enemies post, till they came to action, and were within musket-shot of their trenches.

Count de Mercy made a disposition for attacking the enemy that evening at three different places. He detached all the first line of foot, consisting of sixteen battalions and twenty-three companies of grenadiers, with three hundred *Hussars*, under the command of General *Zumjungen*, to an adjoining hill on the left. He had under him the Lieutenant-Generals *Wallis*, *Wachtendonck*, and the Prince of *Holstein*. Upon that hill General *Zumjungen* was to separate his men in two bodies, the one under the command of *Wallis*, consisting of eight battalions and eleven companies of grenadiers, being to descend on the right, whilst *Zumjungen* did the same on the left with eight battalions, twelve companies of grenadiers, and the *Hussars*. All the horse and second line of foot, this consisting of twelve battalions under Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf*, and the horse under Lieutenant-General Count de *Eck*, consisting of thirty-five squadrons, including three companies of horse-grenadiers, and as many carabiniers, were at the same time to descend from the mountain of *Tre Fontane*, and join the other bodies below. Before all this could be effected, night came on, which obliged them to put off the attack till the next morning; and at break of day the second line of foot being got down, and meeting with ten or twelve squadrons of the enemy in the valley, they obliged them, as they advanced, to retire towards their intrenchments. When the army was got down to the places appointed in the valley, Count de Mercy perceiving, that the enemy possessed several considerable posts on a hill to his right, from whence they would flank him in his attack, he ordered Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf*, and the Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, with six battalions, to endeavour to dislodge them from thence, and then to defend and rejoin the army in the general attack, which the

Generals

1719.
The battle
of Franca
Villa.

1719. Generals *Zumjungen* and *Wallis* were ordered to defer till they saw *Seckendorf* engaged, and descending towards them. The hill being very steep and difficult, and the enemy being very advantageously posted, *Seckendorf* was obliged to make many windings, which took up much time to get up to them. In the mean while the enemy, seeing that detachment, sent more foot thither, which made Count *de Mercy* strengthen him with four battalions more; so that it was four in the afternoon before they all arrived on the top of the mountain. *Seckendorf*, having his ten battalions together, drove the enemy down from thence to their intrenchments; and, if night had not come on too soon, it was thought he would have been able to have forced his way into their lines, which at that place were weakest, and most easy to be penetrated. At the same time four companies of grenadiers of *Wallis's* body attacked a post of the enemy on the back of the same hill, and drove them thence, whilst the rest of the grenadiers (being seven companies) sustained by the battalions of the same body, and the regiment of Dragoons of *Auspach*, attacked a small intrenchment, which the enemy had made across the valley, and, having carried it, they advanced on towards the rock of the *Capuchins*, which they attacked about six in the evening, being reinforced by two battalions of *Leffelboltz*, which Count *Mercy* had drawn from the left to sustain them. Here was very warm and bloody work, the *Germans* being exposed to a continual fire from the several trenches of the enemy on the sides of the rock. During this attack, Count *d'Eck*, with the carabiniers and horse-grenadiers, followed by the regiments of horse of *Liege*, *Hanover*, and *Portugal*, traversed the valley within half musket-shot of the enemy, and placed himself to the left of *Zumjungen*, the plain there appearing large enough for the horse to act, and to sustain *Zumjungen's* attack, and penetrate with him into the enemies intrenchments. But this motion of the horse crossing *Zumjungen* in his march, did very much retard his attack, so that it was late before he attacked three castles, which stood near the river, within eighty paces of the enemies lines, which he took, not without loss of men. Here the Prince of *Hessein* was mortally wounded, and, being left on the field of battle, he sent to the Marquis *de Lede*, who caused him to be carried into *Franca Villa*, where he died three days after. While *Zumjungen* was disposing his troops to attack the intrenchments, by the way of a mill, which lay on the river opposite to the castles, he perceived the *Hessian* battalions on the right following by mistake the two battalions of *Leffelboltz* to the rock of the *Capuchins*, which disappointed his design, for it was night before they returned. Count *de Mercy* animated his troops every where by his presence and example, heading himself the two battalions of *Leffelboltz* at the attack of the *Capuchins*, and after having one horse killed under him, and two disabled, he was at last himself dangerously wounded in the reigns with a musket-ball. Night coming on put an end to the action, and left things undecided, except that the *Germans* maintained some small posts they had gained, which served to straiten the enemy in their camp. In this action the *Germans* had eight hundred and forty-six men killed, and two thousand four hundred and forty-nine wounded; amongst the latter

Admiral *Byng's* second son very dangerously, who served as a volunteer. The *Spaniards* had about one thousand five hundred men killed or wounded. 1719.

Count *de Mercy*, having withdrawn his wounded men in the night, ranged his army in order to renew the attack next morning; but, the action of the day before having convinced the other Generals of the strong situation of the enemy, and perceiving the soldiers extremely dispirited and dejected with their hardships and ill success, they, with much difficulty, prevailed upon him not to persist in that resolution, but, by extending to the left, endeavour to cut off the enemy from *Messina*, and open a communication with the *English* convoy, which (according to agreement) was to rendezvous in *Schifo-Bay* near *Taormina*, a sea-port town, about three hours distant from *Franca Villa*, with the transports laden with provisions, ammunition, baggage, and other necessaries, which the army stood in extreme need of. Here was a contingency of great hazard and danger, which gave the *Germans* much fear and uneasiness. For it might have happened, that the winds had hindered the convoy from passing through the *Faro*. Or, if they should have gained their passage into *Schifo-Bay*, *Taormina* and all that coast was possessed by the enemy, and it was possible, that the ships might not be able to open a communication with the shore. Or still, if both these points succeeded, the establishing a correspondence between the sea and the camp, through an hostile Country, was another work of hazard and difficulty; and a disappointment, in any one of them, was the inevitable ruin of the whole army, who saw themselves near the end of their provisions, without any other possibility of getting more. But they were soon delivered from their fears, by hearing, that the convoy was safe arrived in *Schifo-Bay*; that the sailors had taken and destroyed a small sort of two guns, which had endeavoured to molest their anchoring; and that the guns of the men of war had dispersed a body of troops, which the Marquis *de Spinola* had sent from *Messina* to the sea-side, to oppose them. Upon this reviving news, Count *de Mercy* sent General *Wachtendonck*, with three thousand foot and five hundred horse, down to incamp on the sea-side, where the ships lay at anchor, and ordered the roads, which were hardly passable, to be repaired, under the direction of Engineer-General *Schmettau*; and, having got some field-pieces from the ships up to the camp, he greatly annoyed the enemy, who lay beneath him. This communication was too important for the Marquis *de Lede* not to endeavour to interrupt it; and, amongst many skirmishes that daily happened, a party of seven hundred *Spanish* horse fell in with the bread-waggons and mules, that were returning from the sea-side, laden with provisions for the camp, and guarded only by three hundred horse. The defence, which the *Germans* made, was reckoned a gallant action. A small party of foot, that happened to be in the neighbourhood, hearing the fire, and coming up to their assistance, they put the *Spaniards* to flight, and conducted the waggons and mules safe to the camp.

When Count *Mercy* parted from Admiral *Byng* at *Melazzo*, to go in quest of the *Spanish* army, it was the Admiral's design to return to *Naples*, and put things there in motion for an intended

1719. intended expedition to *Sardinia*, which the Duke of *Savoy* had much at heart, and was no less pressed by the Courts of *England* and *France*. But reflecting within himself, that the impetuous temper of the *German* General, and the contempt he saw he had of the enemy, might possibly bring about some occasions that would want his assistance, he tarried a few days on the coast, in uneasy expectation of the news of the success of their march from *Melazzo*. The armed peasants had cut off all communication between *Franca Villa* and *Melazzo*; so that the first misdoubt he entertained, that things had not gone well, was from hearing the firing of the guns at *Messina* and at the *Faro*, and seeing great illuminations made along the coast. Soon after he perceived the *Neapolitan* galleys rowing out of the *Faro*, and the General of them, coming on board, gave him an imperfect account of the action, but enough to satisfy him, that it had not been fortunate; upon which he immediately embarked two battalions from the garrison of *Melazzo*, and about a thousand recruits, who were just arrived there, and sent them, the same day, under a convoy, through the *Faro* to *Scio-Bay*. In the evening he received letters from Count de *Mercy*, informing him of the particulars of the whole action, with the great difficulties he laboured under, and uncertainty what to do; earnestly pressing him to come to the camp, that they might confer and consult together. Upon this, the Admiral sent his first Captain with his own ship and two others to *Naples*, by whom he sent a letter to the Viceroy, giving his opinion, that all thoughts of an expedition to *Sardinia* should be laid aside for the present, and the troops, which could be spared from his Government, sent immediately into *Sicily*, till whose arrival all things there would be at a stand; and that he had sent his officers and ships to promote that service. He then embarked on board the General of the galleys, laying aside the ceremony of his flag and character, and, in his way to *Scio*, Count de *Ligneville* came to him in a *Felucca*, bringing fresh letters from Count de *Mercy*, which expressed his great impatience to see him. Being landed at *Scio*, General *Wachtendonck* renewed the same intreaties, which the Admiral's zeal did not want; who, accepting that General's horses, and forgetting for a while his own station and element, set out under a strong escort, attended by Captain *Matthews* and his eldest son, and passing through roads strewed with dead bodies of men and horses, that had fallen in skirmishes the day before, between the sea-side and the camp, he alighted at Count de *Mercy's* tent in the evening, where a guard of Grenadiers being drawn out for his reception, one of them was

shot through the head by a musket-ball from the enemy's camp, at the door of his tent, and fell down dead at his feet. He found the General very weak and faint with his wound, the ball still remaining in his reins; but, as he had a magnanimity of spirit superior to his condition, it did not hinder them from entering into conversation on the melancholy situation of their affairs. The General 'made great complaints of *Zumjungen*, to whose slowness in marching, and coming so late into action, he attributed his ill success. He said, he himself was still of opinion to make another attack upon the enemy, rather than decamp and retire; but that his Officers in general were against it; and in that case he saw nothing left for them to do, but to go down, and join the forces at the sea-side, and march into the Country about *Catanea* and *Syracusa*, for their better subsistence. That he had wrote for two battalions of *Savoyards* to be sent to him from *Syracusa*, which, with the troops the Admiral had sent from *Melazzo*, would repair his loss of men: but that the loss of his Officers was irretrievable; for, besides many killed, a considerable number of the best and principal were wounded, and incapable of present service.' After many propositions and schemes started and discussed between them, without any being concluded on, the Count desired the Admiral to stay in the camp that night, to be present at a Consultation of general Officers next morning. The conversation being ended, the Admiral went to see his son, who (as was mentioned before) was wounded in the action, and whom he found languishing in his tent, in a way, that gave little hopes of his recovery, not so much from the malignity of the wound (though that was in a dangerous part) as from the unskillfulness of those who attended him, the *German* army being very ill provided with surgeons and medicines (1).

Such an universal dejection had reigned throughout the army, on account of the ill success of the late action, and for the loss and disability of so many brave Officers, and they had such continual apprehensions, that the fiery temper of their General would order them on another attack, that their joy on the arrival of the Admiral was inexpressible. They looked on him as their deliverer, who alone, they thought, could extricate them from their present difficulties and misfortunes, and influence their General with cool and prudent counsels. In the morning early he visited General *Zumjungen*, the second person in the army, whose sedate deliberate temper had procured him great esteem and confidence among the soldiery. He complained much 'of the General's rash impatience, in not giving time to all the troops to come up; which

1719.

(1) Mr. *Corbet* observes here, It may be wondered, that the Emperor is so well served in the courage of his troops, when so little care is generally taken of their preservation in accidents of wounds or sickness. Surgeons and medicines are few and bad in their armies, and there is little difference between being wounded and killed in action, except that of a lingering or a sudden death. After the battle of *Franca Villa*, the wounded men were laid on the ground, with their ammunition-bread set by them, and left exposed to the sun and fortune. The General himself had only his own *Valot de Chambre* to dress his wound, and attend

him. It was a moving spectacle to the Admiral, to meet with great numbers of poor wretches in his way up to the camp, some endeavouring, with the support of their wives or comrades, to crawl down to the sea-side, in order to get a passage over to the hospital at *Raggio*; others unable to go on from pain or faintness, falling down on the earth, and left to die there. This is a great blemish of their service, and gives handle to the maxim which their enemies would fix on them, that they account it cheaper to get a man than cure one, and so give themselves little concern for his recovery.

1719. if he had done, and had delayed the attack till next morning, they would have had the whole day before them, have judged better of the measures for carrying it on, which would then have been disposed in another manner, and with more reasonable expectation of success; and that this was not his own single opinion, but that of all the other Officers. He bewailed the little regard the General gave to the advice of his Officers; and intreated him to oppose any overture he might make at the Consultation for another attack, which he feared was not out of his head, and what he (the Admiral) only had credit enough to dissuade him from it.

The principal Officers of the army being met in the General's tent, the first point he put in question was, Whether the enemy should be attacked again? The Officers keeping a long silence, and directing their looks to the Admiral, he addressed his speech to the General, wherein he 'reminded him of the warning he had formerly given him not to despise the enemy, whose numbers and resolution he now experienced to be otherwise than what he expected. He said, that he had viewed the situation of the enemies camp, the night before; and, though he did not pretend to much judgment in the operations of land service, yet it seemed to his plain understanding, that for one army to attack another equal in number, under the shelter of strong and almost impregnable intrenchments, was rather an undertaking of despair than discretion, and could not be attended with any reasonable hopes of success.' All the other Officers declaring themselves of the same opinion, that question was laid aside. It came next under deliberation, What the army was to do? The General's opinion was, 'That it was insufficient for a speedy conquest of the Island, in regard the enemy had as numerous an army, with all the strong holds and magazines in their possession, and the affection of the people on their side. That, as they could not continue where they were, it was his opinion, they should march into the fertile Country about *Catanea*, and endeavour to make themselves masters of *Augusta*; or else canton themselves about *Syracusa* for their better subsistence, till new and effectual supplies of troops were sent from *Germany*.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That he was so much of his opinion, that they wanted a further reinforcement of men, that, upon the first news of the ill success of the battle, he had wrote to the Viceroy of *Naples* his sentiments accordingly: That indeed the Courts of *London* and *Paris* did earnestly press the carrying on the enterprize against *Sardinia*; but, when they should come to be informed of the state of affairs, they would probably consent to have the army, designed for that expedition, pass first into *Sicily*, which, as things stood, he thought the nearest way to the conquest of both Islands. That, after his departure from them, he would immediately go to *Naples*, and labour that point with the proper Courts, with all the earnestness and application possible. That, as to their marching in the mean time into the Country about *Catanea* for subsistence, he apprehended, it would give the world a worse opinion of the late action than it deserved, and make it be concluded, that they had been defeated and disabled; which would blemish the credit of their arms, and give too much spirit to the enemy, and to the *Sicilians*

in their interest. That being now joined by the recruits he had sent them, and the battalions from *Syracusa* being daily expected, they would be in a condition to act offensively, and advance the Emperor's affairs: That *Augusta* was out of the way, and not worth their attention, and delaying their time there was drawing the war into unnecessary length; but that the way was open to *Messina*, the besieging of which City would support the character of their arms, and the taking of it make the reduction of the rest of the Island easy. That, as to what regarded the fleet, the experience of the last winter in keeping two squadrons, one within, the other without the *Faro*, to block up the ships in *Messina*, and secure the passage of the provisions, which the army at *Melazzo* drew from *Calabria* and *Apulia*, had determined him never to hazard again the destruction of his Master's ships on a sea-service of such evident danger in that tempestuous season, without having a port to shelter or befriend him. That the reduction of *Messina* was their mutual interest, as his ships would then clear there, and be more at hand to assist them; and, the cause of the blockade being removed, he should be able to send a detachment to cruise on the coasts of *Spain*, which would straiten the enemy, and obstruct their sending succours into *Sicily*.' This remonstrance had the weight it deserved, and not only convinced, but gave great satisfaction to the General and his Officers; especially after his removing an objection of their being in want of cannon for battery, by agreeing to spare them out of the *Spanish* prizes twenty-seven cannon of twenty-four pounders, twelve of eighteen, and as many of twelve pounders; with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball, to enable them to begin the siege, and promising to solicit strongly at *Naples* for remitting to the army all things necessary for carrying on that important service with success.

The Conference being over, the Admiral took his leave, the General and all his Officers expressing the greatest esteem and affection for him at their parting, and, being escorted down to the water-side, he embarked in the nearest man of war, and, without regard to his own dignity of moving at the head of a fleet, sailed away with two ships only, and after an impatient passage of eleven days, a time tedious to a mind active and charged with important affairs, he arrived at *Naples*, where the first thing he heard, with great surprise and concern, was, that his friend Count *Daun* was removed from the Government, and departed for *Vienna*, though his time was not expired, and that Count *de Gallas* was come thither in his room. The displacing at that juncture a man so experienced in military affairs was a step very inconvenient to the Emperor's interest, and an unhappy effect of Court faction; for, though the new Viceroy was a man of undoubted worth and honour, and had sustained the character of Ambassador at the Courts of *England* and *Rome*, with proper dignity and magnificence, and in quieter times might have filled his Government with great sufficiency and applause, yet, not being bred a soldier, it was not to be expected, he could so readily comprehend the springs of motion in armies, or foresee every provision necessary for military operations, the timely supplies of which are the surest foundations of success in war.

After

1719. After the first civilities, the Admiral, entering into conferences with the Viceroy, painted out to him in very lively colours the state of the Imperial army in *Sicily*, 'where the event of things, he said, had not answered the sanguine hopes they had flattered themselves with, on their landing on that Island; that, instead of trampling over the enemy, they had received such a shock themselves, as very much humbled their spirits and expectations, and had been so far from making impression on an army favoured and assisted by the Natives, that they were reduced to think of their own preservation, being intangled among barren mountains, depending on a precarious subsistence from the sea, and in a Country, where every man they saw was their enemy; and finally, that, without a reinforcement equal to another army, the conquest of that Kingdom was impracticable.' The Admiral, having proceeded thus far, was cautious of touching on the army, that lay in the *Milanese*, designed for *Sardinia*; for, by the last letters, the Courts of *England*, *France*, and *Turin*, were still very pressing for that expedition: But he demanded of the Viceroy, Whether the Emperor had any considerable number of troops in *Italy*, besides those designed for *Sardinia*? To which he replied, he believed not: The Admiral asked, Whether, if those troops designed for *Sardinia* were immediately sent over to *Sicily*, they could soon be replaced by other troops from *Germany*, to go on that expedition? Which the Viceroy doubting, he then spoke out his opinion plainly, 'That the expedition to *Sardinia* ought to be laid aside for the present: That the carrying on both undertakings together would end in the failure of both; and that the shortest way of getting both Islands was by conquering one first.' The Viceroy replied, 'That the proposition was so much for his Master's interest, that his concurrence with it was not to be doubted, but that he feared, he was not at liberty to divert those troops, without the consent of the other Courts in Alliance; and prayed the Admiral to make the proper representations thereupon to them, as he would do himself to the Emperor.' The Conference being over, the Count de *Ligneville*, whom Count de *Mercy* had sent with the Admiral to *Naples*, was dispatched away to *Vienna*, with instructions to lay before that Court the state of their affairs in *Sicily*, and the measures proposed for retrieving them.

Naples seemed to be, at this time, the center of affairs in *Europe*. All the powers in the Quadruple Alliance, as well as those, who had any concerns with them, had Ministers there to watch over their respective interests, and drew their measures from information of what passed there. The Admiral went with the Viceroy to visit the Marquis de *Brille*, the King of *Sardinia*'s Minister; and shewing him the weak condition of the Imperial arms in *Sicily*, and that the expedient of sending the troops designed for *Sardinia* thither, was the effect of invincible necessity, and not a pretence for postponing his Master's interests, which the Courts of *England* and *France* had as much at heart as those of the Emperor, he convinced that Minister of the reasonableness of the measure, who, at his request, represented the matter in a true light to his own Court, and obtained his Master's concurrence.

During the Admiral's stay at *Naples*, the *Grafton* brought in two *Genoese* ships, which she

had taken off *Palermo*, with six hundred *Swiss* recruits on board for the *Spanish* army, who were committed prisoners to the Castles. The *Lenox* ran a third a-shore, with about two hundred more soldiers; and burnt her, but most of the men escaped.

There being nothing more to do at *Naples*, till the sentiments of the several Courts were known, upon the proposed alteration of measures, the Admiral determined, in the mean time, to pass over again into *Sicily*, hoping to find the army before *Messina*, in which case his assistance would be wanting. He had then a strong feverish disorder hanging on him, which had reduced him to a very low condition; a little rest seemed necessary for his recovery; but his heart was with the army, and his health had no part in his thoughts. The Viceroy too was ill in bed of a fever; they were desirous of seeing each other before the Admiral departed, having some necessary points to settle together. The Admiral, scarce able to stand, was carried to the Viceroy's bed-side, where being seated, they could do little more than give broken and imperfect hints to each other, of what their minds laboured with, and were soon obliged to put an end to a Conference, wherein the weakness of their bodies did not second the zeal of their hearts for the public. The Admiral complimented the Viceroy with as many of the *Swiss* prisoners, as would be necessary to exchange what *Germans* were prisoners in *Sicily*; and, taking a final leave of him, embarked for that Island. The Viceroy died two days after, whose sickness the *Italians* attributed to his travelling through the *Campania* of *Rome* in the dog-days, which they esteem fatal. His death threw the affairs of that Kingdom into great confusion; the collateral Council assuming the Government, and the military Power refusing to obey their orders, which proved no small disservice and retardment to the affairs in *Sicily*.

During the Admiral's absence, Count de *Mercy*, being struck blind with an apopleptic fit, was obliged to quit the camp, and pass over to *Reggio* for advice, leaving the command of the army to General *Zumjungen*. General *Wachtendonck* had taken by stratagem the town of *Taormina*, a strong pass in the way to *Messina*, upon which encouragement *Zumjungen* broke up from *Franca Villa* with his army, on the 17th of *July*, without any molestation from the enemy, and forcing the strong passes of *Alexis* and *la Sceletta*, with less opposition than was expected, after a painful march through a mountainous Country and excessive heats, but assisted by the transport vessels coasting along with the provisions, artillery, and heavy baggage, he sat down, the 20th, before *Messina*; in which the enemy had three thousand men, under the command of the Marquis de *Spinola*, an Officer of great reputation, and well furnished with provisions and all necessaries for a long and obstinate defence. In the mean time, Count de *Mercy* burning with impatience to lie idle at *Reggio*, notwithstanding the anguish of his wound, and the Surgeon's not being able to get the ball out of his body, as soon as ever he began to see a little with one eye, returned to the camp before *Messina*. The Admiral, after a passage of five days, anchored, the 28th, off of the point of the *Faro*, and, being too weak to go out of his ship, sent his first Captain a-shore to the General,

1719. ral, to acquaint him with his proceedings at Naples; and learning, that he was in great want of powder, sent him a considerable supply.

The Imperialists having taken the Castle of *Gonzaga*, which stands on a hill over the City; and the bastion of the town, called *Secreto*, having a considerable breach made in it, and the Governor having withdrawn his troops from the town into the citadel, the Senate of *Messina* sent out Deputies to capitulate upon articles; but the General desiring to know, whether he was to treat with them as subjects of the Emperor, or as enemies; if as the former, he bid them open the gates, and receive his troops, and he would interpose his good offices with the Emperor in their favour; but, if he was to treat with them as enemies, they were to get the best terms they could for themselves; and he gave them leave to go back into the town to consider with their principals about it. They returned the same evening, and told the General, that the next morning, as soon as it was day, they would open the gates, and rely on the Emperor's clemency; and accordingly the troops marched on the 8th of August, *N. S.* and took possession.

The City being taken, the Admiral landed some English grenadiers, who took the tower of the *Faro*; which opening a free passage for his ships, he came to an anchor in *Paradise Road*, which the officers of the Spanish men of war in the *Mole* perceiving, and despairing now of getting out to sea, they unbent their sails, and unrigged their ships, expecting their fate with that of the citadel. This gave the Admiral great ease, and enabled him to employ ships on other services, which had long attended the blocking up of that port.

It came now to be matter of debate, what was to be done with those ships, when the citadel should be taken, and they fall into their hands. Signor *Scarampi*, General of the King of *Sardinia's* galleys, first started the question, and claimed the two best of sixty and sixty-four guns, new ships, which had belonged to his Master, and were seized by the Spaniards in the port of *Palermo*. He grounded his right on a Convention made at *Vienna*, the 29th of December, 1718, in which it was said, 'That as to the ships belonging to the King of *Sardinia*, if they be taken in port, they shall be restored to him: But that this shall be referred to Admiral *Byng* to answer.' To this the Admiral replied, 'That, this Convention having been only a ground-work for another to be made at *Naples*, he could be directed by none but that, which was made in consequence thereof in April, 1719, between the Viceroy of *Naples*, the Marquis de *Brille* Minister of *Sardinia*, and himself, in which no mention is made of those ships; and, as to the reference to his opinion, he did freely declare, he could not think the King of *Sardinia* had any shadow of title to them: That they had been taken by the enemy, and were now fitted out, and armed at their expence, and under their colours: That they would put out to sea, if he did not hinder them, and attack all English ships they met with; and, if stronger, take them; so that he could not consider them in any light, than what they were, the ships of an enemy.' Count de *Mercy* put in his claim for the Emperor, alledging, 'That as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his Master's arms, according to the right of

Nations, they belonged to him.' The Admiral replied, 'That it was owing to his keeping two squadrons on purpose, and at a great hazard, to watch and observe these ships, that they were now confined within the port, which if he was to withdraw, they would still be able to go to sea, and he should have a chance of meeting with and taking them.' But reflecting afterwards with himself, that possibly the garrison might capitulate for the safe return of those ships into *Spain*, which he was determined never to suffer: That, on the other hand, the right of possession might breed an inconvenient dispute among the Princes concerned; and if it should prove, that they did not belong to *England*, it were better they belonged to no body, he proposed to Count de *Mercy* to set up a battery, and destroy them as they lay in the basin; who urging, that he had no orders concerning those ships, and must write to *Vienna* for instructions about it, the Admiral replied with some warmth, that he could not want a power to destroy every thing that belonged to the enemy, and insisted on it with such firmness, that the General, being concerned in interest not to carry matters to a disagreement, caused a battery to be erected, notwithstanding the protestations of *Scarampi*, which in a little time sunk and destroyed them, and completed the ruin of the naval power of *Spain*.

In five days after the taking of the City, the Imperialists obliged the Castles of *Castellazzo* and *Matagriffone* to surrender; and, being thus become masters of all the castles and eminencies about the City, they applied themselves to the siege of the Citadel, where from the strength of the place, the numerous and well-provided garrison, and the great reputation of the Governor, they were sure to meet with a very warm and vigorous resistance, and the more, as the *Germans* were ill provided with necessaries for such an undertaking.

On the 13th of August, *N. S.* the Count de *Ligneville* arrived in the Camp from *Vienna* with the good news of the Emperor's having dispatched orders to the Governor of *Milan* to send his troops, which lay in the *Milanese*, and were designed for *Sardinia*, down to *Vado*, in order to be transported into *Sicily*. He brought a gracious letter from the Emperor to the Admiral, wherein he signified to him 'his approbation of a project, that was the effect of his zeal and activity; the satisfaction he had in his wife conduct, and for his love and attachment to his Imperial person and august house; and on all occasions he should give him marks of his affection and esteem, and of his good remembrance of the services he had done him.'

The transportation of the troops from *Genoa* to *Sicily* was a service of such moment, and dispatch in it so necessary, that the Admiral determined to conduct that affair himself, well knowing from his experience of the slowness of the *Germans* in all their undertakings, how much his weight and credit were necessary to give their motions that quickness, which their affairs required; and having intimated his resolution to Count de *Mercy* of passing over to *Naples*, and from thence to *Genoa* for that purpose, he prayed the Admiral to represent plainly his wants to the Government of *Naples*; which no body knew or understood better than himself, and, giving him a list of what particulars he wanted, added

1719. jocosely, 'That, as the siege was a child of his own begetting, he ought to nurse it, as well for his own sake, as for the common interest.'

The Admiral sailed the 16th of *August*, N. S. and anchored the 23d before *Naples*, where the Cardinal *de Schrottenbach* was newly arrived by sea from *Rome* in quality of Viceroy. The next day the Admiral went to the palace, and, entering into Conference with the Cardinal, represented to him, 'how much the army had suffered from the divisions of the Government during the *Interregnum*. That the siege they were employed in was a decisive point, on which the fate of the Island depended;' and setting before him the evil consequences, that would attend a miscarriage by the want of necessary supplies from his Government, he put into his hands a list of particulars he had received from the General. The Cardinal was an honest good-natured man, and very willing to forward business, but had no great talents for it. His high quality had advanced him to the purple, being Lord of a principality in *Bohemia*, with some marks of Sovereignty. He was appointed to manage the Emperor's affairs at *Rome*, after the departure of Count *Gallas*, and, at his death, succeeded him in his Government. He told the Admiral, 'That, by the accounts he had received from the proper Officers, there was not in the stores the quantity of cannon and ammunition, which the General demanded: That he would send to *Mantua* for cannon, which might be transported down the *Po* into the *Adriatic*, and so on by sea to *Messina*, where possibly, if no cross accidents happened, they might arrive in two months time.' The Admiral coming to know, that those cannon had no carriages, the Cardinal thought he satisfied that objection, by saying, 'he would send some carpenters into the woods of *Abruzzo* to cut down timber for carriages.' Those and the like unsoldierlike proposals gave the Admiral a sensible regret of the loss of Count *Dawn*, in whose room he found himself co-operating with a Viceroy better qualified for his brevity than for council in operations of war, and whose Court was crowded with Monks and Priests, and such like disagreeable objects, instead of men of business and service (1).

The Admiral perceiving, that the army had no resource, but what lay in himself, generously

sent them twenty-four pieces of cannon of eighteen pounders, belonging to the *Spanish* prizes, and a proportionable quantity of powder and shot, contenting himself with the single credit of the General for repayment to the captors, and at the same time wrote to *Genoa* and *Leghorn*, to purchase one thousand barrels more of powder, engaging his own security to the *British* Consuls for their repayment.

During these transactions, a number of transports having been provided at *Naples*, the Admiral sent them under a convoy to *Vado*, and, having dispatched his other affairs with the Cardinal, departed after them, and arrived at *Genoa* the 7th of *September*, N. S.

He had been made to believe, that, by the time of his arrival there, the army would be ready to embark; but he found every thing in extreme backwardness. The troops had not so much as begun their march from the *Milanes*, nor could get to *Vado* in less than a fortnight: Very few provisions or necessaries had been bought up, and none shipped, nor were the transport-vessels properly fitted for the reception of the troops. Count *de Bonneval*, who was to command his body, arriving the next day, went on board the Admiral, and understanding that he intended to transport his army to *Melazzo*, and even to *Messina*, if Count *Mercy* should think it necessary, he was mortified to the last degree. He had been appointed to command these forces on the intended expedition to *Sardinia*, and the diverting them to a different service so disgusted him, that, instead of forwarding the embarkation of the troops, he resolved to retard it all he could. Accordingly, whilst the Admiral gave himself incredible pains at *Genoa* and *Vado*, to quicken their departure, he threw in the way all the secret obstructions he could, till he knew the issue of the solicitations he was carrying on at *Vienna*, to be continued in a separate command. However, the Admiral after twenty days labour and pains, and at last such menaces as even *Bonneval* himself began to be afraid of the Admiral, shipped off the troops to the number of about six thousand, on the 27th of *September*, N. S. with such provisions as could be got, and, leaving a man of war to convoy the remainder when ready, sailed the 28th from *Vado* (2). The Admiral receiving letters in his passage, from Count *de Mercy*, requesting,

(1) The Viceroy returned the next day the Admiral's visit, and, upon reconsidering the several points in the General's demands, the same difficulties recurred about complying with them, especially as to the cannon and ammunition. The Viceroy said, 'he would summon all the general Officers in town, and consult with them about finding out expedients to satisfy the wants of the army, which was all that was in his power to do.' Upon which the Admiral desired his eminence, 'That, after they had attended him, and taken those matters into consideration, he might have a Conference with them.' Accordingly the next day the general Officers came to the Admiral's house, and entering into conversation together, upon the particulars of the General's demands, which lay before them, the articles relating to corn and recruits were soon got over; but the main difficulty was the demand of cannon and ammunition. The Admiral told them, 'That Count *de Mercy* had not above twenty cannon in battery: That he was within two hundred paces of the counterescarp of the citadel; and hoped he should not be forced to stop in

so fair a way, for want of necessary supplies; and that he would be contented, if they could send him but ten or twelve cannon from *Naples*, with a proportionable quantity of powder and ball.' The Officer of the ordnance attending gave in a list of eight cannon, which he said might be taken from the mole and batteries of the City, and sent to *Messina*; but, upon enquiry, they appeared to be of fifty and sixty pounders, some without ball, others without carriages, all of them too unwieldy and unfit for battery. He then delivered in to them a state of all the ordnance stores in the Kingdom; upon examining of which the general Officers unanimously confessed, that the whole Country was not able to furnish the cannon and ammunition, which Count *de Mercy* wanted. This was such a declaration of weakness, as was not to be expected in so fine a Kingdom.

(2) *Bonneval*, finding his troops incorporated with the army, and his projects of a separate command vanishing, pretended sickness, and, getting leave to go to *Reggio* for advice, he repaired to *Vienna*, and returned

598

1719. questing, that the troops might not land at *Melazzo*, but go on to *Messina*, he stood away for the *Faro*, and arrived before *Messina*, the 8th of *October*, N. S. which so elevated the spirits of the army, that, upon the first sight of the fleet, Lieutenant-General *Wallis*, with five thousand men, made a vigorous attack upon the half-moon, which was nearest to their approaches, and carried it with the loss of only one hundred and three killed, and eight hundred and thirty wounded. The Admiral, going ashore to the General's quarters, was embraced by him, and all the general Officers, with the most tender marks of affection and gratulation, the whole army being overjoyed to see a man, who always brought them relief and success, and every good, that attended them. On the 17th at ten in the morning, the Imperialists assaulted the counterescarp, and mounted to the top of the breach with great gallantry; but, after two hours very warm work, were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twenty men killed, and six hundred and seventeen wounded. The Governor having acquitted himself with great honour in this repulse, as well as in the general defence of the place, and finding himself unable to hold it longer, beat a parley the next day, and surrendered it upon articles. The Spanish garrison marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea to *Augusta*. Thus ended a siege of twenty one days, which cost the *Germans* above five thousand men killed or wounded.

*Messina
surrendered
to the Im-
perialists.*

Whilst the siege of the Citadel was depending, the Spanish army decamped from *Franca Villa*, the 31st of *August*, and, marching towards *Rametta*, the Marquis de *Lede* gave out, that he would attack the Imperialists, and appeared upon the hills in sight of the camp, attended by a great number of peasants he had drawn together; but finding it well guarded, and his army being sickly, he fortified a strong and advantageous post at *Castra Giovane*, in the center of the Island, where he laid in large magazines, in order to retire thither in case of necessity; and in the mean time cantoned his troops about *Adermo*, *Palermo*, and *Catanea* (1).

The Imperialists having spent some time in 1719. levelling the lines, trenches, and batteries before *Messina*, and in putting the place into a posture of defence, they held several Consultations, at which the Admiral assisted, concerning what measures were next to be taken. The reduction of *Messina* had brought *Val Demona* under the obedience of the Emperor; but the whole Province, being mountainous and barren, was so little able to supply the army with provisions and forage, that the inhabitants of *Messina* and other towns daily petitioned the General for their own subsistence, since they could draw no corn, as they used to do, from the plentiful parts of the Island, which were in the possession of the *Spaniards*. To march after the enemy in a wintry season, with their horse already harassed, and almost starved, through an adverse Country, and without any provisions but what they carried; and, if they surmounted all these difficulties, to attack them in the strong camp of *Castra Giovane*, was judged too rash to be attempted, after the experience of *Franca Villa*. To march to *Palermo*, and get possession of the Capital, was more desirable than easy of execution. It was a march of seventeen days, along the northern coast of the Island, through an unknown, mountainous, sterile Country, where they should be exposed to sudden insults, great part of the way being so narrow, that two men could hardly go a breast; and, if they met with no enemy, they had no forage for their horse, no magazines in the way of their march, nor a sufficient number of beasts of burthen to carry provisions along with them, nor money to buy them, if they could be got. The next project, that occurred, was to go to *Trapani*, where the *Piedmontese* had a garrison. This would be changing the scene of the war to great advantage; for, instead of being confined and famishing in the mountains, they should be able to enlarge themselves in a plentiful Country, and, by acting on equal terms with the enemy, have a reasonable chance to drive them out of the Island. But to go thither by land was impracticable; and, as their transport-vessels could not carry above a third part of the army

no more to the army. He was a native of *France*, and had all the sprightliness and levity of that Nation. He was a gallant Officer, had received many wounds, and still feels the painful remembrance of a most terrible one he got in *Hungary*. He had no zeal for the service of his Prince, any further than it suited his own interest or ambition, to which he willingly sacrificed his duty. *Corbet*.

(1) It was during this siege, that the Admiral having received information, that vessels belonging to *Malta* had gone to sea with Spanish Commissions, and taken some English Merchant-ships, sent a letter to the Grand Master, complaining of his partiality and injustice, demanding satisfaction for the damages the Merchants had sustained, and his giving strict orders to prohibit the like unfair proceedings for the future. He wrote, at the same time, to Mr. *Alexander Young*, the English Consul at *Malta*, to make a strict inquiry what Merchant-ships had been taken by Privateers fitted out from *Malta*, or wherein *Maltese* subjects had been concerned, and to lay a state thereof before that Government, with a demand for reparation, and to let him know their answer. The Grand Master and his Council, being alarmed at this message, sent the Chevalier *Balbini* to the Admiral, to represent and excuse the proceedings of their Government in the points complained of, and to lay before him the difficulties

they were under, from their dependance on *Spain*, and to endeavour to remove all causes of his dissatisfaction with them. But the Admiral, not having yet received any specific account of the particular losses of the Merchants, and so not able to settle the terms of restitution with *Balbini*, sent his first Captain, *Saunders*, with two men of war to *Malta*, directing him to make an exact inquiry into the several captures that had been made, and to lay the same before the Grand Master and his Council, and to demand reparation, so far as their subjects had been concerned therein; and, in case he found them willing to give reasonable assurances of doing justice for what was past, and of a better behaviour for the future, he was to enter into a Convention with them for that purpose, and for establishing a good agreement with them; but, otherwise, he was to take all ships and vessels he should meet with belonging to that Island. Captain *Saunders*, arriving at *Malta*, found a fair disposition in those people to give the Admiral and the English Nation all reasonable satisfaction in their proceedings. They shewed, that they had never consented to, or approved of their subjects entering into the service of *Spain*, but had issued strict proclamations, prohibiting them to be any ways concerned on either side in the war. They did not deny, that one of their vessels had taken a Commission from the Marquis de *Lede*, to cruise upon the enemies of

Spain.

1712. army at a time, the division of their troops was hazardous, and might be fatal. For, *Trapani* being situated on an *Isthmus*, and having no magazines of corn, the *Marquis de Lede* might march, and pen up the first detachment within that narrow neck of land, where they would starve for want of provisions, before the rest of the army could join them. The only choice remaining was to go to *Syracusa*; but that too was impracticable by land, by reason of the same objections, as are already mentioned; and besides, there lay in the way several deep and rapid rivers, where the enemy might defend the passages with great advantage. And, though it was not difficult to transport the army thither by sea, yet it was an uncomfortable reflection, that they should be then the whole length of the Island distant from *Palermo*, and could only propose to subsist themselves from day to day during the winter, the enemy lying between them and the great *Caricatori*, or subterraneous magazines, where the inhabitants usually lay up their corn, which were ninety miles distant. With these disagreeable prospects they past away some days under uncertainty what to do: when, one evening, the Generals *Mercy* and *Zumunguen* repairing on board the Admiral, and renewing the subject of their late Conferences, they told him, in a very desponding manner, 'That, having thoroughly weighed the situation of their affairs, and finding they could neither subsist nor undertake any action where they were, they had come to a resolution to leave a strong garrison in *Messina*, and transport the horse over by sea to *Calabria*, and the foot to *Syracusa*, where they might be able to maintain themselves during the winter, and be ready to make use of such advantages as might offer, for acting against the enemy in the spring; and prayed his assistance in that service.' The Admiral replied, 'That he hoped, their affairs were not so desperate, as they apprehended: That he had been employing his thoughts for their service, and believed he should be able to extricate them out of their present circumstances: That of all the late propositions, the transporting the

army to *Trapani* pleased him best, as it would turn the difficulty upon the *Spanish* army, by obliging them to make uneasy marches, and to keep the field in the winter. That, when the whole army was at *Trapani*, they should be able to enlarge their quarters; the granaries of corn would fall into their hands, and their neighbourhood to *Palermo* keep that place in awe, till the season should favour their marching towards it, the reduction of which would bring the war to a speedy issue. That he had considered of the difficulty of subsisting one part of the army at *Trapani*, till the rest arrived; and, as *England* was in peace with the Governments of *Barbary*, he would send his Secretary to *Tunis*, which was the nearest *African* port to *Trapani*, and employ him, and the *English* Consul, to buy up whatever quantity of corn was necessary, and transport the same to *Trapani*. That he knew very well they had no money, and therefore would employ his own cash, and credit, to procure this Supply, depending upon their honour for repayment, and did not doubt to lodge the corn at *Trapani*, before the first detachment of troops arrived there.' Count *de Mercy*, penetrating immediately into the facility, and advantageous consequences of this scheme, rose up, and, embracing the Admiral in a kind of transport, acknowledged, 'That he had hit on the only method practicable, not only for the preservation of the army, but even for pushing on the war with success. That, as it was a Protestant scheme, he should have Protestant troops, and Protestant Generals to put it in execution.' And accordingly General *Zumunguen*, with Count *Seckendorf*, the Prince of *Hesse*, and General *Schmettau*, embarked the 23d of *November*, with seven thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and arrived fortunately in three days at *Trapani*, where finding a plentiful remittance of corn ready arrived from *Tunis*, they not only posted themselves there in security, but, enlarging their quarters into the Country, brought the Cities of *Marsala* and *Mazzara* to submit to the obedience of the Emperor. The transports and convoy returning, brought thither more troops. Count *de Mercy*

1719.

Spain, but made appear, that they had sent one of their order to intreat him to revoke that Commission, and had made the same application to the Court of *Madrid*, but had been answered with great roughness and menaces. That, to avoid as much as they could all occasions of complaint, they had called in all their Privateers, which had been cruising in the *Levant* against the *Turks*, in order to disarm them; but they could not always govern the unruliness of their people, when they would enter into the service of any Christian Prince, whose colours protected them from their inquiry or visitation, which was the misfortune of their Constitution, as they depended upon the Christian Princes of *Europe* for their revenue, and, in particular, drew at that time their daily sustenance of provisions from that part of *Sicily*, which was under the subjection of the *Spanish* General; and, finally, that they received no part or benefit from the prizes, which had passed intirely through the hands of the *Spanish* Agent, and in which they had no manner of interest or concern.' The Captain was convinced of the sincerity and truth of their declaration; but, on the other hand, told them, 'That it was not his business to inquire into the nature or dependance of their Government; and it was for them to accommodate their grievances with *Spain* as they could. That his instructions were plain, and founded in justice, demanding redress for

the losses his Countrymen had sustained, from those, who occasioned them, who were their subjects; and that, if they would not enter into a Negotiation for that purpose, he should be obliged to put his orders in execution.' Intimidated by these threats, they immediately appointed two Commissaries to treat with him; and it being made out by proof, that five *English* Merchant-ships had been taken by *Maltese* ships under *Spanish* colours, they submitted to pay the full value of them and their lading, within twelve months after application from the Claimants. But thinking themselves aggrieved by this treaty, and protesting themselves to be under a force to sign any terms, rather than feel the effects of the Admiral's displeasure, they referred to themselves a liberty of appealing to the equity of the Admiral, and from him to the King, for a mitigation of the severity of the conditions. They dispatched away, accordingly, the Chevalier *de la Val* to the Admiral, who not thinking he had any right to compound for other men's properties, the Deputy passed on to the *English* Court at *London*, to execute his Commission. He had likewise a private instruction, to implore the King's interest with the several Princes at the approaching Congress, that *Malta* might be freed from its subjection to *Sicily*, and enjoy the rights and privileges of a free and neutral port in time of war, among the Christian powers.

1719. *Mercy* and the Admiral departing with the last convoy from *Messina*, on the 19th of *January*, consisting of five thousand four hundred foot, and eleven hundred horse, they were overtaken by a violent storm off the Isle of *Alicuda*, which drove all the transports into *Melazzo* and *Messina*, the Admiral, with the General on board his ship, getting with difficulty to *Trapani*, on the 29th, but the whole convoy did not arrive there till the 2d of *March*, many soldiers dying in the passage, and amongst them General *Wachtendonck*, regretted by every body. The whole army, being got together, amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse, besides the garrisons left in *Messina*, *Melazzo*, *Syracusa*, and the adjacent parts.

These motions of the Imperialists made the Marquis *de Lede* quit the posts of *Mola*, *Taormina*, and *Catania*, and leaving a detachment in his strong camp at *Casiro Giovane*, to secure the magazines he had erected there, he marched and fixed his camp from *Alcamo* to *Salama*, with his head quarters at *Castel Vetrano*, from whence he continually sent out detachments to destroy the Country about *Marsala* and *Mazzara*, and to carry off all the cattle, grain, and wine, which *Zunjuengen* could not at first prevent; but, being strengthened with new supplies by sea, he at last obliged their parties to retire, and, on the arrival of Count *de Mercy*, the Spanish General was reduced to fortify his camp with strong intrenchments and redoubts, with batteries of cannon.

Count *de Mercy* making a motion of extending his quarters beyond *Mazzara*, the Marquis *de Lede* quitted *Castel Vetrano*, and retired with his army to *Alcamo*, from whence he sent his Marshal of camp Signor *d'Aponte*, on the 6th of *February*, 1719-20, *N. S.* with overtures to Count *de Mercy* and the Admiral for evacuating *Sicily*, on condition of leave to transport his army into *Spain*, and in order thereto desired a suspension of arms. This proposition contained nothing disagreeable to the *Germans*, who would thereby obtain all they wanted, by becoming masters of the Kingdom, without any further trouble; but the Admiral protesting against it, and declaring, that not a man of the Spanish army should pass out of that Island, until a general peace was made, for that it would be to furnish *Spain* with a body of their best troops to strengthen their army acting against *France*, or else they might be employed in disturbing *England*, he was dismissed with this counter-proposition from the Count *de Mercy*, that, if the Marquis would surrender *Palermo*, and the South-side of the Island, and retire with his army into the middle of the Country towards *Casiro Giovane*, or to any other pass proper for his security, he would consent to a suspension of arms for six weeks, till the sentiments of the several Courts might be known; which being an advantage more than equivalent to the operations of six weeks in that early season, the Admiral consented thereto, with this restriction, that, if the Spaniards attempted to withdraw any of their men in the mean time, the suspension should be void, and he would act against them with all his force. Count *de Mercy* dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel *Bellaire* to *Vienna*, to acquaint that Court with these overtures, and bring back their directions; the Admiral sent away thither his eldest son Mr. *Byng*, with instructions, if the Imperial Court listened to the proposals of

the Spanish General, to declare, that his father could never suffer any part of the Spanish army to depart out of the Island, till the King of *Spain* had acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, or till he received positive instructions from *England* for doing so.

The 12th of *February*, *N. S.* Count *de Mercy* marched towards *Castel Vetrano*, for the more commodious subsistence of his cavalry, from whence he detached General *Seckendorf*, with fifteen hundred men, and some cannon, to reduce *Sacca*, where there was a large caricatore of corn. The town immediately surrendered, but the Spaniards, to the number of three hundred, retired into the Castle.

The Marquis *de Lede*, finding his first propositions ineffectual, sent two General Officers, the Marquis *de San Vincenzo* and Signor *d'Aponte*, to the Imperial camp, the 19th of *February*, *N. S.* with instructions to treat about the surrender of *Palermo*, and a considerable part of the adjacent Country, in consideration of a suspension of arms for three months. But, whilst the Negotiation was depending, the Marquis received an express from *Madrid*, on the 28th, with advice, that a general peace was made, he sent immediately to break off the treaty. This seemed matter of great surprize; but the secret reason was, that *Spain* was at that time treating with *France* to restore *Fontarabia*, *St. Sebastian*, and other places taken in the war, and hoped to get in exchange, for the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, the restitution of those towns, and of *Gibraltar*, or, at least, to have both the one and the other referred to a Congress. Upon this, Count *de Mercy* gave fresh orders for attacking the Castle of *Sacca*, which had been retarded by the great rains. The Castle being battered with four pieces of cannon, and not very strong, surrendered, the 6th of *March*, the garrison being made prisoners of war. The taking of this place gave great relief to the Imperial army, who found there twenty thousand souls of wheat.

During these transactions, a Courier dispatched from *Paris* by the Earl of *Stair*, the British Ambassador there, brought the Admiral information, that the Marquis *de Beretti Landi*, the Spanish Minister at the *Hague*, had signed the Quadruple Alliance the 17th of *February*, *N. S.* and he brought likewise a packet from that Minister to the Marquis *de Lede*, and another from the Emperor's Minister to Count *de Mercy*, to acquaint them therewith. A trumpet was sent with the Spanish Minister's packet to the Marquis *de Lede*, and to know his sentiments thereupon. He returned answer, 'That, his Master's Minister having signed the Quadruple Alliance, he looked upon the peace as a thing concluded, and was therefore ready to treat of a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, until they should receive farther orders from their respective Courts.' To this it was replied by the Admiral and Count *de Mercy*, 'That, as the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* was to be performed within two months after the said signing, they were ready to consent to a suspension of arms, upon his delivering up the City and Castles of *Palermo*, at which place transports would be best provided, and other necessary measures concerted for the transportation of their army into *Spain*.' The Marquis returned answer, 'That, as he understood, the Plenipotentiaries of their Master's

1719.

1719. Masters at the *Hague* were in treaty for settling the terms of evacuating those Islands, he did not think himself authorized to agree to a cessation on any other condition, than that each party should remain on the ground they occupied, and expect further orders from their respective Principals.

The disadvantages arising from such an agreement were too obvious to be submitted to; for the men of war and transports lay very inconveniently at *Trapani*, an unsafe road, where they had sustained considerable damage, and some of the transports had been lost. It was therefore necessary to have possession of *Palermo*, as a secure retreat for the fleet, and the most commodious port for shipping off the troops. Besides, it was a pledge of the sincerity of the intentions of *Spain* to evacuate the Island. In the next place, it put the *Germans* under a manifest inequality, to be confined to the ground they occupied, while the *Spaniards* were in possession of the principal *Caricatori* of corn, and plundered and rifled at pleasure a Country they were soon to leave. Nor could they comprehend, how an enemy, who, six weeks before, offered to leave the whole Island, on condition of being sent back into *Spain*, should now scruple to surrender *Palermo*; and therefore, as it had the appearance of chicaning, they resolved to go on with the operations of the war. But, before they proceeded to action, they agreed to send a joint letter to the Marquis, proposing an interview between them at the *Cassine de Rossignola*, halfway between the two armies, where accordingly they met the 2d of *April*, N. S. at noon, with an escorte of two hundred horse on each side. In the Conference the Marquis de *Lede* owned 'That he knew the King his Master had signed the Quadruple Alliance, and did not doubt of his intention to evacuate *Sicily*; but declared, he had no orders yet about it: That he expected full powers and instructions soon, and wished they would, in the mean time, come to a cessation of arms.' He was asked, 'What proposals he had to make for that purpose?' He answered, 'None, but that both armies might hold the Country, that was in their possession, until he received orders to treat about the evacuation.' Count de *Mercy* thinking it unreasonable to be tied down to a small tract of the Country, where he could not subsist, asked him, 'Whether, in case they should consent to his keeping possession of *Palermo*, he had power to deliver up *Augusta*, and the other posts they held on that side of the Island, which were now of no use to him, but it would be rather a convenience to him to draw away the garrisons and troops he had in those parts, to join his army, in order to the intended evacuation?' He confessed, 'He could not give up, nor quit the possession of any part he had of the Island, until he received further orders from his Master;' and read part of his instructions to them. Count de *Mercy*, on the other side, shewed him part of the Emperor's orders, which directed him 'to agree to a suspension of arms, in order to the evacuation of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and to concert with the Marquis de *Lede* the necessary conditions for facilitating the same, and to adjust that affair by all reasonable measures: But that, if the Marquis de *Lede* should not own his having orders, or endeavour to evade them, and gain time, by pretending to send to *Madrid* for further instructions, and not name a reason-

able time for beginning to embark part of his troops, in that case he was to make use of his arms to oblige him to execute the treaty, which the *Spanish* Minister had signed at the *Hague*.' He farther told the Marquis, that the 17th of *April* was understood to be the time they should go upon the evacuation; but, if it was not possible for him to begin so soon, he would not differ about a few days, provided they entered now into some agreement about the manner of doing it. He offered him the transports he had in his service, and assured him, that he should be accommodated with provisions, and every thing he could in reason demand. The Admiral, on his part, gave him the like assurances, and that he should be escorted by as many of his Master's ships, as he should desire. The Marquis owned, that all they said was reasonable; but, complaining of the want of orders, the Conference broke off, without coming to any issue. At parting, the Marquis desired the Admiral to release the Bishop of *Mazzara*, who was his prisoner, which the Admiral readily consented to.

During these debates, one of the *English* ships, cruising off *Palermo*, took a *Felucca*, sent by Cardinal *Aquaviva* from *Rome*, with packets of letters from *Spain*, to the Marquis de *Lede*, which he delivered to the Admiral; who, seeing the King of *Spain*'s seal to the letters, generously sent them unopened to the Marquis, and set the *Felucca* and Crew at liberty.

The Conference being broke off, the Admiral returned to the fleet at *Trapani*, and Count de *Mercy*, resolving to attack the *Spaniards*, marched towards *Alcamo*, where he arrived the 8th of *April*, N. S. the Marquis having retreated the night before with precipitation, leaving some sick men behind, whom he could not carry away. The Marquis incamped at *Valguernera* and *Sala di Partenico*; but, fearing to be followed by the Imperialists, he retired on to *Monreale*. The retreat of the *Spaniards* made Count de *Mercy* resolve on the siege of *Palermo*: in order to which he sent Colonel Baron *Neyberg* to confer with the Admiral about the necessary assistance to be given by the fleet in facilitating the march of the army towards that place, by coasting along with the provisions and necessities they should want in their march, as well as in the siege, and supplying them with cannon and ammunition for that enterprize. The necessary dispositions being concerted between the army and fleet, the Count decamped from *Alcamo* the 18th of *April*, N. S. and followed the Marquis de *Lede*, who, retreating towards *Monreale*, kept possession of that and other advantageous posts, which led into the plains before *Palermo*, fortifying at the same time a strong pass by the sea-side, called *Sferra Cavallo*, which was another way between the sea-shore and the mountains into the same plain. Count de *Mercy* being arrived at *Sala di Partenico*, and not judging it advisable to attempt the passes, which the enemy possessed on the road of *Monreale*, he divided his army into two bodies, sending General *Zumjungen*, with all his cavalry (except the *Hussars*, and a regiment of *Dragoons*) and seven battalions of foot, with the artillery and baggage, to the sea side, with orders to force the pass of *Sferra Cavallo*, and enter that way into the plain of *Palermo*; whilst he himself with the rest of the army ascended the difficult mountains about *Carini*, in order to

1719.

get down that way into the same plain, judging, that, if the Marquis drew his army to defend the pass of *Sferra Cavallo*, he should get between him and *Palermo*, or, at least, have the advantage of falling upon his rear. The Count having gained the heights of the mountains, from whence are discovered the Plain and City of *Palermo*, perceived the *Spanish* army incamped in the bottom, intending to obstruct his descent, and occupying all the passes in the way. Here Count de *Mercy* sent to *Zumjungen* to rejoin him, which he did by the assistance of guides, provided by the Magistrates of *Carini*, leaving a detachment under the command of Colonel Baron de *Wigenau*, to convoy the artillery and baggage by the way of the sea side, who, arriving at the pass of *Sferra Cavallo*, found it abandoned by the *Spaniards*. On the 21st, the *Germans* began to descend from the mountains, and, forcing the several passes with less opposition than was expected, were almost all got down before night to the bottom. The whole was a most difficult and fatiguing march, through ways, that the inhabitants themselves had rarely practised, but which the Count surmounted with great expedition and military judgment.

The Admiral coasting along, in conformity to the motions of the army, came to an anchor with the fleet the 20th, in *Mondello-Bay*, and sent some of his soldiers to take possession of a tower on the point, and another at the landing-place, as also three castles, that stood between, in order to preserve their communication. On the 22d, the Marquis de *Lede* sent Colonel *Lacy*, his Aid de Camp, with a letter to the Admiral, inclosing a *Spanish Gazette*, wherein was published the treaty of suspension of arms at sea, concluded at the *Hague* between the Ministers of *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, which was to take place on the 10th instant; and therefore he proposed to the Admiral, 'to come to an agreement with him, for a separate cessation of hostilities, as they both had full powers for that purpose; and protested against any violence he should commit, contrary to the plain instructions of their Sovereigns.' This snare, laid to separate the Admiral from the *German* army, had no effect, the Admiral returning answer, 'That he could give no regard or credit to a pretended Convention, published in a foreign news-paper, and even in which there was a clause, that nothing in it should derogate from what should be agreed between him and the Marquis, for what concerns the *Mediterranean* Sea. That, as the *Spanish* Minister had signed the *Quadruple Alliance* ever since the 17th of *February* last, it was surprising, that in all this time the Marquis had received no orders for treating about the evacuation of the Island, which was the necessary consequence of it, but that he still maintained every point and post with the same zeal and ardour, as before his Master's Accession to the Alliance. That the time for beginning the evacuation was elapsed; and therefore, without some reasonable security, that he really intended it, he could come into no agreement for a suspension of arms; but, whenever he should be empowered to treat for both, he would most gladly go more than half-way to meet him, and not only agree on such measures, as might put an end to the present differences, but which might restore and cultivate a good understanding, which no body more ardently wished for, than

he did.' This was an adventurous proceeding 1719. in the Admiral; for his instructions from *England* directed him to come to a suspension of arms with *Spain*, without staying for settling the terms of evacuation, which might take up time. But his penetration shewed him, that, if a suspension took place at sea, the *Spaniards* might introduce what succours and troops they pleased into the Island, which would unravel all they had been doing; and, if any interruption happened in the Negotiations on foot, put the *Spaniards* in a better state of prosecuting the war, and perhaps protract it another year. Their late conduct had made him jealous of their artifices, seeing them lay hold of every advantage to evade the evacuation of the Island, and render the way to peace more distant and difficult. He determined therefore, as the Convention for a cessation of arms at sea, signed at the *Hague* the 29th of *February*, N. S. left him at liberty of treating as he thought proper, to remain united to the *Germans*, which, he prudently saw, was the quickest way to bring the *Spaniards* to a compliance, and to come into real measures for the evacuation of the Island. The event justified his precaution, and his conduct received at home the approbation it deserved.

The march of the Imperialists had made the *Spaniards* change the situation of their camp, which they pitched across the plain before *Palermo*, extending their left to *Monte Caputo*, and their right to the sea near the mole of *Palermo*, the whole army being under the cannon of that City, and having strong entrenchments before them, lined with forty pieces of cannon. They were provided with plenty of all things, and seemed determined to stand the fate of a battle. The *Germans* incamped on the same plain, in the front of the enemy, and within a mile and a half distance, with their right at the foot of the mountains, from whence they had descended, and their left reaching to *Monte Pellegrino*, near the sea-side, the artillery and baggage being arrived in their camp by the way of *Sferra Cavallo*. Count de *Mercy* seeing himself straitened in room, and under difficulty of subsisting, whilst the enemy plundered and enriched themselves with the spoils of a Country they were quickly to abandon, he determined to bring matters to an engagement as soon as possible. In order to it, his scheme was to endeavour to get possession of the mole, by which means he should flank the enemy, and oblige them either to come to a battle with disadvantage, or else to retire to *Termini*. For this purpose he detached Baron *Neyberg* on the 26th, with six companies of Grenadiers, to dislodge the enemy from some posts, which they had fortified on the sea-side; and, to facilitate the same, sent Baron de *Wigenau*, with six other companies of Grenadiers, to seize on *Monte Pellegrino*. At the same time the Admiral detached three ships, to cannonade the posts on the sea-side, their fire made the *Spaniards* abandon them, and the Imperialists took possession of them without any loss. These advantages confirmed Count de *Mercy* in his resolution to push his point that way; and, having made the necessary dispositions, the next day he caused to be attacked a Cassine, that stood a little distance from the enemy's trenches, but strongly fortified with lines, and some cannon, drawing out his whole army at the same time in order of battle,

1719. battle, in case the enemy should come out of their camp to support it. The lines were soon taken, but the Cassine was not carried till after a very vigorous defence of above an hour, wherein the *Germans* had about one hundred and forty men killed or wounded; among the former a Prince of *Anhalt*, and Lieutenant-General *Seckendorf* wounded in the shoulders. On the 2d of *May*, about two in the afternoon, the weather being very hot, and the *Spanish* guard taking a *Siesta*, according to the custom of that Nation, the *Germans* surprized a redoubt near the enemy's lines, entering the same without firing a shot, and pushing the *Spaniards* out with their bayonets in their pieces. The Marquis *de Lede*, being informed of it, rose from table, and ordered the army to be immediately drawn out, in order to retake that fortification, which commanded the whole line of the camp. On the other hand, Count *de Mercy* being determined to maintain his hold, both armies were in motion, and just on the point of engaging, when fortunately a courier arriving in the very instant from *Spain*, in a *Felucca*, delivered to the Marquis a packet, containing full powers from the King of *Spain* to treat and agree about the evacuation of the Islands of *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and the transportation of the army into *Spain*. The Marquis upon this drew off his army, and sent letters by a trumpet to the General and Admiral, to inform them of his orders. The next morning early, the Admiral repairing to the *German* camp, Officers were appointed on each side to treat of the suspension of arms, and to regulate the manner of evacuating both Islands; and Conventions were drawn up for that purpose, and signed, that for *Sicily* on the 6th of *May*, and that for *Sardinia* two days after.

In pursuance of these Conventions, the *Germans* were put in possession of *Palermo* and the Citadel of *Castelamare* the 10th, and the *Spanish* army marched to *Termini*, a sea-port, about twen-

ty-five miles distant, from whence the first embarkation consisting of about twelve thousand foot, and six hundred horse, sailed the 20th of *June*, for *Barcelona*, and the remainder arrived at the same place the 25th of *August* following.

Nothing now remained to be done, but to put the Duke of *Savoy* in possession of the Island of *Sardinia*: In order to which four battalions of *Piedmontese* troops embarked at *Palermo*, under the command of Baron *St. Remi*, and sailed under the convoy of some *English* men of war to *Cagliari*, where the Admiral arriving as soon as he had settled all affairs in *Sicily*, he assisted at the Conferences with the Ministers and Generals of the several powers concerned, wherein was regulated the manner of surrendering the Island by the *Spanish* Viceroy to the Emperor, and the cession of the same from the Emperor to the Duke of *Savoy*; and, at the instance of this Prince, the Admiral did not depart, till he had seen the whole fully executed, the *Spanish* troops returned into *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy* put into quiet possession of his new Kingdom.

Thus ended the war of *Sicily*, wherein the fleet of *Great-Britain* bore so illustrious a part, that the fate of the Island was wholly governed by its operations, both competitors agreeing, that the one could not have conquered, nor the other have been subdued, without it. Never was any service conducted in all its parts with greater zeal, activity, and judgment; nor was ever the *British* flag in so high reputation and respect in those distant parts of *Europe* (1).

During these transactions in the *Mediterranean*, Progress of the French against Spain. the *French* army, under the command of the Duke of *Berwick*, advancing to the frontiers of *Spain*, took *Fort-Passage*, where they destroyed six men of war on the stocks. Then the Duke formed the siege of *Fonterabia*, which was taken the 5th of *June*. The King of *Spain* made an unsuccessful attempt to relieve the place, and approached

(1) As this History will not go down so low as the Admiral's death, it may not be improper to insert here what Mr. *Corbett* says of him: King *George*, who had named him for the expedition to *Sicily*, and knew his abilities, used to say to his Ministers, when they applied for instructions to be sent to him for his guidance, on certain important occasions, that he would send him none, for he knew how to act without any; and indeed, all the measures he took abroad were so exact and just, as to square with the councils and plan of policy at home. The cause of the Emperor being become the cause of his Master, he served the interests of that Prince with a zeal and fidelity, that stood a pattern to his own subjects. He lived in such harmony with the Imperial Viceroy and Generals, as has been seldom seen among fellow-subjects united in command, the want of which has proved the ruin of many important expeditions. He was incapable of performing his duty in a cold or negligent manner; and, when any service was committed to his management, he devoted his whole time and application to it; nor could any fatigue or indisposition of body ever divert or interrupt his attention from any point that required present dispatch. To this it might be in great measure owing, that he was never unfortunate in any undertaking, nor miscarried in any service that was entrusted to his direction. For whoever will trace upwards, to the springs and causes of publick or private events, shall find (except where the immediate finger of Providence is visible) that what is usually called ill-luck, is generally the effect of negligence, or imprudence. He always proceeded upon solid principles, and left nothing

to fortune, that could be accomplished by foresight and application. His firmness and plain dealing were so apparent to the foreigners, who treated with him upon business, that it contributed much to the dispatch and success of his transactions with them; for they could depend upon what he said, and as they saw he used no arts or chicanes himself, and had too discerning a spirit to suffer them to pass unobserved in others, they often found it their best policy to leave their interests in his hands and management, being very sure of a most impartial and punctual performance of whatever he engaged in. His reputation was so thoroughly established in this particular, that in the frequent disputes and altercations which arose between the *Savoyards* and *Germans* in the course of the war, and between the latter and the *Spaniards* at the conclusion of it, wherein little faith or confidence was given to the promises or asseverations of each other, he was the common umpire between them, always stemming and oppoling any extravagant or unjust demands (which the over-bearing temper of the *German* General was very apt to suggest, where he had the superior hand) and reconciling, as much as possible, the violences of war, with the rules of honour and justice. When he departed from *Italy* to attend his late Majesty at *Hanover*, the King, among many gracious expressions, told him, that he had found out the secret of obliging his enemies as well as friends, and that the Court of *Spain* had mentioned, with great acknowledgment, his fair and friendly behaviour in the provision of transports and other necessities for the embarkation of their troops, and in protecting them from many vexations and oppressions that

1719. approached with an army of nine thousand foot, and four thousand horle; but it was in the hands of the *French* before he could draw near enough to it; so he marched back to *Pampeluna*, doubly disappointed, both of raising the siege, and of the *French* forces desertion: For he depended as much on an Insurrection in *France*, as on a Rebellion in *England*; upon both which Cardinal *Alberoni's* projects were founded. The Cardinal still refusing to accede to the Quadruple Alliance, the Duke of *Berwick* took *St. Sebastian*; and a party of *French*, joined by two hundred *English* seamen, made themselves masters of *Port Antonio*, in the bottom of the bay of *Biscay*, where two sixty gun ships were destroyed on the stocks, and all the naval stores were burnt by the *English*.

Negotiations with Spain.

About this time the Cardinal received the news of the action at *Franca Villa*, in a letter from the Marquiss *de Lede*, who assumed to himself the victory. The Cardinal chose that occasion to yield to the pressing instances of the *Dutch* Ambassador to consent to a peace: He declared to him, that his Catholic Majesty's intention was, that the *States-General* should be Mediators.

A few days after, he sent the Marquiss *de Scotti* to *Paris*, from whence he was to pass into *Holland*, to carry instructions to the Marquiss *de Beretti Landi*, how to proceed with the *States*. The Duke of *Orleans*, to whom he had orders to declare his intentions, refused him a passport, saying, he could not do it without the knowledge of the Emperor and King *George*, who were still more concerned than himself in this affair, and that the passport would be a tacit approbation of the conduct of the *States-General*; and a sort of acceptance of their mediations; decisions, said the Regent, that become me not to make. And indeed, the Emperor and King *George*, being consulted on that head, absolutely rejected it.

Besides that, they were unwilling the *States* (with whom they were displeased for their slowness in acceding to the Quadruple Alliance) should have the honour of this mediation, and reap, as it were, the fruit of their conduct, they had each their particular hopes and views, which a

sudden peace would have disappointed. The Emperor wanted to repair the glory of his arms by the conquest of *Sicily*; and King *George* had a mind to be revenged, for the uneasiness given him, on account of the intended Invasion of *Scotland*. He was resolved to make some conquest, that should indemnify his subjects for the charge they had been at. He formed two projects, to take the *Corunna*, the best port of *Biscay*, and to make himself master of *Peru* in *America*. Great preparations were made. Fifty transports were provided, with three bomb-vessels, and four thousand men were ordered to be in readiness to embark in the Isle of *Wight* (1). The Lord *Cobham* was appointed to command in chief, with the title of Captain-General (2). These forces being embarked sailed from *St. Helens* the 21st of September, under convey of five or six men of war, commanded by Admiral *Migbels*, who was to be joined by Captain *Johnson*, then cruising off *Fonterabia*. But this junction was never made, and the important and secret (as it was called) expedition upon the *Corunna* ended only in the taking of *Vigo*, which surrendered at the first summons; the Citadel made some resistance, but surrendered likewise in a few days. On the 10th of *October*, the garrison marched out, consisting of about three hundred men, besides one hundred and fifty peasants, there having been above three hundred killed or wounded by the bombs. The *English* lost but two Officers, and three or four men. There were in the town about sixty pieces of large cannon, which when the enemy abandoned, they nailed and damaged them, as much as the time would give them leave. In the Citadel were forty three pieces, of which fifteen were brass guns, and two large mortars; besides above two thousand barrels of powder, and several chests of arms, amounting to about eight thousand muskets. All these stores and the brass ordnance had been lodged there from on board the ships, which were to have visited *Great-Britain*, and the very troops, which gave up *Vigo*, were likewise of that expedition. The Lord *Cobham* had summoned the adjacent Country to furnish provisions, and pay contribution, on pain of military execution; and had sent a party

1719.

that had been attempted. No wonder, that a man, endowed with such talents and such a disposition, left behind him *Italy*, and other foreign parts, the character of a great Soldier, an able Statesman, and an honest Man.

To give some description of his person, he was of a slender constitution, but well supplied with spirits, which did not display themselves so much in gaiety of conversation (for he was modest in his nature) as in activity in all the duties and functions of life or business, in which he was indefatigable, and, by a continued habit of industry, had hardened and inured a body, not naturally strong, to patience of any fatigue. He had made no great proficiency in school-learning (which the early age of going to sea seldom admits of) but his great diligence, joined with excellent natural parts, and a just sense of honour, made him capable of conducting difficult Negotiations and Commissions with proper dignity and address. In his younger days he was both in the sea and land service, being an Officer of foot in the garrison of *Tangier*, but, preferring the sea, he was soon distinguished and favoured by that great seaman Admiral *Ruffel* (afterwards Earl of *Orford*) who made him his first Captain at the age of twenty-nine, a post equal in rank to a Rear-Admiral, and,

by degrees, he arrived to be a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and first Admiral of the fleet, in which quality he commanded in the war of *Sicily*. On his repairing to *Hanover*, his late Majesty was pleased to express his regard to his eminent services, by making him Treasurer of the Navy, and Rear-Admiral of *Great-Britain*; and soon after a Privy-Counsellor, and Peer of *Great-Britain*, with the title of Viscount *Torrington*; and afterwards Knight of the *Bath*, upon the revival of that order. When his present Majesty came to the Crown, he was pleased to place him at the head of his naval affairs, as first Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty, in which high station he died, in the year 1733, in the 70th year of his age.

(1) Seven Companies out of each of the three regiments of Guards; Colonel *Chudleigh's* regiment, Lieutenant-General *Will's* regiment, Lord *Finchbrook's* regiment; and the regiments of *Howard, Grove, Hurley, and Barrel*, and fifty dragoons.

(2) He had under him Major-General *Wade*, the Lords *Mark Kerr* and *Dumfries*, Colonel *Finchwood*, Brigadier-General; Colonel *Armstrong*, Quarter-Master General; and Colonel *Leguier*, Adjutant General.

(1) While

1719. party to *Redondella*, where they found the old fort abandoned, and run to ruin, and the inhabitants fled. That part of the province was under such consternation, that it was thought half the people had run away into *Portugal*. There were but few regular troops in the province; but the Marquis de *Risburg* had drawn together as many as he could get near *Tuy*, which is within three or four leagues of *Vigo*.

Two days after the surrender of the Citadel of *Vigo*, one thousand men were ordered on board four transports under the command of Major General *Wade*, to sail to the upper end of the bay of *Vigo*, and to march from thence to *Pont a Pedra*, ten leagues off. The Magistrates of the town met them with the keys; and there were found in the place two forty-eight pounders, four twenty-four pounders, six eight pounders, and four mortars, all brass; besides seventy pieces of iron cannon, two thousand small arms, and some bombs. The *Biddeford* man of war, and two transports, were sent thither, to bring away the brass cannon, arms, and stores; after which the detachment under Major-General *Wade* was ordered on board their ships, and the Major-General returned to *Vigo*, the 23d of October. Four days after, the troops being embarked, the fleet sailed for *England* (1).

Attempt upon the West-Indies frustrated.

Vice-Admiral *Hofier* was to sail to the *West-Indies* with a squadron of men of war, where he was to be joined by all that were in those parts; but this expedition was frustrated by the winds, and *Peru* was not so much as attacked.

Spain, oppressed on all sides, and drained by the great efforts she had made, began to think seriously of peace. A plan was sent to the Marquis de *Beretti Landi*, which he delivered to the States the 22d of December. By this plan, *England* was to restore *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and *France* all the conquests she had lately made: The Successions of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia* were to be settled on the Queen of *Spain*'s son, without being held either of the Emperor or Empire: All the ships taken this war were to be restored to *Spain*: *Sicily*, in the hands of the Emperor, was to be subject to the same right of reversion, as when granted to the Duke of *Savoy*: The Pope was to be obliged to restore to the Duke of *Parma* the Duchy of *Castro*, and the Country of *Roneiglione*, usurped by *Innocent X.* from the House of *Farnese*: Lastly, The Dominion and Commerce of the *West-Indies* should be regulated, according to the treaty of *Utrecht*.

Alberoni disgraced.

These proposals had been preceded by a step very grateful to the Allies. The ambition of Cardinal *Alberoni* had rendered him personally odious to the Emperor, to King *George*, and to the Duke of *Orleans*. All three had declared,

at least intimated, that they would hearken to no peace as long as he was in place: The King of *Spain* thought it proper to make him a sacrifice, and purchase the tranquility of his people at the expence of a Minister ever unfortunate. The King writ to him with his own hand, forbidding him to meddle with the affairs of State, to appear any where in his presence, to remain in *Madrid* above eight days, and in *Spain* above three weeks.

The plan of the Court of *Madrid* was rejected as subversive of the treaty of *London*, and nothing less would be accepted, but a full accession to the Quadruple Alliance; which, after immense charges, and many mortifications, was submitted to by the King of *Spain*. The war with *Spain* has been thus related, without regard to the order of time, that an idea of the whole might be formed, without having recourse to different parts of the History.

Whilst the King was at *Hanover*, memorials full of grievances were presented to him by the Protestants from *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, and particularly from the *Palatinate*. In *Poland*, in Germany, and the express tenor of the Treaties, the Popish Clergy had engaged the Diet of *Grodno* to take from some of the Reformed Towns their right of suffrage. In *Hungary*, by the credit and practices of the Jesuits, many books of Divinity, brought from *England* and *Holland*, were confiscated. At *Spire* and *Mentz*, several Churches were taken from them, and given to the Catholics.

The greatest complaints came from the *Palatinate*. The Catechism of *Heidelberg* was suppressed, after having been received above a hundred and sixty years as a formula of union among the Reformed. The Church of the Holy Ghost at *Heidelberg* was also taken from the Protestants, on pretence of its belonging to the Court, and likewise the Church of *Creutzpach*, with the revenues of several others; and, what seemed still more intolerable, the disposal of the alms of the Reformed were given to the Catholics, who forced them, moreover, to contribute to the Popish ceremonies, and forbid them to open their shops, or to work on the holidays.

Almost all the Protestant States and Princes interposed in behalf of the oppressed. King *George* distinguished himself by his zeal on this occasion, and writ very pressing letters, which were supported by memorials from his Ministers. But this affair succeeded not to his wish: His representations were well received, as they could not fail to be, considering his great weight; the Elector *Palatine* gave favourable answers, and made fair promises; but the grievances were not redressed (2).

During

(1) While the *English* were at *Vigo*, Captain *Johnson*, Commander of the *Weymouth*, the *Winchester*, and another *English* man of war, came up with a *Portuguese* Carval from *Ribades*, and being informed that there were two *Spanish* men of war in that port, about sixteen leagues to the East of *Cape Ortigas*, he made thither; sent the boats in a head to found, and followed with the ships. He anchored within musket-shot of the enemy's ships, and a battery of eight guns fired on both, and soon beat the *Spaniards* out of the battery, which he took possession of, and entirely demolished.

No. 96. VOL. IV.

In the interim, the two *Spanish* men of war blew up 1 and after some small firing on the town, he failed out of the harbour, taking with him a *Spanish* Merchant-ship, which he found there.

(2) The King, in his letter to the King of *Poland*, in behalf of the Protestants, expressed himself thus: 'That they may enjoy, for the future, their former liberty of conscience, which cannot be forced by any human power, and over which God had referred to himself the sole command.'

At his return to *England*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

1719. During the King's absence all was quiet at home, and the Regency had little to do. There was, however, a kind of dispute with the Czar's Minister about his Secretary, who had been committed to prison by a Justice of Peace. But, upon the first complaint of his Master, the Secretary was released, and the Justice put out of his office, and obliged to beg pardon for his imprudence. There was also a great riot in June, raised by the journeymen weavers about *Bishopsgate* and *Aldgate*. They insulted the women for wearing calicoes, and tore their gowns off their backs. The Militia was ordered out to suppress the Rioters, of whom some of the ringleaders were taken and condemned to stand in the pillory (1).

The Parliament of Ireland met the 1st of July.

The Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant, pointed out in his speech the subjects of their deliberations. He said, they were called together to consult of proper measures, and to make necessary provisions to repel or suppress any attempt to involve the Kingdom in the calamities of a Rebellion, or a foreign Invasion. He represented it as a delusion to imagine, that the designs of their enemies did not extend to *Ireland*, as well as to *England* and *Scotland*: And, though these designs had been hitherto prevented by the King's counsels and indefatigable endeavours, yet it would be prudent to provide such effectual remedies as might render it impracticable to proceed farther with any project of the kind.

It is obvious and visible to every considering man, that a good agreement and union among all Protestants will greatly contribute to this end; and the numbers, as well as strict union, of the Papists, among themselves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the interest of the Pretender, seem to make it more immediately necessary at this time. In what manner a thing so desirable may be obtained, his Majesty leaves to your consideration, and has commended me to acquaint you, that as he has the welfare of the Church, by law established, under his peculiar care, and resolves always to support and maintain it; so it would be very pleasing to him, if any method could be

found (not inconsistent with the security of it) to render the Protestant Dissenters more useful and capable of serving his Majesty, and supporting the Protestant interest, than they now are; they having, upon all occasions, given sufficient proofs or their being well affected to his Majesty's Person and Government, and to the Succession of the Crown in his Royal House: And this I am ordered to lay before you as a thing greatly importing his Majesty's service and your own security.

The method here mentioned was already found. The act passed in the last Session in *England* was an ample direction to proceed by. Both Houses assured, that they thought it their duty and interest to promote a good understanding and union among all Protestants, to enable them to withstand the designs of such numerous and malicious enemies, and therefore they would readily enter into the consideration of such methods, as might render the Protestant Dissenters more easy and capable of supporting the Protestant interest. Accordingly, an act passed for that purpose, under the title of, 'A bill for exempting the Protestant Dissenters of the Kingdom of *Ireland* from certain penalties, to which they are now subject.'

The Parliament made other useful regulations, for preventing the marriage of infants against the will of the parents or guardians; for encouraging the cultivations of lands; for preventing tumults and seditious assemblies; for suppressing tories, robbers, and rapparees; and for the better maintenance of schools and teaching the *English* tongue throughout the Kingdom.

In *Scotland* there appeared no remains of Rebellion. The Chiefs being retired, the *Highlanders* surrendered their arms, and the Regency seemed to fear no disturbance from that quarter, nor had they any orders to give. However, the evil was not quite cured, of which were seen now and then some strange proofs. At *Edinburg* alone, five Ministers, cited before the Magistrates, refused to acknowledge King *George*, and their Churches were forced to be shut up.

After six months absence, the King returned to *London*, the 14th of November, more respected than ever, on account of the great things he had

The King's return. Nov. 14.

terbury, accompanied with ten other Bishops, in a congratulatory speech said, among other things, 'I am extremely obliged to the Lords the Bishops, to return our most humble acknowledgment to your Majesty, for the favour you have been pleased to give to our brethren, the Protestants of the *Palatinate*, and of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, persecuted for the faith of Christ. We are persuaded, that this Royal charity will draw down innumerable blessings from Heaven, upon the Person of your sacred Majesty, and your affairs.'

In the address from the University of *Cambridge*, presented by Dr. *Gauch*, the Vice-Chancellor, were the following words: 'It is with particular pleasure we behold your Majesty, in conjunction with other powers, asserting the cause of Liberty, and supporting the interest of our Protestant Brethren abroad, whose deplorable condition every day convinces us, that the Protestant Profession must stand or fall with the Protestant Succession.'

(1) During the King's absence died Mr. *Joseph Addison*, June 17. He was son of Dr. *Lancelot Addison*, Dean of *Litchfield*; and, being educated at the *Charterhouse* school, was sent from thence to the University of *Oxford*, where he finished his studies in *Magdalen*

College: He became first known to the world by the excellency of his *Latin* poems, which he published in the *Musa Anglicana*, and dedicated to *Charles Mountague*, Earl of *Halifax*, who, together with the Lord *Sommers*, then Lord-keeper (to whom he inscribed the first piece he published in *English*, viz. A poem to his Majesty King *William III.* on the taking of *Namure*, in the year 1695) recommended him to that Prince, who gave him a pension of 300 *l.* per ann. and sent him to travel. At his return from his travels, he was made Commissioner of Appeals in the *Excise*; afterwards he was Under Secretary to two Secretaries of State, and Secretary of State himself in *Ireland* under two Lords Lieutenants. Upon the death of Queen *Anne*, he was made Secretary to the Regency, after that one of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and then advanced to be one of the Principal Secretaries of State to King *George*; which office, by reason of his ill state of health, he was obliged to resign some time before his death. He married *Charlotte*, daughter of Sir *Thomas Mordaunt*, of *Chirk-Castle*, in the county of *Denby*, Bart. and relict of *Edward Rich*, Earl of *Warwick*, by whom he left issue only one daughter.

July 6, died *Meinhardt Schomberg*, Duke of *Schomberg* and *Leinster*, Marquis of *Harwich*, &c. Knight Companion

1719. had done for the welfare and interest of his Dominions. He was received with demonstrations of the liveliest joy, and those who were not forward to shew it were punished by the populace, and the windows broke that were not illuminated. Whilst in Germany, he had sent orders for the meeting of the Parliament on the 23d of November, and for the Members to be all there, by reason of the importance of the affairs he had to communicate to them.

The Parliament meets, Nov. 23. Fr. H. C.
On that day the Session was opened with the following speech, read by the Chancellor to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE satisfaction, with which I always meet you, is very much increased at this time, when it has pleased Almighty God so to strengthen the arms of Great-Britain and our Confederates, and so to prosper our several Negotiations, that, by his blessing on our endeavours, we may promise ourselves to reap very soon the fruits of our successes. I am persuaded, it will be accounted by all my good subjects a sufficient reward for some extraordinary expence, that all Europe, as well as these Kingdoms, is upon the point of being delivered from the calamities of war, by the influence of British arms and counsels. One Protestant Kingdom * has already been relieved by our seasonable interposition; and such a foundation is laid, by our late treaties, for an union amongst other great Protestant Powers, as will very much tend to the security of our holy Religion.
"I believe you cannot but be surprized at the continuance of the war, where our enemies have nothing to hope, and so much to fear. It is indeed difficult to frame any judgment of

those counsels, which have broke out of late in so many rash and ill-concerted measures. If they depend upon our divisions at home, I doubt not but, in a very short time, their hopes, founded upon this expectation, will prove as vain and ill-grounded, as any of their former projects.
"In congratulating with you on this happy posture of affairs, I must tell you, that, as I have been very just and faithful to my engagements, so I have met such frank and powerful returns of assistance from my Allies, as will, I doubt not, establish a lasting friendship amongst us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"You will see, by the accounts I have ordered to be delivered to you, how moderate a use I have made of the power intrusted with me, to augment my forces by sea and land. I depend upon the eminent duty and affection you have always shewn to my Person and Government, that you will be vigorous in dispatching the necessary Supplies for the year; to which purpose I have ordered the estimates to be laid before you. And, at the same time, I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You all must be sensible of the many undeserved and unnatural troubles I have met with, during the course of my Reign. Our divisions at home have been magnified abroad; and, by inspiring into some foreign powers a false opinion of our force, have encouraged them to treat us in a manner, which the Crown

Companion of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Count of the sacred Roman Empire: He married Charlotte, eldest daughter of Charles Lewis, Elector-Palatine, by whom he left issue only two daughters; Fredericka, married to Robert d'Arcey, Earl of Holderness (the present Countess Fitzwalter) and Mary, married to Count Dagenfeldt of the Empire.

July 24, died Heneage Finch, Earl of Aylesford, second son of Daniel Finch, Earl of Nottingham. He was succeeded by his son of the same name.

While the King was abroad, a great dispute and difference arose between the Dissenting Ministers in London, about subscribing and non-subscribing articles of advice for the conduct of their congregations.

The Dissenters at several places, but more especially at Exeter, being jealous that their Ministers were not as orthodox as themselves, in the article of the Trinity, had demanded of them a confession of faith; and upon advice of the differences between their pastors and them, on this occasion, the Dissenting Ministers, in and about London, held a Synod, to consult of articles of advice for peace. They met at Salters-Hall. The main debate was inserting in the advice the first article of the Church of England, and the answer to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism. But upon the question it was carried by a majority of fifty-seven against fifty-three, That no human compositions or interpretations of the Doctrine of the Trinity should be made a part of these articles of advice, which they were met to draw up. How far the heats carried them on both sides, may be seen by what happened at the division. One of those, who were against human compositions, saying, as he went out, You that are against persecution, come up stairs; and another, who was for them, You

that are for the Doctrine of the Trinity, stay below.

The Subscribers withdrew from the assembly, notwithstanding the question had been carried against them, and set their names to a paper containing the first article, and the two answers before-mentioned.

At the same time the Non-Subscribers made the following declaration:

"We freely declare that we utterly disown the Arian doctrines, and sincerely believe the doctrine of the Trinity, and the proper Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we apprehend to be clearly revealed in the Holy Scriptures; but are far from condemning any who appear to be with us in the main, though they chuse not to declare themselves in other than Scripture terms, or not in ours."

Which they farther explained thus:

"The human words, Trinity and proper Divinity, in this Declaration of our faith, are used only to notify the things we speak of; and we do not presume in the way of Test to go into any particular explanations of those things, either in our own, or other men's words: But for that we refer to the Holy Scriptures, whence it may appear, that we take the Scripture account of those things, to be the best and fittest we can use on such occasions."

Whilst these matters were transacting at London, three Congregations at Exeter proceeded to the actual exclusion of their Pastors, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Withers, and Mr. Hallett, for refusing to subscribe certain articles of faith, which had been prepared for them.

It is not unlikely (says a certain Author *) that a * Quid-leading man or two among the Subscribers had private mixon, encouragement from a great Prelate to proceed as they did.

“ Crown of Great-Britain shall never endure while I wear it. The trouble and expence, which this hath brought upon us, have been the most loudly complained of by those, who were the occasion of them. But with your assistance I have hitherto got through all these difficulties, and, by the continuance of your help, I hope very soon to overcome them, since the hand of God hath so visibly been with us in all our undertakings.

“ It the necessities of my Government have sometimes engaged your duty and affection to trust me with powers, of which you have always, with good reason, been jealous, the whole world must acknowledge they have been so used, as to justify the confidence you have reposed in me. And, as I can truly affirm, that no Prince was ever more zealous to increase his own authority, than I am to perpetuate the liberty of my people, I hope you will think of all proper methods to establish and transmit to your posterity, the freedom of our happy constitution, and particularly to secure that part, which is most liable to abuse. I value myself upon being the first, who hath given you an opportunity of doing it; and I must recommend it to you, to complete those measures, which remained imperfect the last Session.

“ So far as human prudence can fortel, the unanimity of this Session of Parliament must establish, with the peace of all Europe, the glory and trade of these Kingdoms on a lasting foundation. I think every man may see the end of our labours. All I have to ask of you is, that you would agree to be a great and flourishing People, since it is the only means, by which I desire to become a happy King.”

The addresses were agreeable to the speech, the King was thanked and congratulated for the great success of his measures to establish the peace of Europe. “ It is with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction (say the Lords) that we see the present happy union between your Majesty and the other great Protestant Powers, which does so visibly tend to the security of our Holy Religion; and we desire to express the deep sense which we have of your Majesty’s seasonable interposition for the poor persecuted Protestants abroad; and we humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would be pleased to continue your powerful protection and offices in favour of them.” They concluded with saying, “ We promise ourselves, that the whole world will soon be convinced with how little foundation the enemies of your Majesty and your Kingdoms have flattered themselves to reap any benefit from our intestine divisions.

We should be wanting in our duty to your Majesty and our Country, if we did not return your Majesty our most hearty thanks for that tender and unprecedented care and concern, your Majesty has been pleased to express in your most gracious speech from the Throne, for the liberties of your People, and the freedom of our happy Constitution.”

The Commons, after thanks and congratulation, very strongly expressed their assurances in these words:

“ We crave leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, on our parts, by the vigour of our

resolutions, for the support of your Government, 1719. and by the dispatch which we will give to the necessary Supplies, convince the world, that, if our enemies have conceived any hopes from our divisions at home, this hath been the vainest of all their projects. And we will enable your Majesty, in concert with your Allies, effectually to support and perfect those just and equitable measures which have been taken to establish a general peace.

And we farther assure your Majesty, That we will apply ourselves to find out the best means for lessening the debts of the Nation, and supporting the public credit, and will concur in all proper methods to establish and preserve the freedom of our happy Constitution, for which your sacred Majesty has given so many tender proofs of your care and affection.”

As the King had recommended in his speech the thinking of proper methods to establish the freedom of the Constitution (by which was meant the Peerage-Bill) the Duke of Buckingham, two days after the beginning of the Session, revived the bill for limiting the Peers, which had been dropped by the prorogation. In opposition to this bill, Earl Cowper said, “ Besides the reasons, that induced him last Session to be against this bill, he had now another, that weighed no less with him than all the rest, the earnestness, with which it was recommended, and the eagerness, with which it was brought before them at the beginning of a Session. He had observed both from history, and his own experience, that, in affairs of moment, precipitation was ever dangerous, and, in many cases, to be suspected; and, for his own part, he could not help being of opinion, that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, some men would not be so pressing for it.” To this the Earl of Sunderland answered, “ That it could not with any justice be said, that any preparation had been used in this affair, since the bill in question had been brought in the last Session, and then thoroughly examined; so that he doubted not, but every Member of that House was fully apprized of it, and ready to give his vote for or against it. That the reason, why it was brought in so soon at this time, he conceived to be, that it might give no interruption to the other important affairs, which the King had recommended to his Parliament. And, as for any secret meaning in this bill, he solemnly declared, he knew of no other, but what his Majesty had been pleased graciously to intimate in his speech, the securing the freedom of our Constitution, by preventing, for the future, the abuse of one branch of the Royal Prerogative, of which they had a fatal instance in the late Reign, and which had given just offence, and terrible apprehensions to all sober men.” To this it was replied, “ That if it was foreseen, that bill might interrupt the other important affairs, it had been advisable to keep it till the middle, or towards the end of the Session, and to begin with the King’s business.” But the Duke of Bucks compromised the matter, by saying, “ That, for his own part, he apprehended no danger from this bill; and if it was attended with any inconveniences, as all human affairs are apt to be, time would discover it; and then, as in all other cases, they might apply a remedy to it. As to the time of bringing it in, he thought it no material objection, since this House had no other business

1719. business to go upon; but that he foresaw, that, whatever dispatch they made in that bill, it would not get so quick a passage in the other House.² After these speeches, the bill passed the Lords without any farther opposition, and was sent to the Commons, where it was opposed by a great many Members. Mr. *Griggs* urged in favour of the bill, 'That his Majesty, since his Accession to the Throne, had had no other view, than to procure the good and happiness of his subjects, and to secure their rights and liberties. That having, in his Royal wisdom, considered the abuse, that was made in the last Reign of that branch of the prerogative relating to the creating of Peers, which abuse had brought the liberties of *Great-Britain*, and of all *Europe*, into immediate danger, his Majesty, through a condescension worthy of a Prince truly magnanimous, had graciously been pleased to consent, that such bounds be set to that part of the prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous exercises of it for the time to come. That it was only in the Reign of good Princes, that Legislators had opportunities to remedy and amend the defects, to which all human institutions are subject: And that, if the present occasion of rectifying that apparent flaw in our Constitution were lost, it might perhaps never be retrieved.' Mr. *Walpole* spoke on the other side, and endeavoured to answer all that had been offered for the bill. He took notice, 'That among the *Romans*, the wisest people upon earth, the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote, that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other. But that, if this bill passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no coming to honour, but thro' the winding-sheet of an old decrepit Lord, and the grave of an extinct noble family. That it was matter of just surprize, that a bill of this nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted by a Gentleman, who not long ago sat among them, and who, having got into the House of Peers, would now shut up the door after him. That this bill would not only be a discouragement to virtue and merit, but also endanger our excellent Constitution: For, as there was a due balance between the three branches of the Legislature, if any more weight were thrown into any one of those branches, it would destroy that balance, and consequently subvert the Constitution. That the Peers were already possessed of many valuable privileges; and to give them more power and authority, by limiting their number, would, in time, bring back the Commons into the state of the servile dependency, which they were in, when they wore the badges of the Lords. That he could not but wonder, that the Lords would send such a bill to the Commons; for how could they expect, that the Commons would give their concurrence to so injurious a law, by which they and their posterities are to be excluded from the Peerage? And how would the Lords receive a bill, by which it would be enacted, that a Baron should not be made a Viscount, nor a Viscount be made an Earl, and so on? That, besides all

this, that part of the bill, which related to the Peerage of *Scotland*, would be a manifest violation of the act of *Union*, on the part of *England*, and a dishonourable breach of trust in those, who represented the *Scots* Nobility. That such an infringement of the Union would endanger the intire dissolution of it, by disgusting so great a number of the *Scots* Peers, as should be excluded from sitting in the *British* Parliament. For as it was well known, that the Revolution-Settlement stood upon the principle of a mutual compact, if we should break first the articles of Union, it would be natural for the *Scots* to think themselves thereby freed from all allegiance. And as for what had been suggested, that the election of the sixteen *Scots* Peers was no less expensive to the Crown, than injurious to the Peerage of *Scotland*, it might be answered, that the making twenty-five hereditary sitting *Scots* Peers would still increase the discontents of the electing Peers, who thereby would be deprived of a valuable consideration for not being chosen.³ After these, and several other speeches, the bill was at last rejected by a majority of two hundred and sixty-nine against one hundred and seventy-seven. Thus the prerogative of increasing the number of the Peers, as the King should think proper, which he seemed so willing to divest himself of, was, as it were against his consent, preserved to him. It was observed by an *op. * Sir J. Poper of the bill, that some persons had through Packer's indiscretion occasioned an unhappy difference [in ton. the Royal Family] and he was apprehensive if that bill, so prejudicial to the rights of the next heir, should pass into a law, it might render that difference irreconcilable. This was said chiefly with regard to the Earl of *Sunderland*, who promoted the bill with the greatest eagerness. It was also reported that Mr. *Cragge* was to have been one of the six *English* Peers, to be created after the passing of the bill.

During this Session, a bill, for better securing *A bill for the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of securing Great-Britain*, passed both Houses. This bill took its rise, from an appeal to the House of Peers in *England*, by *Maurice Annesley*, against Pr. H. L. a decree of the House of Peers in *Ireland*; which Pr. H. C. the *British* House of Peers received, and ordered the Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland* to cause Mr. *Annesley* to be forthwith put in possession of certain lands in the County of *Kildare*, of which he had been dispossessed by virtue of a decree of the House of Peers in *Ireland*. Pursuant to this order, the Barons of the *Exchequer* in that Kingdom issued out an injunction to *Alexander Barrows*, Sheriff of the County of *Kildare*, and set several fines upon him, for refusing to put it in execution; which the House of Peers in *Ireland* discharged, and voted, that *Jeffery Gilbert*, Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, *John Pocklington* and *Sir John St. Leger*, the other Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland*, had acted in manifest derogation to the King's prerogative, in his High Court of Parliament in *Ireland*, as also of the rights and privileges of this Kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof. These Barons were also ordered to be taken into custody of the Usher of the Black-Rod (1).

The

(1) Several Lords dissented from these resolutions, viz. the Lord *Middleton*, Lord High-Chancellor, the No. 90. VOL. IV.

Lords *Donerayle* and *Fitz-Williams*, and the Bishops of *Meath*, *Kildare*, *Killala*, *Kilmurree*, and *Derry*.

1719-20. The House of Peers in Ireland drew up a long representation to be transmitted to the King, setting forth their right to the final Judicature of causes in that Kingdom; and the Duke of Leeds, in a protest against a vote passed in the House of Peers in England, gave fifteen reasons to support the claim of the House of Peers in Ireland. But the House of Lords in England relolved, 'That the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the Crown of Great-Britain;' and ordered an address to the King, 'for conferring on them some marks of his Royal favour, as may be a recompence for the ill usage they have received, by being unjustly censured, and illegally imprisoned, for doing their duty.' Then it was that the bill, for better securing the dependency of Ireland, was brought in, and, having passed the House of Lords, was sent down to the Commons. Mr. Pitt was the first, who spoke against the bill, because, as he said, it seemed calculated for no other purpose, than to increase the power of the British House of Peers, which, in his opinion, was already but too great. He was seconded by Mr. Plummer, who excepted, in particular, against the preamble of the bill, as incoherent with the enacting part; which was partly owned by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who, in the main, spoke for the bill. Mr. Hangerford, on the other hand, endeavoured to shew, that Ireland was ever independent with respect to Courts of Judicature; and he was supported by the Lord Moleworth, the Lord Tyrconnel, and some other Members; but, Mr. Torke having supported the Master of the Rolls, the bill was at last agreed to, and received the Royal assent (1).

About this time a misunderstanding happened between Mr. Lechmere, Attorney General, and Sir William Thompson, Solicitor-General, which was carried so far in a grand Committee of the Commons, the 16th of March, that Sir William charged Mr. Lechmere with breach of his oath, trust, and duty, as a Privy-Counsellor; urging, 'that he acted as Council, and received sums of money for his advice, in matters to him referred by the Privy-Council, as Attorney-General.' After this, he proceeded to the reading of several reports, made either by the Attorney-General or himself, but was interrupted by Mr. Craggs, who said, 'They were not there to examine, who was the best Lawyer; but that,

a heavy accusation having been raised against a Gentleman of distinguished merit, and in very eminent stations, it was incumbent upon the Accuser to produce clear evidence to make good his charge.' Upon this, Mr. Lechmere stood up in his own defence, and said, 'He had the honour to be a Privy-Counsellor, Chancellor of the Duchy, Attorney-General, a Member of that House, and a Gentleman; and therefore such a heinous accusation could not but fall the heavier upon him: That he owned himself liable to a great many human frailties and imperfections; but, as his conscience intirely acquitted him of the crimes laid to his charge, so he defied all the world, and the worst of his enemies, to prove him guilty of corruption or any unwarrantable practices: That, though he was thus wrongfully accused in so solemn a manner, yet, as a good Christian, he did heartily forgive his Accuser, and was willing to believe, that he was prompted to this rash action, rather by mistake, or ignorance, than by malice; concluding, with desiring that Honourable Assembly to lift and weigh the whole matter with their usual candour, impartiality, and equity, and to excuse any unguarded expressions, that might escape him, in vindicating his innocence.' After this, several witnesses were sworn, and eight or nine of them examined; but, their depositions amounting to no more, than that Mr. Lechmere had taken nothing but his usual fees, as Chamber-Counsellor, the accusation laid against him appeared groundless to the Committee, and was declared by the House to be malicious, false and scandalous.

On the 8th of March, Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the House a bill, to prevent the impious practice of duelling; which was occasioned by a duel between Mr. William Aldworth of Windsor, and Mr. Owen Buckingham, Member of Parliament for Reading; who, quarrelling after having drank too freely, fought in the dark, and Mr. Buckingham was killed. But this bill was dropped in the House of Lords.

The King had earnestly recommended, in his speech, the consideration of all proper means for lessening the debts of the Nation. Accordingly, a scheme was laid to reduce all the public funds into one, for discharging the national debt. The South-Sea Company and the Bank of England presented their several proposals to the House of Commons. The liberty of taking in the national debts, and, in consequence thereof, of increasing their capital stock and yearly fund,

(1) The act was as follows:

'Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependance upon, the Imperial Crown of this Realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great-Britain and Ireland.

And whereas the House of Lords in Ireland, in order thereto, have, of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the Courts of Justice in the Kingdom of Ireland: Therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the said Kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and, of right, ought to be, subordinate unto, and

dependent upon, the Imperial Crown of Great-Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the People and the Kingdom of Ireland.

And be it further enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, That the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor, of right, ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any Court within the said Kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.'

1719-20. fund, was looked upon as a very valuable benefit; and therefore the contest between the Bank and the *South-Sea* Company was great. They endeavoured to outbid each other in Parliament. The *South-Sea* Company, for the liberty of taking into their stock the irredeemable and redeemable debts, by purchase or subscription (amounting to above thirty millions) offered at first 3,500,000 *l.* to be paid into the *Exchequer* by four equal quarterly payments, beginning at *Lady-day* 1721. And agreed, that their whole capital should be reduced to 4 per cent. after *Midsummer* 1727, and be thenceforth redeemable by Parliament.

The Bank, for the like liberty, offered, upon the long and short annuities, three years purchase, which (if the whole purchase was completed) would amount to about 2,367,600 *l.* and 20 per cent. upon the redeemable debts, amounting to about 3,180,000 *l.* So their whole offer was above five millions and a half.

But the *South-Sea* Company being resolved, at any rate, to obtain the liberty of taking in the public debts, offered, in a second scheme, not only 500,000 *l.* more, but also four years and a half's purchase upon all the annuities they should take into their capital stock, which (if all the annuities were taken in) would amount to about 3,567,503 *l.* So that their whole offer was about 7,567,500 *l.* They likewise offered to circulate 1,000,000 *l.* in *Exchequer* bills gratis, and pay 3 per cent. interest for that million; as also one year's purchase upon such annuities, as should happen not to come into the Company's capital, before the 1st day of *March* 1721.

Though the Bank made some farther advances, this scheme of the *South-Sea* Company was approved by the Commons, and a bill was ordered to be brought in.

While this affair was debating in the House of Commons, the stocks of the *South-Sea* Company gradually rose from 130 to above 300, and advanced to near 400; but, after some fluctuation, settled at about 330, in which state, with little variation, they continued till the end of *March*. This great rise was chiefly owing to the rejection of a motion for a clause in the *South-Sea* bill, to fix what share in the capital stock of the Company the Proprietors of the annuities should have, who should voluntarily subscribe, or how many years purchase in money they should receive upon subscribing, at the choice of the Proprietors. It was pretended, that the obliging the Company to fix a price upon the annuities might endanger the success of so beneficial an undertaking: That, as it was the interest of the Company to take in the annuities, so it was not to be doubted, they would use all their endeavours for that purpose, and offer such terms to the Annuityists, as would encourage them to come in voluntarily: That therefore the Company ought to be allowed a competent time to try what they could do; and if, in a subsequent Session of Parliament, it should appear, that the conditions offered to the Annuityists were not reasonable, and consequently had been ineffectual, the Commons, in such a case, might give what directions they should think proper about the matter. Upon these and other reasons, the motion was rejected; and, soon after, the bill for enabling the *South-Sea* Company to increase their capital stock, passed the Commons, by a majority of a hundred and

seventy-two against fifty-five, and sent to the Lords for their concurrence, where it occasioned a warm debate.

The Lord *North* and *Grey* spoke first against the bill, which he represented to be 'unjust in its nature, and might prove fatal in its consequences, since it seemed calculated for the enriching of a few, and the impoverishing of a great many, and not only made way for, but countenanced and authorized the fraudulent and pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, which produced an irreparable mischief in diverting the genius of the people from trade and industry.' His Lordship was supported by the Duke of *Wharton*, who endeavoured to shew, 'That the *South-Sea* project might prove of infinite disadvantage to the Nation: First, as it gave foreigners an opportunity to double and treble the vast sums they had in our public funds, which could not but tempt them to withdraw their capital stock, with their immense gains, to other Countries, which might drain *Great-Britain* of a considerable part of its gold and silver. Secondly, That the artificial and prodigious rise of the *South-Sea* stock was a dangerous bait, which might decoy many unwary people to their ruin, and allure them, by a false prospect of gain, to part with what they had got by their labour and industry, to purchase imaginary riches. And, in the third place, that the addition of above thirty millions capital would give such a vast power to the *South-Sea* Company, as might endanger the liberties of the Nation, and in time subvert our excellent Constitution, since by their extensive interest they might influence most, if not all the elections of the Members, and consequently overrule the resolutions of the House of Commons.' Earl *Cowper* spoke also against the bill, which he observed to be ushered in and received with great pomp and acclamations of joy, but which was contrived for treachery and destruction. His Lordship urged in particular, 'That, in all public bargains, it is a duty incumbent on them, who are intrusted with the administration, to take care, that the same be more advantageous to the State, than to private persons; but that a quite contrary method seemed to have been followed in the contract made with the *South-Sea* Company. For if the stocks were kept up to the advanced price, to which they had been raised by the oblique arts of stock-jobbing, either that Company, or its principal Members, would gain above thirty millions sterling, of which they gave but one fourth part towards the discharge of the national debts. That, though this scheme carried the face of public good, yet nothing could be so, that was founded on injustice; as his Lordship took this bill to be. That he apprehended, in particular, that the main public intention of it, *viz.* The re-purchase of annuities, would meet with insuperable difficulties; and that, in such a case, none but a few persons, who were in the secret, and had early bought stocks at a low rate, and afterwards sold them at a high price, would, in the end, be gainers by this project.' The Duke of *Bucks* and some other Peers spoke on the same side; but the Earl of *Sunderland* answered most of their objections; and, among other things, said, 'That, they who encouraged and countenanced the scheme of the *South-Sea* Company, had nothing in their view, but the easing of the Nation of part of that heavy load of debts it labours

1720

1720. hours under. That, on the other hand, the Managers for that Company had undoubtedly a prospect of private gain, either to themselves, or to their Corporation; but that, when that scheme was accepted, neither the one nor the other could foresee, that the stocks would have risen to the price they were now advanced. That, if they had continued as they were at that time, the public would have had the far greater share of the advantage accruing from that scheme; and if the stocks were kept up to the price they had been raised to, which was not unlikely, it was but reasonable, that the *South Sea* Company should enjoy the profits procured to it, by the wise management and industry of its Directors, which would enable it both to make large dividends among its Members, and thereby compass the ends intended by this scheme. After these debates, the bill passed without any amendment or division; and, on the 7th of April, the King came on purpose to the House of Lords, to give the Royal assent to it. What were the effects of this famous act, will hereafter be largely shewn.

Abstract of the act for increasing the capital stock of the South-Sea Company. This act recites the several public debts and funds, the acts by which they were established, the terms and conditions of their continuance, the amounts of the respective sums of principal and interest due and payable, and dividing them into several classes and species of debts, namely, long and short annuities, redeemable and irredeemable debts, and stating what rate of interest they bore, computes the principals and annuities at certain sums, in order to settle the different rates and values at which they were to be estimated, to be redeemed, purchased, or taken in by the *South-Sea* Company.

The redeemable debts are stated at 16,546,482 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ (1), the irredeemable annuities, being for the remainder of several long terms of 89, 96, and 99 years, are computed to amount to 666,821 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ a year, besides some unsubscribed lottery annuities and short annuities for 23 and 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ years then standing out.

The Company is declared willing, and is accordingly authorized to take in by purchase, or subscription, the irredeemable debts, at such time or times as they shall find convenient, before the 1st of March 1721, and without any compulsion on any of the Proprietors, at such rates and prices as shall be agreed between the Company and the respective Proprietors.

The Company is likewise declared willing, and is authorized at such time and times, as they shall see convenient (but subject to such notices of redemption as are therein mentioned) to take in all and every the redeemable debts, amounting to 16,546,482 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$, either by purchase, taking subscriptions, or by paying them off.

Provided that the Company for every annuity, part of the long annuities computed at

666,821 *l.* 8 *s.* 3 *d.* so to be taken by them, 1720. may, in lieu thereof, have an addition made to their capital stock, after the rate of twenty years purchase; and such respective additions to their present yearly fund or annuity, as is after limited.

And for all such short annuities, as shall be taken in, to have an addition to their capital stock, after the rate of fourteen years purchase, with a proportionable addition to their present annuity or yearly fund.

And for all and every of the redeemable debts that shall be taken in by purchase, subscriptions, or paying off, to have an addition of 100 *l.* to their capital stock, for every 100 *l.* of the principal monies so taken in, with a proportionable addition to their present yearly fund.

Thus far it appears, that the Proprietors of these public debts amounting to above twenty-six millions, that subscribed into the *South-Sea* stock, by virtue of this act of Parliament, acted by their own choice and option without any compulsion. The Irredeemables were left at full liberty to have remained in the condition they were, and an express provision was made for the security of such as did not subscribe.

The Redeemables had their option to have waited for the terms of redemption, to which they were before liable, and to have taken their money, when the public had been in a condition to pay them.

So that subscribing and accepting *South-Sea* stock, in lieu and discharge of their former debts and annuities, was the voluntary act of them all, induced, no doubt, by the general infatuation that every where reigned, and the imaginary prospect of great advantages.

For the liberty of thus taking in the national debts, and increasing their capital stock, the Company in the first place have desired and consented that their present and to be increased annuity may be continued at 5 *l.* per cent. till *Midsummer*, 1727, and from thence be reduced to 4 *l.* per cent. and be redeemable by Parliament. In consideration of this and other advantages expressed in the act, the Company are willing to make such payments into the receipt of the *Exchequer*, as are herein specified, for the use of the public, to be applied for paying off the public debts incurred before *Christmas*, 1716.

The sums, which they were obliged to pay, were 4,156,306 *l.* 4 *s.* 1 *d.* for the liberty of taking in the redeemable debts, and four years and a half's purchase for all the long and short annuities that should be subscribed, and one year's purchase for such long annuities as should not be subscribed. These sums upon the execution of the act were found to amount to about 7,000,000 *l.*

For enabling the Company to raise this sum, they are empowered to make calls for money from their Members, or open books of subscriptions,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
(1) 5 <i>l.</i> per cent. annuities.			
Principal sum -	11,779,660	11	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
4 <i>l.</i> per cent. annuities.			
Principal sum -	4,766,821	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
	16,546,482	7	12 $\frac{1}{2}$

The 5 *l.* per cent. annuities consisted of several lotteries, Bankers annuities, Blanks in lottery 1714, Navy deficiency, and Bank annuities.

The 4 *l.* per cent. annuities were, the Civil List lottery, Prizes in lottery 1714, Deficiencies on low wines, &c. on funds, *Canada* bills, Army debts and debentures, first and second lottery 1719.

1720. scripſions, or grant annuities redeemable by the Company, or by any other method they ſhall think fit in a general Court. They might alſo borrow money upon any contract, bill, &c. under their common ſeal, or on the credit of their capital ſtock. The money, called for from their Members, ſhall (if thought proper) be an additional ſtock, but there ſhall be no addition thereby to the Company's annuities, to be paid out of the public duties.

Out of the firſt monies ariſing from the ſeveral ſums to be paid by the Company into the *Exchequer*, ſuch public debts carrying intereſt at 5 l. per cent. incurred before the 25th of December, 1716, founded upon any former act of Parliament, as are now redeemable, or may be redeemed before the 25th of December, 1722, ſhall be paid off in the firſt place: Then all the remainder ſhall be applied towards paying off ſo much of the capital ſtock of the Company as ſhall then carry an intereſt of 5 l. per cent. Provision is alſo made, that, after *Midſummer*, 1727, the Company is not to be paid off in any ſums, being leſs than one million at a time.

The Royal and London Assurance Companies e-rected.

Several projects were now ſet on foot, particularly for eſtabliſhing the two Companies of the *Royal Assurance*, headed by the Lord *Onflow*, and of the *London Assurance* by the Lord *Gbetwynd*. The projectors had been very induſtrious to beſpeak the countenance of the Houſe of Commons, for which they had cauſed two letters to be printed and given to the Members. But, theſe and all other ſolicitations having proved ineffectual, the Managers for the two Companies had recourſe to other methods, and being informed that the Civil Liſt was conſiderably in arrears (for which no provision had been, or could conveniently be made by the Parliament, becauſe the grand Committee of Supply had been inadvertently diſmiſſed) they offered to the Miniſtry 600,000 l. towards the diſcharge of that debt, in caſe they might obtain the King's Charter, with the parliamentary ſanction for the eſtabliſhment of their reſpective Companies. The Miniſtry, being at a loſs for means to pay the Civil Liſt debt, readily embraced the offer, and, Mr. *Craggs* having the day before prepared the leading Members of the Houſe of Commons, Mr. *Aſſable* preſented, May the 4th, to the Houſe the following meſſage:

“ His Maſteſty having received ſeveral petitions from great numbers of the moſt eminent Merchants of the City of London, humbly praying, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to grant them his letters patents for erecting Corporations to aſſure ſhips and merchandize; and the ſaid Merchants having offered to advance and pay a conſiderable ſum of money for his Maſteſty's uſe, in caſe they may obtain letters patents accordingly: His Maſteſty being of opinion, that erecting two ſuch Corporations, excluſive only of all other Corporations and Societies for aſſuring of ſhips and merchandize, under proper reſtrictions and regulations, may be of great advantage and ſecurity to the trade and commerce of the Kingdom, is willing and deſirous to be ſtrengthened by the advice and aſſiſtance of this Houſe, in matters of this nature and importance: He therefore hopes for their ready concurrence to ſecure and confirm the privileges his Maſteſty ſhall grant to ſuch Corporations, and to enable him to diſcharge the debts of his Civil Govern-

ment, without burthening his people with any new aid or ſupply.”

Purſuant to the meſſage, a bill was brought in to enable his Maſteſty to grant letters of incorporation to the two Companies, which paſſed both Houſes, and received the Royal aſſent.

The buſineſs of the Parliament being now finiſhed, the King came to the Houſe of Peers, and put an end to the Seſſion with the following ſpeech to both Houſes:

The Parliament is prorogued, June 11.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am now come to put an end to this Seſſion, which, though it hath advanced ſo far into the ſummer, cannot be thought a tedious one, when we conſider how much buſineſs hath been done, and the great advantages that may be expected from it. “ Your ſeaſonable vigour and perſeverance to ſupport me in the meaſures I have taken with my Allies, for reſtoring the tranquillity of Europe, have produced moſt of the effects I could deſire. Much the greateſt part of *Chriſtendom* is already freed from the calamities of war; and by what hath happened both abroad and at home my people muſt be convinced, that their welfare is inſeparable from the ſtrength and ſecurity of my Government.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

“ I return you my thanks for the Supplies you have raiſed for the ſervice of the current year; and it is a particular ſatisfaction to me, that a method has been found out for making good the deficiencies of my Civil Liſt, without laying any new burden upon my ſubjects. “ The good foundation you have prepared this Seſſion for the payment of the national debts, and the diſcharge of a great part of them, without the leaſt violation of the public faith, will, I hope, ſtrengthen more and more the union I deſire to ſee among all my ſubjects, and make our friendſhip yet more valuable to all foreign powers.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You will ſee the good effects, which our ſteadineſs hath produced. There remains but little on our part, to ſaſtify the world, that more credit, ſecurity, and greatneſs, is to be acquired by following the views of peace, and adhering ſtrictly to juſt engagements, than by depending on the advantages of war, or by purſuing the meaſures of ambition. To complete what remains unfiniſhed, I propoſe very ſpeedily to viſit my Dominions in Germany, hoping to put an end to thoſe troubles in the North, which are now reduced to a very narrow compaſs. I flatter myſelf, that my preſence this ſummer in thoſe parts will prove uſeful to our poor Proteſtant brethren, for whom you have expreſſed ſuch ſeaſonable and charitable ſentiments.

“ I doubt not but to meet you again next winter, diſpoſed to put a finiſhing hand to all thoſe good works, which, by your aſſiſtance, I have brought ſo near to perfection. I could wiſh, that all my ſubjects, convinced by time

1720. "and experience, would lay aside those partialities and animosities, which prevent them from living quietly, and enjoying the happiness of a mild and legal Government. It is what I choose to recommend at this time, when I am sensible, that all opposition to it is become vain and useless, and can only end unfortunately for those, who shall persist in struggling against it. I am persuaded, that, during my absence, every one of you will take particular care to preserve the peace in your several Counties; and that I shall find you at my return in such a state of tranquillity, as will shew mankind how firmly my Government is established, which I chiefly desire, because I think the security and preservation of my people, and of this happy constitution, depends entirely upon it."

After this speech the Parliament was prorogued to the 28th of July.

Before the proceedings of the South-Sea Company are related, it will be proper to give some account of the foreign affairs during this Session.

Particular Alliance with Sweden.

The Negotiations with Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark were far advanced, when the King left Germany to return to England. Soon after his arrival, he received an account of the conclusion of his treaty of Alliance offensive and defensive with Sweden. The Lord Carteret, assisted by the French Minister, had laboured with such application, that the treaty was finished and signed at Stockholm on the 20th of January. It contained one and twenty articles, several of which were expressly against the Czar.

The Peace and Alliance were to be perpetual and universal. The contracting powers were not only not to injure, but to procure to each other all kinds of advantages.

They were obliged to inform each other of every thing they should discover, that might injure or disturb them, and to assist each other with advice and forces against all enemies; and not to give protection, much less advice or support to rebellious subjects, nor to permit them to continue in their Dominions; and those were to be esteemed Rebels, whom one of the contracting powers should declare to the other to be so.

In case Sweden should be attacked in any part of its Dominions, in its rights and privileges, in its navigation or commerce, Great Britain was to furnish that Kingdom with an aid of six thousand foot, who were to be sent four months after the demand should be made, and to that place which should be appointed. The disposition of the enemy to peace, the good offices, that should be employed to produce that disposition, were not to prevent the sending of that aid. The power, who was to lend the troops, was obliged to pay and maintain them; but the other was to take care, that in his Dominions they should be furnished with every thing necessary, at the same price with his own troops.

The contracting powers were allowed to demand the aid, in whole or in part; to demand ships, provisions, and ammunition for the surplus of the money; and it was settled, that a thousand men a month should be valued at four thousand Rix-dollars. These troops and their Commanders were to be subject, with respect to all the operations of the war, to the power, to

whose assistance they came; and the ships were to bear his colours.

If this number of troops was not sufficient for the pressing occasions, a more considerable aid was to be sent. And as Sweden (says the Treaty) is now in these unhappy circumstances, with regard to the Czar of Muscovy, whom many fruitless attempts have been made to induce to a peace, Great-Britain, conformably to its engagements in the treaty of 1700, which is renewed by the present, obliges herself to send a strong Squadron in the spring, to the assistance of his Swedish Majesty, to act in concert against the Czar, in order to oblige him to desist from his invasions, and to consent to the just and reasonable conditions of peace, which have been offered him.

This was the main article of the treaty; in order to obtain assistance against that formidable enemy, Sweden had resigned to the Elector of Hanover the Duchies of Bremen and Verden; and, in order to be revenged for the Czar's intrigues, the King of Great-Britain renewed the ancient treaties, and entered into new engagements with the Crown of Sweden.

The other articles related to commerce, the particulars of which were to be regulated afterwards, for the contracting parties were desirous to put an immediate stop to the conquests of the Muscovites, and oppose the execution of their designs. The succours, that were to be sent, did not amount to a declaration of war, nor hinder a communication with the Prince, against whom they were sent, provided however it was not prejudicial to the party assisted. And therefore it was not permitted to furnish the Czar with any thing, that served directly for attack or defence, as powder, artillery, or ammunition; and their subjects were likewise forbid to serve him as soldiers or sailors.

If the succours caused an open war, it was to be carried on in concert, no proposition of peace or truce, or any accommodation and convention whatever, was to be hearkened to but by mutual consent. If one of the contracting powers was engaged in war, he was dispensed with sending the stipulated succours, and had even a right to recall his troops three months after having given notice of the necessity he was under of so doing. But the King of Great Britain (adds the treaty) as a strong mark of his friendship, promises, that the war, which he is now engaged in with Spain, shall not prevent his sending the next spring a Squadron sufficient to stop the progress of the Czar, and induce him to peace, nor from furnishing the Supplies of money, as long as the war with Denmark shall last.

These obligations were reciprocal between the two Crowns. Sweden, in particular, was obliged not to enter into any engagement with Spain, which might be contrary to the views of supporting the Emperor against that Kingdom. She undertook likewise to guaranty and maintain the Succession of Great-Britain in the House of Hanover, and not to give any protection, refuge, aid, or counsel, in any manner whatever, to the person, who, in the life-time of King James II, styled himself Prince of Wales, and who since that King's decease had assumed the name of James III. King of Great-Britain.

Both Crowns had it so much at heart to limit the pretensions and undertakings of the Czar, and

1720. and to divest him by a peace, or by arms, of part of his conquests, that the following words were inserted in the XVIIth article. 'As it is of the utmost concern to the Protestant Religion, to the commerce of the Kingdoms of *Great-Britain* and *Sweden*, and even to the repose of *Christendom*, that the Czar should not gain the ascendancy in the *Baltic*; if therefore that Prince shall refuse to make peace with *Sweden*, and to restore to that Crown the Cities and Provinces necessary to establish her security and the liberty of commerce, as they were before the present war; his *Britannic Majesty* engages, not only to furnish *Sweden* with the succours, which he is obliged to by the present treaty, but likewise to use all his endeavours and interest with his other Allies, that, by their assistance, they may enable *Sweden* to repel the Czar, and force him to agree to a peace upon such conditions, as may secure that Kingdom from insults, and establish the liberty of commerce in the *Baltic*.'

Alliance
with Prus-
sia.

The same day, by the mediation of *France* and *England*, the peace was likewise signed between *Sweden* and *Prussia*. This treaty was the work of King *George*, who had laid the foundations of it in the preliminary treaty of the 25th of *August*, the last year. *Sweden*, by the advice and instances of the Mediators, gave up to the King of *Prussia* the City of *Stetin*, the district between the rivers of *Oder* and *Pegnitz*, with the Isles of *Wollin* and *Usedom*, to possess and enjoy them for ever, with all their rights, and in the same manner, as the whole had been ceded and transferred by the Emperor and Empire to the Crown of *Sweden*, by the tenth article of the peace of *Westphalia*, in the year 1648, except the right of sitting and voting in the Diet of the Empire, and in those of the Circle.

The King of *Prussia* obliges himself, on his part, to preserve to the inhabitants their liberties, rights; and privileges, as they now enjoy them, as likewise the free exercise of their Religion, according to the Confession of *Augsburg*. He likewise undertook to pay the debts, and to discharge the obligations due from the Crown of *Sweden*, to the Inhabitants and Communities of these Countries. He also promised not to assist or succour, in any manner, nor under any pretence, the Czar, in his war against *Sweden*, to join with the King of *Great-Britain*, to engage the King of *Denmark* to make peace, and to restore that part of *Pomerania* he had seized.

Lastly, the King of *Prussia* engaged to pay two millions of *Rix-dollars* of *Leipsic* money of 1690. This was almost purchasing what was ceded to him; but that Prince abounded in ready money, and he could not better employ it, than in aggrandizing himself. Besides, *Sweden*, exhausted by a war, which had lasted twenty years, and was not yet ended, was very glad *Prussia* would purchase what she was not in a condition to retake.

Thus King *George*, in concert with the Regent of *France*, disposed of the affairs of *Europe* at pleasure, and obliged the foreign Princes to submit to his determinations. *Spain*, after having made several fruitless attempts to oppose him, was obliged to submit to the strict execution of the treaty of *London* of 1718: The Emperor was put in possession of *Sicily*; the Duke of *Savoy* had *Sardinia*; *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* remained in the hands of *Great-Britain*; the investiture of the States of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and

Placentia was not given: the Emperor continued to take the title of King of *Spain*, and to act as such; the only favour, allowed that Crown, was the restoration of two or three places, taken by *France*; but the Emperor still delayed the execution of his treaty with *Spain*, of which the Mediators took little notice.

The Czar was the only Prince, who would not comply: Instead of submitting he continued the war a year or two longer, and made peace without any Mediator. Whatever reproaches might be cast upon him, he loudly complained of the Elector of *Hanover* and King of *Great-Britain*, alledging, that King *George* in both qualities had failed in his engagements. His Resident at *London* presented a long memorial, in which he represented, that the particular engagements, which the King had entered into the last summer with the Queen of *Sweden*, and his Negotiations with the Kings of *Poland*, *Prussia*, and *Denmark*, in order to detach them from their Alliance with his *Czarist Majesty*, were inconsistent with the obligations, he had entered into as Elector of *Brunswick*, never to treat with *Sweden* without the participation of the Czar, to use all possible means to procure him the cession of *Ingria*, *Carélia*, *Esthonia*, and *Revel*, and not to oppose in any manner the other pretensions, he might form; obligations (added the memorial) contracted likewise as King of *Great-Britain*. Afterwards, by way of reproach, it was remarked, that the acquisition of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden* was owing to the earnest solicitations of the Czar with the King of *Denmark*; that his *Czarist Majesty* had moreover offered a treaty of defensive Alliance (like that of 1716) to maintain the Succession of the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Protestant line: That the rest of the Czar's conduct had been answerable to these his proceedings: That notwithstanding these advances so often repeated, and ever neglected, not to say despised, no endeavours had been omitted to stir up enemies against the Czar, and to render him odious to the *English*, by making them believe, he intended to place the Pretender upon the Throne: That every thing had been done to embroil him with the Court of *Vienna*: That no explanation or accommodation was ever listened to; and all his proposals for a reconciliation remained without any answer: That a strong squadron had been sent to the *Baltic*: That, warned by what had happened on other occasions, he had desired to be informed of the design of that squadron. That his desire had been haughtily received: That the squadron, at the end of the campaign, had joined the *Swedish* fleet: And, to compleat all these grievances, letters had been wrote to him in very imperious terms, and such as ought not to be used to a Sovereign.

Your Majesty, said the Memorial, who knows so well what is due to Sovereigns, when they are to be treated with, may judge by all that has passed on this occasion, whether the manner, in which your Ministers proceeded in offering the Czar your mediation, was agreeable to the friendship, which has subsisted at all times between the Crowns of *Russia* and *Great-Britain*; and whether a mediation offered with circumstances so little equitable can be considered as impartial. To tell a Sovereign, in an imperious and threatening manner (as your Ministers did) that he must put an end to the war, in order to obtain a reasonable peace; and to propose to him

1720.

The Czar's
Memorial.

him the mediation of a power, at the same time that he is told, that power is in league with his enemy, this is not endeavouring to induce him to peace, but rather seeking pretences for a rupture.

The memorial concluded with demanding a positive answer, in order to know what was to be expected on the part of his *British* Majesty.

This memorial, though seemingly expressed in a plain manner, was very artfully worded. Accordingly it was answered very carefully by the Ministry of *Hanover*, and of *Great-Britain*.

The answer is as follows.

The *Hanoverian* Ministry said, it was the Czar, who had violated the treaty of 1715, by coming with an army to settle in the Empire, and by seizing the Provinces contiguous to *Hanover*. That the least, that could be done in those circumstances, was to shew, these proceedings were not approved of: That the instances, which had been made for the withdrawing this army, were indispensable, considering the rank the Elector of *Hanover* bore in the Empire: That, however, this was the ground of the Czar's resentments, of which he had given many proofs by his correspondence with the enemies of King *George*, and by his endeavours to deprive him of his friends. The particulars were then given of the Czar's intrigues with Baron *Gortz*, with the Pretender's emissaries, and with the Court of *Madrid*, and especially of the projects formed with the King of *Sweden* to carry the war into the Empire, and to assist that Crown to recover the Dominions in *Germany*, which had been taken from him. That, besides these designs, an Invasion of *Scotland* had also been concerted, and the Czar was upbraided with having continually endeavoured to deceive and amuse his Allies.

It is therefore evident (concludes the answer) if the Czar has been prevented by a treaty with *Sweden*, he gave just cause for it, by his proceedings, as he had long been treating for a separate peace, and was upon the point of reducing *Sweden*, and carrying the war into the bowels of the Empire.

Earl *Stanhope* answered the complaints, which related to the King of *Great-Britain*. He represented the extravagant conditions, upon which the Czar had offered to enter into a strict Alliance with *Great-Britain*. 'He required, said the Earl, that his conquests upon *Sweden* should be guaranteed to him; that he should be assisted with an *English* fleet, and that the fleet should be under his command, which would have made all accommodation with *Sweden* wholly impossible, and incensed those powers, who were concerned in the preservation of that Crown, and whose friendship was so necessary to accomplish the projects formed for the tranquillity of *Europe*.'

The Earl then observes, that the Czar's complaints were intended only to cause his own designs to be overlooked: 'For if it be true (says the Earl) that the Czar, intimate Ally of the King of *Denmark*, had meditated no less than to make himself master of the *Sound*, and

of *Copenhagen* (instead of making the descent on *Seben*, with which the public had been amused for some months) it is natural to endeavour to put the change upon the public in that particular, and to wipe off the impressions of such notions, by recriminations destitute of all manner of ground: And, if the Czar had really such designs in view, it is probable, that nothing kept him from putting them in execution, but the just apprehension that the same should be opposed by his Majesty's fleet; which would infallibly have happened in such a case. And may not the Czar's resentment of the miscarriage of so great a project, through the apprehension of the *British* fleet, be the cause of his great estrangement from his Majesty since that time; from whence one may date the beginning of the animosity he has shewn against his Majesty on so many occasions.

This was plainly perceived some time after, when, by the letters of Baron *Gortz* and Count *Gyllenburg*, it was discovered, that the Czar was so offended with his Majesty, that he entertained serious thoughts of making a separate peace with the King of *Sweden*, and assisting the Pretender. And indeed, whatever assurances have been given to the contrary, the Czar's conduct seems to have been intirely agreeable to that plan. The Negotiations of the *Russian* Ministry with the Pretender's Agents are well known (1). All the world has seen the great number of *English* Rebels, to whom the Czar has given all manner of protection and encouragement. It is known, that the Conferences at *Aland*, which were begun without his Majesty's participation, were the result of an interview at *Loe* with Baron *Gortz*, in *August* 1717. That Minister's papers have shewn, that the Invasion of *Scotland* was to have immediately followed the conquest of *Norway*; it is therefore no wonder, the Czar was not sollicitous either to prevent that conquest, or to assist the King of *Denmark* on so pressing an occasion. In fine, information has been had of the propositions the Czar has made, more than once, to the Court of *Spain*, to engage them in an offensive Alliance against *England*, in favour of the Pretender.

It was shewn likewise, that the Czar had persisted in his designs since the death of the King of *Sweden*: That he had endeavoured to engage Queen *Ulrica* in the schemes of her Predecessor: And, not succeeding by his insinuations, he had attempted to constrain her by force, and by almost unparalleled insults. 'But, notwithstanding all this, his Majesty (continues the Earl) persists in the same sentiments of moderation towards the Czar, and renews the offer of his mediation. Nothing is more conformable to the interest of that Prince, since it is intended to procure him a peace, which will secure him a considerable part of his conquests. It is hoped, that so wise a Prince as the Czar will not only be inclined, for the general good of peace, to moderate

(1) People (says the Memorial) are not ignorant of the Negotiations of one *Jerneghan*, and of Sir *Hugh Paterson*, brother-in-law to the late Lord *Marr*, with the *Russian* Minister, during the Czar's stay in *Holland*. Intelligence has been had of the same Minister's intrigues, both with the late Duke of *Ormond*, during

the stay he made *incognito* at *Mittau*, and with Sir *Henry Sterling* and the said *Jerneghan* at *Petersburg*, as well as of the correspondence established, by means of this last person, between the Czar and the Court of *Spain*.

(1) The

1720. derate his pretensions, but likewise acknowledge, that it is more consistent with prudence to obtain by good treaties, and the consent of other great powers, such considerable territories as may be yielded to him by the Crown of Sweden, than to expose the fruits of his successes to the events of a war, which he will be obliged to support alone. Sweden neither ought nor can give up to him *Revel*. If the Czar, after such offers, persists in his unwillingness to restore *Revel*, he will only alarm all the other powers, and unite the most of them against him.

The sincere desire the King has to restore a general peace, and his zeal to be reconciled with the Czar for that purpose, incline his Majesty to give him, on this occasion, the advice of a friend, and to exhort him seriously to consider it.

But if, contrary to all expectation, the King's good intentions should prove fruitless by the Czar's refusal; and if his Majesty, by virtue of his engagements with Sweden (which he is fully resolved to maintain) should be obliged to take measures disagreeable to Russia, he will, however, have the consolation of having neglected nothing to prevent the fatal consequences, which may result from it.

These memorials and answers produced no reconciliation between the two Princes. The answers, however, made an impression upon the Nation in favour of the King. And, indeed, it must be confessed, that it was sound policy to join with Sweden against the Czar, and by that means make amends for uniting with that Prince to strip a Crown, which Religion and Commerce ought always to endear to Great-Britain.

Reconciliation in the Royal Family.

During the Session of Parliament, the reconciliation of the Royal Family was effected chiefly by the endeavours of the Duke of Devonshire and Mr Walpole. They had several Conferences, for that purpose, with the Ministers, with such success, that, on the 23d of April, the Lord Lumley, Gentleman of the Prince of Wales's Bed-Chamber, waited on the King, to know his pleasure, when the Prince should attend him. He was answered, immediately; and Mr Secretary Craggs having accompanied the Lord Lumley to Leicester-Fields, to acquaint the Prince with it, he immediately went to St James's House, and was half an hour in private Conference with the King. Having made his submission in the manner agreed on, he went to see his eldest Daughter, the Princess Anne, who, five days before, was taken ill of the small-pox. The Prince, at his return to Leicester-House, was, by the King's command, attended by a party of

the Yeomen of the Guard, and of the Horse-guards, and the Foot-guards began also to mount the guard at his house. In the evening, the Princess of Wales had an interview with the King; and, the next morning, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Cowper, the Lord Townshend, Mr Walpole, Mr Methuen, and Mr Pulteney, were admitted to kiss the King's hand; and the Duke of Devonshire carried the Sword of State before the King to the Royal Chapel, the Prince of Wales accompanying them thither; and, at their return, the Officers and Retainers to the two Courts congratulated each other upon this reconciliation. The next day, the Great Officers and Ministers of State, and of the Household, and other persons of distinction, waited on the Prince of Wales, who, in the evening, went with his whole Court to the apartments at St James's, and had a long Conference with the King. Most of the foreign Ministers had also, on this occasion, a private audience of the Prince of Wales.

Upon the rising of the Parliament, the King held a great Council, in which he declared his design of visiting his Dominions in Germany, and named the Lords Justices during his absence. They were the same with those of the last year; to whom were added the Lord Townshend (who was declared likewise Lord President of the Council) and the Duke of Devonshire. The King, in the same Council, conferred also several honours and preferments: The Earl of Dorset was created Duke of Dorset; the Earl of Bridgewater, Duke of Bridgewater; the Lord Viscount Castleton, Earl Castleton in the County of York; Hugh Boscawen, Baron Boscawen, and Viscount Falmouth in the County of Cornwall; John Wallop, Baron Wallop of Wallop, and Viscount Lymington in the County of Southampton (1).

On the 15th of June, the King embarked at The King Greenwich on board the *Carolina* Yacht, and landed, the next morning, at Helvoet-Sluice, goes to Hanover. from whence he proceeded to Hanover. At his arrival in Germany, he found the peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark. This peace was of great importance; for the Czar was left alone, and had reason to fear (as he had been threatened) that all his Allies, who had been drawn off from him one after another, would unite against him, to reduce him within his antient bounds.

The treaty was signed at Frederickshadt, on the 22d of June. The Preamble did great honour to King George; setting forth, that it was resolved to put an end to the cruel war, which had lasted ten years, by the pressing instances of the King of Great-Britain, who has taken all imaginable

Negotiations with Denmark.

(1) The rest of the honours and preferments were: Matthew Ducie Morton, Baron Ducie de Morton, in the County of Stafford; John Barrington of Becket, in the County of Berks, Baron Barrington of Newcastle, and Viscount Barrington of Ardglass, in the Kingdom of Ireland; Thomas Gage, Baron Castlebarr, and Viscount Gage of Castle-Island, in the Kingdom of Ireland; William Fane, Baron Fane of Duncannon in the County of Tyrone, and Viscount Fane; Sir Marcus Beresford, Baron Beresford of Beresford in the County of Cavan, and Viscount Tyrone in the Kingdom of Ireland; John Blunt of the City of London, Sir William Chapman, and Thomas Cadell of Kensington were created Baronets. The Duke of Kingston was appointed Lord Privy-Seal; the Duke of Grafton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Mr Robert Walpole, Paymaster-General of the King's forces; Numb. XCVII. Vol. IV.

Mr Methuen, Comptroller of the Household; the Duke of Queensberry and the Earl of Harold, Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber; the Earl of Sunderland, John Aylmer, George Baillie, Sir Charles Turner, and Richard Edgcumbe, Commissioners of the Treasury; the Earl of Westmorland, John Cretwynd, Sir Charles Cook, Paul Dumonique, Martin Bladen, and John Albe, Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Groom of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber; Sir David Dalrymple, Auditor of the Exchequer in Scotland; Edward Elliot, Commissioner of the Excise; Henry Cartwright, Commissioner of the Victualling-Office; Cbr. Wubers, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Woods; Colonel Charles Churchill, Governor of Chelsea-Hospital; the Lord Glenorchy, Ambassador to the King of Denmark; and Mr Melisworth, Envoy to the Court of Turin.

1720. imaginable pains to reconcile the parties, and has engaged them to consent to a suspension of arms, the more easily to come at a peace, for which his Majesty has offered them his mediation, which they have accepted. By this treaty, every thing, that had passed during the war, was to be buried in eternal oblivion; liberty of commerce was entirely restored; both sides renounced in the strongest manner, all Treaties, Agreements, and Alliances made with other powers, as far as they should be contrary to the present treaty of peace, and, for the future, neither party should enter into any Treaty or Alliance, which might be prejudicial or inconvenient to the other.

As the Czar and his pretensions were chiefly aimed at in these Negotiations, it was required of the King of Denmark, that he should, in the most exprets terms, oblige himself not to assist the Czar, during the war, under any pretence whatever, either with advice or forces: 'And because (added the Treaty) it is the interest, not only of the King and Crown of Denmark, but also of other Nations, that this war should end in such a manner, that the liberty of commerce should be restored in the Baltic, his Danish Majesty promises not to suffer any Muscovite ships in any of his ports in the sea of Denmark or Norway; nor will permit them to bring in thither prizes of any Nation whatever; and if it shall happen, that these prizes should enter into his ports, he will restore them to the Owners.'

The King of Denmark was put in possession of *Sleswick*, and resolved to keep it. It was necessary likewise, in order to engage him to peace, that the King of Great-Britain should guaranty to him the peaceable possession of it, which had been done the 30th of October the last year. On the other hand, Sweden, indifferently engaged as she was with the Duke of Holstein, could not, with any decency, give up that Duchy to the King of Denmark. But the following expedient was made use of to surmount these difficulties: 'Foreseeing that the Duke of Sleswick Holstein has been concerned in the war of the North; and as the first Alliance, between that Prince and the Crown of Sweden, might be an obstacle to peace with regard to the Duchy of Sleswick; his Swedish Majesty declares for Himself and the Crown of Sweden, and promises not to oppose, either directly or indirectly, what may have been stipulated concerning that Duchy, in favour of the King of Denmark, by the mediating powers, which have co-operated in the present treaty; and Sweden will not give any assistance to the Duke of Holstein against Denmark, which may be prejudicial to this stipulation.'

The King of Prussia, in making peace with Sweden, had been enjoined by the Mediators to purchase the Countries, he had taken from that Crown. The King of Denmark, on the contrary, was obliged to sell his conquests to Sweden, or, what amounted to the same, to give them up for an equivalent.

Thus the King of Denmark consented to restore Upper Pomerania, the Isle of Rugen, the towns and fortresses of *Norstrand* and *Svalundt*, and all the other Islands and Dependencies without any exception, which had been taken from Sweden, in the state there were in at the publication of the suspension of arms, with the artillery and magazines, which were there,

when Denmark seized them. He likewise gave up the City of *Wisnar*, with its territory and dependences.

In return for these restitutions, Sweden consented, that, for the future, and from the day of the ratification of the treaty, there should be no longer any difference of Nation in the *Sound* and the two *Belts*; so that the Kingdom of Sweden renounced the exemption from toll in those parts, and consented, that her subjects should pay them to Denmark for their ships and cargoes, upon the same foot, as the subjects of Great-Britain and the United-Provinces paid them.

Moreover, Sweden, to give a still more sensible proof of her desire for peace, bound herself to pay to the King of Denmark six hundred thousand Rix-dollars at one payment. This sum was to be put into the hands of the Mediators, not to be delivered till after the stipulated cessions were executed by the Court of Denmark. It was added, in exprets terms, that all the pretensions of Denmark upon Sweden should be extinct, by the obligation to the payment of toll in the *Sound* and *Belts*, and by the payment of the six hundred thousand Rix-dollars. The other articles contained various regulations, all proper to strengthen the peace, and prevent, as far as possible, all occasions of complaint.

The Mediators took great pains to prevail with the King of Denmark to grant Sweden such moderate terms. Besides the ancient and natural antipathy between the two Nations, which was to be surmounted, the conquests, which had cost him so much, and were so very convenient for him, were to be renounced. Undoubtedly, the apprehension of seeing the forces of all the Allies of King George united against him made a greater impression upon him, than the hopes of assistance from the Czar, who would not hear either of peace or any mediation from the King of Great-Britain.

Admiral Norris had failed in April with a Squadron strong enough to give weight to the King's mediation. When he arrived at Copenhagen, he wrote to Prince Dolgorouki, the Czar's Ambassador at the Court of Denmark, to notify to him, 'That the King, his Master, had ordered him to come into those seas with a Squadron of his ships, to procure a just and reasonable peace between the Crowns of Sweden and Russia; and that his Majesty having at heart the welfare of his subjects, as also the concerns of such Nations, as live in amity with him, ardently wishes, that this affair may be accomplished in a Christian, effectual, and speedy manner: That, for this end, he was commanded to notify to the Ministers, Generals, and Admirals of the Czar, the repeated offers of his Britannic Majesty's mediation of peace between the two Crowns; and that his Czarian Majesty, duly considering the present state of affairs, would listen to reasonable conditions for an accommodation; and left, for want of full powers, this affair should be obstructed, the same were sent to his Envoy at Stockholm, and likewise to himself as his Admiral, to the end, jointly or separately, they may act in the quality of his Majesty's Plenipotentiaries, in order to effect a peace between the two Crowns, by way of mediation.' Prince Dolgorouki returned for answer, 'That the Czar had nothing more at heart than peace and tranquillity, of which he had given clear proofs during

1720. during the war; but, because Sweden had never expressed the like sentiments, the continuation of the war could be imputed only to that Crown. That, as for the expressions in the Admiral's letter about the means of a peace, he could return no answer to that; and, in case his *Britannic Majesty* had any proposals to make to the Czar, he hoped the Admiral would excuse him from doing it, since it could be done a more compendious way.

Upon this answer the *English* fleet joined that of Sweden, but however as auxiliaries only. The *Russian* fleet had prevented them, and landed near *Uma* five thousand men, who met with no resistance; they set fire to that town, and to all the villages in the neighbourhood. As the inhabitants did not expect such an attack, all their effects were seized by the *Muscovites*, who without any loss returned to their ships. The combined fleets did not arrive till the enemy had reached the port of *Revel*, where it was not judged proper to attack them, but rather to make a diversion in *Finland*. Nothing material was done, and some Swedish ships, having imprudently engaged a superior force without being timely supported, were very near being destroyed.

The Czar was not so easy to be reduced as Spain had been. Poland, the only Country contiguous to his Dominions, did not think fit to attack him: And it was a great point gained, that King *Augustus*, notwithstanding his obligations to the Czar, had consented to a separate peace with Sweden.

Though King *George* could not at this time succeed in making peace between *Russia* and Sweden, he had however at the end of the campaign some hopes of it. *Ulrica*, who had been placed on the Throne of Sweden in the room of her brother *Charles XII.* and had married the head of the family of *Hesse*, was extremely desirous he should be joined with her in the Administration of the regal power. To this end she writ with her own hand a letter to each of the four orders of the States, representing how necessary in the present difficult juncture, and how conducive to the public welfare, would be the assistance of his Royal Highness in the Administration of the Government, and therefore hoped the States would gratify her in conferring on him the regal dignity.

As the proposal of placing the Prince of *Hesse* on the Throne, jointly with the Queen, met with great opposition from the Nobles, she writ a second letter to the States, offering to resign her share of the regal power, and to be content that it should be executed by her Royal consort alone. Upon this the States unanimously elected him King (1).

The advancement of *Frederick* to the Throne

of Sweden gave him occasion to send one of his principal Officers to notify it to the Czar, who in return sent one of his Generals to congratulate the new King. Upon this were grounded the hopes of a reconciliation. But the *Russian* Envoy was commissioned only to demand some passports, and propose an exchange of prisoners, and a suspension of arms during the winter. He added however, and doubtless with a view to King *George*, that the Czar was not so averse to peace as might be thought, and only wanted reasonable terms to be made him, for which there was no need of a Mediator.

These things, relating to the affairs of Sweden and *Russia*, had for the most part passed before the King's arrival in his German Dominions. All the foreign Ministers followed him to *Hanover*, where he did not want business or matter to exercise his talents for Negotiation, which after all are the true talents of a Sovereign. Ministers indeed generally supply what may be wanting in a Prince; but the case was otherwise with King *George*. He looked into every thing himself: His Ministers did nothing without him, whilst he did many things without them.

The treaties of peace to which several States had been led, and in some measure compelled, were for the most part transacted in haste. It was impossible to settle the particular interest of the contracting Powers and their Allies. These treaties, properly speaking, were only a cessation from hostilities, and an engagement to more exact and regular Negotiations. To fix and ascertain so many complicated interests, and prevent the flames of war from kindling afresh, King *George* and the Regent of *France* joined their endeavours to establish two Congresses, one at *Brunswick* for the affairs of the North, and the other at *Cambray* for the rest of Europe.

Whilst the King was employed abroad in hearing and settling the grievances and interests of the Nations and their Sovereigns, particularly those of the Protestants of *Germany*, the Regency were no less employed at home in curbing the excessive desire of gain, which the progress of the *South-Sea* Company had raised, and in curing the despair which attended its fall. As these are the most considerable events of this reign, and such as will never be forgot by Great-Britain, they deserve to be related at large.

The *South-Sea* scheme seems to be taken from that of the *Mississippi* Company in *France*, formed by Mr *Law* the last year. Mr *Law* was born at *Edinburgh*, and had proposed to the Parliament of *Scotland*, in 1705, a scheme for supplying the Nation with money, which, though favoured by the Duke of *Argyle*, then High-Commissioner, and several Members of Parliament, was however rejected. Upon this he applied himself

1720.

Progress of the South-Sea affairs.

Account of Mr Law and the Mississippi Company.

(1) The act of election, which was read to the King, was to this effect: That the King is elected according to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, not out of any duty, but by the free-will of all the Senators and the States, who do declare the Kingdom hereditary in the male issue his Majesty shall have by the Queen, and who, upon the decease of their Father, shall take upon themselves the Administration, without any farther election; but, in case both their Majesties shall die without male-issue, that all the States shall proceed to a new election, without any previous summons, thirty days after the decease of the Survivor.

That they think themselves well assured his Majesty will never suffer the Sovereignty (or absolute Power) which always proved so pernicious to the Kingdom, to be introduced again; but that he, as well as the heirs of his body, will govern the Kingdom according to the Laws and Constitutions, maintain it in the Christian Evangelical Religion, and let the subjects have the unprejudiced enjoyment of all their privileges, according to the assurance given in writing by his Majesty; in which case they will always behave themselves as faithful and true liege subjects to his Majesty. *Hist. Reg.*

(1) The

1720.

Bank
erected in
France.

himself to the Lord-Treasurer *Horley*, and transmitted to him another proposal for the increase of trade and credit, but meeting with no encouragement, and not being able to get his pardon, for having killed *Beau Wilson* in a duel, he was compelled to live abroad, where, after undergoing great variety of persecutions from his enemies, he settled in *France*. During his stay in *England* he had informed himself fully of the management of the Bank and *East-India* Company, and, in order to settle the fluctuating manner of things in *France*, he proposed to the Regent to lay the foundation of credit by erecting a Bank. The Regent approved of the scheme, the Bank was established: The King began the subscription, the Regent followed, with innumerable others. This project met with such success, that, in three subscriptions, more than all the money in *France* was said to be subscribed to it: For, by the end of the year 1719, bills were given out for 640 millions of livres, which exceeds the value of the bills circulated by all the Banks in *Europe*. There was added a circulation of 360 millions, and the whole amounted to 1000 millions of livres, making above 38 millions of pounds sterling at the *Exchange* then current (1).

A Bank being thus erected, and credit established, Mr *Law* formed the project of the *Mississippi* or *India* Company, who were to have the sole privilege of the trade to *Louisiana*, or the Country of *Mississippi*, so called from a river of that name, which runs through it from North to South. Pursuant to this scheme, a subscription of stock was opened, and all were admitted to subscribe. The sum first proposed to be raised was only 60 millions of livres, to be subscribed in State-bills. These State-bills or public securities were then very low, being from 57 to 63 per cent. discount; but, as they were received at par without any loss in the Company's stock, the first subscription of 60 millions was soon filled. The capital stock was then enlarged to 100 millions, and the *Actions* or *Shares* rose to 120. After this, a new creation of *Actions* was made for 25 millions more, which were delivered out at 110, and soon rose to 200. As people appeared very eager to lay out their money this way, an arrêt of the Council of State was published, for circulating Bank-bills to the value of 25 millions, in the *Mississippi* Company, upon which the *Actions*, about *Midsummer* 1719, run up 560. The Company, finding their credit so well established, proposed to lend the King 50 millions, for which there was a new creation of *Actions* for 25 millions, upon the foot of 200 per *Action*. About the end of *August*, the Company proposed to the King another loan of 1200 millions, at three per cent. As the *Actions* were now advanced to 1200, the Company, in order to raise the loan, opened their books for 500 millions, by the sale of 50 millions of *Actions*, at the rate of a 1000 per

Action. The subscriptions were filled in a few hours; and, in less than three weeks, two subscriptions more, for the like sum of 500 millions each, were opened with the same success. The first payment of these three subscriptions rose so considerably, as to be sold at 300 per cent. profit. From that time the *Actions* rose to 2050 (2).

The *Mississippi* stock was in its greatest prosperity during the months of *November* and *December* 1719, and, in the *January* following, Mr *Law*, who was become the greatest subject in *Europe*, was made Comptroller-General of the Finances of *France*. From that time the stock began to decline, and, by the end of *May*, all things fell into confusion at *Paris*, occasioned by an arrêt to reduce Bank notes and *Actions* of the Company, Mr *Law* resigned his place, and had two *Swiss* Officers given him for his guard. By this project the State indeed gained immensely, 1500 millions of the King's debts being transferred from him to the people, who were content to discharge the public, and owe the money to one another. Consequently, when the fall came (except a few great fortunes that were made) there was almost a general ruin through all *France*.

This revolution of the *Mississippi* stock at *Paris* was not regarded in *England*, where the like infatuation universally prevailed, and was followed by the like consequences.

When the bill passed in favour of the *South-Sea* Company, it was expected, the stock would have greatly advanced, but the contrary happened; for, the day after, it fell from 310 to 290. In order to raise it, a rumour was spread, that Earl *Stanhope* had received overtures in *France* to exchange *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* for some places in *Peru*, for the security and enlargement of the *English* trade in the *South-Sea*; which had its effect in *Exchange-Alley*. For, on the 12th of *April*, five days after the Royal assent was given to the bill, the Directors opened their books for a subscription of a million, at the rate of 300 l. for every 100 l. capital. Such was the concurrence of persons of all ranks, that this first subscription was found to amount to above two millions of original stock. It was to be paid at five payments of 60 l. each, for one share of 100 l. In a few days the stock advanced to 340, and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. To raise the stock still higher, on the 21st of *April* it was declared in a General Court, That the *Midsummer* dividend should be ten per cent. and all subscriptions should be intitled to the same. Those resolutions answering the end designed, the Directors, to improve the infatuation of the monied men, opened their books for a second subscription of one million, at 400 l. per cent. In a few hours, no less than a million and half was subscribed at that rate; and so great was

(1) The *French* Crown, of five livres and two fifths was worth 4 s. and 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ *English* money.

(2) Thus the capital stock consisted of these seven subscriptions:

60 millions of the first subscription.
40 of the second.
25 of the third.
25 of the fourth.
50 of the fifth.

50 of the sixth.
50 of the seventh.
300 millions.

The total of the *Actions*, which, when they sold at 2050, the total amounted to above 6000 millions of livres, or 228 millions sterling.

(1) How

1720. was the confidence which was placed in the Directors, that many deposited in their hands their annuities, without knowing what price the Company would allow for them.

On the 19th of May, the Directors thought fit to settle the terms and prices for the long and short annuities, which had been subscribed; and, the stock being that day 375*l. per cent.*, it was resolved to allow, for every 100*l. per annum* of the long annuities, 700*l.* in the capital stock (which at 375*l. per cent.* amounted to 2625*l.*) and 575*l.* in bonds and money: So the total for each 100*l. per annum* amounted to 3200*l.* or thirty-two years purchase. For every 90*l. per annum* of the short annuities, they agreed to allow 350*l.* in the capital stock, which, at 375*l. per cent.*, amounted to 1312*l. 10s.* and in bonds and money 217*l. 10s.* which together made 1530*l.* or seventeen years purchase.

These offers occasioned at first great murmurings among the Annuityists, who, having expected ten years, found they were to have, but eight years and a quarter's purchase. Upon which some withdrew their orders, and others resolved not to subscribe. But, the *South-Sea* Managers having found means to raise their stock to 500*l. per cent.*, most of the Annuityists appeared easy; so that it was computed, that, by the 29th of May, almost two thirds of the annuities were subscribed.

The arts of the Stock-Jobbers drew a great concourse of persons of all ranks into *Exchange-Alley*, by whose unexampled eagerness of laying out their money in a fund, that promised so plentiful a return of gain, that stock, which about the latter end of May, was at about 550, rose on a sudden so prodigiously, that on *Thursday*, the 2d of June, it came up to 890. Many cautious persons being willing to take this opportunity to secure their great profits, there appeared the next day so many Sellers in the Alley, that, by two or three o'clock in the afternoon, the stock fell to 640; at which the chief Directors of the *South-Sea* Company being alarmed, set their agents to work, by whose artful management the stock was the same evening advanced to 750; about which price, with some small fluctuation, it continued till the closing of the Company's books on the 22d of June. In the mean time, the *South-Sea* stock suffered a considerable shock. For many persons, who were to follow the King to *Hanover*, and others, who found a difficulty of making their second payment to the first subscription, were both equally desirous to turn their stock into money; so that, for some days, the number of Sellers exceeded that of Buyers. Wherefore the Managers of the Company formed two expedients: The first was their lending out money, or notes, to the Proprietors of their capital stock, to the sum of 400*l.* upon 100*l.* original stock (which shewed it to be worth above that sum) at the rate of 4*l. per cent. per ann.* The second was their giving public notice, 'That all persons possessed of any of the Company's bonds, which fell due on the 25th of June, might then have their money for the same of the Company's Cashier: And that

the Bonds would be taken in on the second payment for the 2,250,000*l. South-Sea* stock, sold by subscription after the rate of 300*l.* for each 100*l.* original stock.' By these means money being plenty, and the Stock-Jobbers in good humour, the *South-Sea* Company opened their books for a third subscription, at the rate of 1000*l.* for each 100*l.* capital stock, to be paid in ten equal payments, one in hand, and the other nine half-yearly. But, some men in power having taken this opportunity to oblige their friends, their lists were so full, that the Directors enlarged it to four millions capital stock, which at that price amounted to forty millions sterling. And, what is more strange, these last subscriptions were, before the end of June, sold at above 200*l. per cent.* advance, and, after the closing of the transfer-books, the original stock rose to above 1000*l. per cent.* At the same time the first subscriptions were at 560, and the second at 610*per cent.* advance, the Bank at 260, and *East-India* 440.

The whole Nation was become Stock-Jobbers. The *South-Sea* was like an infectious distemper, which spread itself in an astonishing manner. Every evening produced new projects, which were justly called *Bubbles*, and new Companies appeared every day. These were countenanced by the greatest of the Nobility. The Prince of Wales was Governor of the *Welsh Copper*; the Duke of Chandos, of *York-Buildings*; the Duke of Bridgewater formed a Company for building houses in *London* and *Westminster*. There were near a hundred different kinds of projects or bubbles; and it was computed, that above a million and a half was won and lost by these unwarrantable practices, by which many unwary persons were defrauded and impoverished, and a few crafty men enriched, to the great detriment of domestic trade. The King had, the same day the Parliament rose, published a proclamation, declaring all these unlawful projects should be deemed as common nuisances, and prosecuted as such; with the penalty of 500*l.* for any Broker to buy or sell any shares in them. Notwithstanding this proclamation, several of the illegal projects were still carried on; upon which the Lords Justices, on the 12th of July, to put a stop to all further proceedings, ordered all the petitions, that had been presented for patents and charters, to be dismissed.

The several sums, intended to be raised by these projects, amounted to no less than three hundred millions sterling, a sum so immense, that it exceeds the value of all the lands in *England*, at the rate of twenty years purchase. However, the eagerness of getting riches, by quick and easy methods, had, at that time, so intoxicated the minds of most people of all degrees, that the most extravagant bubbles found many Subscribers: Some of whom sold their first subscriptions at a great profit, whereby the last Buyers were considerable losers (1).

The transfer-books of the *South-Sea* Company were shut up the whole month of July. During that time, there was no great variation, except only that the price of the capital stock decreased gradually,

(1) How great the general infatuation or thirst of gain was, appears from the following instance: A proposal was offered, 'For carrying on an undertaking of No. 97. VOL. IV.

great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.' The Projector formed a scheme for half a million, by which every Subscriber, paying down two guineas for subscribing,

1720. gradually, from above 1000 to 930, in proportion as the third subscription at a 1000 rose to 330 advance or clear profit. In the mean time, the Directors, at a meeting on the 8th of July, resolved to open their books, for taking in subscriptions of the lottery tickets, and other short annuities, to the amount of six millions sterling: But, though they did not then think fit to declare at what rate they designed to take those effects, yet the Proprietors entirely trusted to their integrity; and readily subscribed the same on the 14th and 15th of that month. After which the books were shut up. From that time to the end of July, the stock fell gradually from about 1000 to 900, including the *Midsummer* dividend. In the mean time, it being confidently reported, that the capital stock was to be enlarged by a fourth subscription in money, some persons in eminent stations desired the principal Managers to put off the subscription, till the Proprietors of the remaining part of the long annuities had subscribed, since the taking in of those public debts, in order to make them redeemable, was the main view, upon which the Ministry and the Parliament thought fit to encourage the *South-Sea* project. Some pretend, that the men in power made this step, not only to free themselves from the importunity of many, who sued to be set down in their lists, for a share in the next subscription; but also, in order to reserve part of the to-be-increased capital stock, till a new set of Directors were chosen, who should have a share in the profits of future subscriptions, in case the humour of buying up the same at an advanced price should last so long. However that be, in a Committee of the Directors the 27th of July, it being considered, that several persons, admitted as Subscribers to the third subscription in money, had not yet made their first payment, it was resolved, that none but the Proprietors of their capital and increased stock should be admitted into the next subscription in money, at the rate of 20 per cent; so that a Proprietor of 1000*l.* capital stock should be intitled to subscribe 200*l.* In this resolution, they, who hitherto had carried on this great project with equal skill and success, had undoubtedly two things in view; first, to allay the murmurings of many of the old Proprietors, who complained, that the Directors and Great Men at Court had engrossed for themselves and their dependants most of the profits of the three first subscriptions. And, secondly, That, in case the eagerness of Buyers should abate, which was to be apprehended from the daily sinking of the price of *South-Sea* stock, the Company might be assured, that the new Subscribers would make the several payments, to which they should submit themselves, and for which their capital stock would be a sufficient security. On the other hand, many of the old Proprietors were so far from looking upon this resolution as a favour, that, on the contrary, they did not stick to say, 'That the Directors, having had the cream for themselves, would now give the Proprietors the fowre milk.' This complaint

seemed to be the better grounded, because it was well known, that those, who had got most by the *South-Sea*, daily endeavoured to sell out, and secure their vast profits; and, in particular, that the principal Projector of this scheme had bought considerable estates in *Norfolk* and other Counties.

Pursuant to what had been desired, it was resolved on the 3d of August, at a Court of Directors, to receive subscriptions of all the remaining long and short annuities, lottery tickets, and other public securities, both redeemable and irredeemable. For which purpose the books were opened the next day at the *South-Sea* House, and continued so till the 11th of August. The day after the Directors published the terms they intended to allow to the Proprietors. For every 100*l.* a year of the long annuities, they offered 400*l.* in the capital stock, which at 800*l.* per cent. (the price then of stock, exclusive of the *Midsummer* dividend) amounted to 3200, and in bonds or money 400*l.* making in all 3600*l.* or 36 years purchase. For every 90*l.* a year of the short annuities they allowed 200*l.* stock, which at 800*l.* per cent. amounted to 1600*l.* or 17 years purchase, and 7 ninths. The redeemable annuities and debts (as well as those at 4 per cent. as those at 5 per cent.) were to be taken in at 105 per cent. and allowed for the same in capital stock at the rate of 800*l.* per cent. exclusive of the *Midsummer* dividend.

Many of the Annuityants were not satisfied with these offers, which, they said, put so great a disparity (no less than near half by half) between them and the former Subscribers; for, by the resolution of the Directors of the 19th of May, there was allowed, for every 100*l.* a year of the long annuities, 700*l.* in the capital stock, besides 10*l.* per cent. for the *Midsummer* dividend, and, in bonds or money, 575*l.* all which (computing the stock at 800*l.* per cent. as it was given to the present Subscribers of the like annuities) amounted to 6735*l.* whereas, by these last resolutions, there was allowed, for the same annuity, only 3600*l.* For this reason some of the last Subscribers went to the *South-Sea* House, in order to withdraw their effects; but they were told by the Clerks, that there was no order from the Directors for delivering them back; so the affair rested, for some time, undetermined.

The uneasiness of the Annuityants put a fresh damp upon the *South-Sea* stock; but what affected it more was the boldness of many persons concerned in the illegal projects, who, in open defiance to the late Acts of Parliament, to the King's Proclamation, and to the Orders and Prohibitions of the Lords Justices, carried them on. Some of these Companies, authorised either by Charters or Acts of Parliament, did considerable prejudice to the *South-Sea*, by endeavouring to procure subscriptions. Upon this, the principal Directors of the *South-Sea* applied to those at the Helm, and obtained an order against them from the Lords Justices, which was first published in the *London Gazette* of August the 20th, and which greatly affected the stocks of the *York-Buildings Company*, the *Lyspring Company*, the

scribing, was to have 100*l.* a year for every 100*l.* so subscribed. But how this was to be done did not appear in the proposals, where it was also said, that in a month the particulars of the project should be laid open

and the money subscribed was then to be paid in. As extravagant as this scheme was, the Projector in a forenoon received 1000 subscriptions, with which, amounting to 2000 guineas, he went off in the afternoon.

1720. *English Copper, and the Welsh Copper and Lead*, and of other illegal projects. This very much alarmed the persons concerned in these Companies, some of whom sustained considerable losses, and all of them saw their extravagant hopes and expectations entirely vanish. Upon the murmurings occasioned by their disappointment, the Lords Justices ordered the Directors of these Companies to attend them at a General Council, the 23d of *August*, where they condescended to tell them the reasons, that had obliged them to order a prosecution against them. The Directors both of the *Royal Exchange*, and of the *London Assurance*, attended likewise, and were cautioned to keep strictly to the limitation of their Charters, that no complaint might lie against them.

The Companies ordered to be prosecuted having recovered their fright, and consulted able Lawyers, seemed resolved to stand trial, and assert their rights of managing their own affairs as they pleased. The *Welsh Copper Miners* were yet more bold and refractory, for that very day (*August* 23.) they opened their books, and made transfers of their stock.

Before the Lords Justices had caused their order to be published, they sent a compliment to the Prince of *Wales*, to acquaint him, that, the Company of *English Copper*, of which he had been pleased to be chosen Governor, being illegal, they were obliged to involve it in the order; upon which the Prince sent a message to the Company, desiring them to choose another Governor.

All this while the *South-Sea* stock continued sinking; so that on the 17th of *August*, it fell to 830, including the *Midsummer* dividend; which having given the Directors no small uneasiness, some of their agents were immediately detached into *Exchange-Alley*, to buy a considerable quantity of stock, which thereupon rose to 880. But, the humour of selling our continuing the two following days, the stocks fell again to about 820, at which price the transfer-books were opened on the 22d of *August*. That day, and the next morning, there was a great croud at the *South-Sea House*; and the Directors observing, that great quantities of stock had been bought at a thousand, and even at higher rates, for the opening of the books, and that many persons would be obliged to sell out, in order to pay the difference, which could not fail sinking the stock yet lower; they came to a sudden and unexpected resolution to shut the transfer-books; and the next day to open other books, for taking in a money subscription of one million, to the capital stock, at the rate of 1000*l.* for every 100*l.* capital stock, to be paid in five payments, 20*l.* per cent. in hand, and the rest in four equal payments. Accordingly the subscription-books were opened the 24th of *August*; and there was such a croud of Subscribers, and amongst them not a few of the prime Nobility, that in less than three hours, more than the intended sum was subscribed; and that very afternoon this fourth subscription was sold in *Exchange-Alley* at 30 or 40 per cent. advance. The next day the principal Directors, having consulted together about their future management, came to several resolutions, of which, that very evening, they informed the Public by the following advertisement:

South-Sea House, August 25th, 1720.

'The Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company give notice, that the transfer-books of the company will be shut from the 31st day of *August* to the 21st of *September*, in order to the admitting as well the Proprietors of the original capital stock, and of the stock for the last *Midsummer* dividend, as the Proprietors of the stock for all the long annuities, 9 per cent, and tickets of lottery 1710, and of the several redeemable debts, which have been subscribed or deposited, or authorized to be subscribed into the capital stock, and also the Proprietors of the first, second, third, and fourth money subscriptions of the Company into a subscription of 20 per cent. of the capital stock, upon the terms agreed upon by the Court of Directors. The Company will lend the first payment for the intended subscription to all the proprietors of the original and dividend stock, and of the subscription in the long annuities, 9 per cent, and tickets of lottery 1710, and in the redeemable debts; and of the first and second money subscriptions, without transferring their stock, or depositing the subscription receipts; which subscription books will be opened on the 12th of *September*; and such of the Proprietors, as do not subscribe within that time, will be excluded the benefit of the subscription.'

The next day (*August* the 26th) the transfer-books were opened again; but, the *South-Sea* stock, instead of advancing, being by this time fallen under 800, the Directors, who had now large sums of money in their hands, thought fit to lend to their proprietors 4000*l.* upon every 1000*l.* stock for six months, at the rate of 4 per cent. which enabled some of those, who had bought stock at a higher price than the present, to satisfy their creditors. What still embarrassed the Directors was the case of the *Annuity*ants, and others, who had lately subscribed their public securities, and who thought it a great hardship to have the stock given them at 800*l.* per cent. when it was now little above 700, exclusive of the *Midsummer* dividend. In order to silence these and the like murmurings, after a long consultation, on the 30th of *August*, the Directors came to a resolution, 'That 30 per cent. in money should be the half-year's dividend due at *Christmas* next; and from thence for twelve years, not less than 50 per cent, in money should be the yearly dividend on their stock.' What effect this resolution had, was soon after manifested; for though it raised the stock to about 800 for the opening of the books, yet it soon sunk again, and in about three weeks fell gradually below 400.

The Directors, having resolved the future dividends, thought it time to procure the sanction of the whole Corporation; for which purpose they appointed (*Sept.* 8.) a General Court to be held at *Merchant-Taylor's-Hall*, declaring, That this Assembly would be one of the half-yearly General Courts appointed by the Charter; and to chuse a Committee of seven, to inspect the by-laws.

On the appointed day, the friends of the Directors took care to repair betimes to *Merchant-Taylor's Hall*, which, by nine o'clock in the morning, was filled; and many Proprietors and *Annuity*ants, who endeavoured to get in, could

not

1720. not gain admittance. The Directors having taken their seats between eleven and twelve of the Clock, Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor, acquainted the Assembly with the occasion of their meeting; read to them the several resolutions of the Court of Directors; and gave them an account of their proceedings; of the taking in both the redeemable and unredeemable funds, and of the subscriptions in money. This done, Mr *Craggs* senior made a short speech, wherein he commended the conduct of the Directors; and urged, that nothing could more effectually contribute to the bringing this scheme to perfection than union among themselves; and concluded with a motion, for thanking the Court of Directors for their prudent and skillful management, and for desiring them to proceed in such methods, as they should think most proper for the interest and advantage of the Corporation.

Mr *Craggs* was seconded by Mr *Hungerford*, who said, 'That he had seen the rise and fall, the decay and resurrection of many Communities of this nature; but that, in his opinion, none ever performed such wonderful things in so short a time, as the *South-Sea* Managers had brought about: That they had done more than the Crown, the Pulpit, and the Magistrate could do: For they had reconciled all parties in one common interest, and thereby laid asleep, if not wholly extinguished, our domestic jars and animosities: That by the rise of their stocks the monied-men had vastly increased their fortunes; the Country Gentlemen had seen the value of their lands doubled and trebled in their hands; and they had, at the same time, done good to the Church, not a few of the Reverend Clergy having got great sums by this project: That, in short, they had enriched the whole Nation; and he hoped they had not forgot themselves.' One or two Members of the Assembly having offered to speak in favour of the Annuity-men, and to censure the conduct of the Directors, they were presently hissed to silence; and Mr *Hungerford*, refusing his speech, continued justifying and applauding the Directors, and concluded with supporting Mr *Craggs*'s motion. The Duke of *Portland* spoke on the same side, and said, 'That he did not know what reasons any body had to be dissatisfied; and gave in a draught of the motion for returning thanks to the Directors; which being read by the Clerk, it was unanimously approved. It was likewise agreed, that, according to the resolution of the Directors, 'the next *Christmas* dividend on the stock and subscriptions in money should be 30 per cent; and that a dividend of not less than 50 per cent, *per annum* be made from *Christmas* next, in half-yearly payments, for not less than twelve years, upon the whole stock and subscriptions.' They likewise agreed with the Court of Directors to omit the 20 per cent. subscription in money, which had been intended for the Proprietors of the original stock and former subscriptions. After which a motion was made, 'That the last Subscribers, both of the redeemable and unredeemable funds, should have the alternative, either to withdraw their orders, or to accept the terms offered them by the Court of Directors.' But, the question being put, it was carried in the negative, three or four voices excepted. Then, upon the Earl

of *Orkney*'s motion, the General Court was adjourned. 1720.

But, though the Directors carried their main point in the General Court, yet the negative put upon the motion, in the behalf of the last Subscribers, highly increased the public discontent, and raised such a distrust of the honesty of the Managers, that the same day (*Sept. 8.*) the stock fell to 640, and, on the morrow, to 550. Upon this, the Directors resolved to open the transfer-books the *Monday* following, which having thrown some damp upon the stock-jobbing in the Alley, the *South-Sea* rose that day (*Sept. 9.*) to 640. On the other hand, several of the last Subscribers of annuities went with a Public Notary to the *South-Sea-House*, to demand their orders; and, upon the refusal of the Officers to deliver them, the Proprietors made their protests in due form, and resolved to seek their remedy at law. In the mean time, they loudly complained of the unfair manner, in which they were drawn in to subscribe their annuities; for, it seems, at the top of every page of the subscription-book, there was a short letter of Attorney, whereby the Subscribers impowered three persons, therein named, to accept such terms, as the Company should think fit to give them for their effects; which they alledged to be a mere trick, not one in a hundred of the Subscribers having read the ensnaring preamble.

On the 10th of *September*, the Directors caused the following advertisement to be published, 'The Court of Directors give notice, that the dividends for *Christmas* next, and afterwards, voted by the General Court on the 8th of *September*, which shall become due on the four money-subscriptions already taken for sale of the stock of the Company, will be allowed in part of the payments, which shall become due on the subscriptions; and that the 10 per cent. stock for the last *Midsummer* dividend, on the first, second, and third of the money subscriptions, will be intited to the like dividends, and be allowed in further part of the payment on those subscriptions. And whereas the transfer-books of the Company were advertised to be shut from the 31st of *August* last to the 21st of *September*, in order to the making the subscriptions of 20 per cent. intended for the Proprietors; and the General Court having since agreed, that this subscription be omitted, the Court of Directors give notice, that the transfer-books will be opened on the 12th instant, and will continue open as usual.'

Some of the Managers vainly expected, that this advertisement would have contributed to the keeping up the stock; but, as it continued sinking, they were obliged to have recourse to more effectual methods. They made some secret advances towards an union with the *East-India* Company; but, a secret Committee of that Company, appointed to consider of their offers, not having thought proper to accept them, they were forced to court the assistance of their rival, the Bank of *England*. At the earnest desire, and by the zealous interposition of Mr Secretary *Craggs*, several Conferences were held between a select number of the Directors of those two Corporations; which raised so great an expectation, that on the 12th of *September*, in the morning, upon a report, that they had come to an agreement for circulating six millions of the

Scrub.

1720. *South-Sea* Company's bonds, the stock rose immediately to 670; but in the afternoon, as soon as that report was known to be groundless, the stock fell again to 580; the next day to 570, and so gradually to 400; which increased the murmurings and complaints of the last Subscribers, and exposed several of the Directors to public insults.

Account of the Bank contract. Mr Walpole (who was Paymaster of the Army, and lived the greatest part of that summer in the Country, to avoid giving offence to those that had, with the Directors, the management of the *South-Sea* affairs) being then thought to have great credit and influence with the Bank, was sent for out of the Country, and importuned to use his interest to induce the Bank to agree to a proposal made by the *South-Sea* Company, for circulating a number of their bonds.

It is to be observed that nothing of this kind arose from the Bank, or was at their motion: And, as far as it appears, nothing but an apprehension of the people's resentment, with which they were loudly threatened, could have prevailed with the Bank to have treated at all with the *South-Sea* Company, and involve themselves in their calamities. But the clamour was irresistible, and the Bank, out of necessity, hearkened to the proposals of the *South-Sea* Company; for from them every step and motion proceeded.

The first expedient was for the Bank to circulate bonds of the *South-Sea* Company to a certain value for a time to be agreed upon, and a proposal to that effect was, on the 16th of September, sent to the Bank by the Sub and Deputy Governors of the *South-Sea* Company.

This not being relished immediately, it was proposed, that there should be a meeting of a Committee consisting of five of each Company at the Post-Master's house, where were likewise present, Lord President, Mr Secretary Craggs, the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and Mr Craggs, Post-Master-General (1). The meeting was on the 19th of September, three days after the proposal.

This Conference lasted many hours with great reluctance on the part of the Bank, but was pressed with so much eagerness and authority on the other side, that the Bank was prevailed upon to yield.

It was thought proper, before they parted, that something should be reduced into writing, as a minute of the substance of what had been under consideration, and to serve as a foundation of a future agreement or contract between the two Companies.

There was some little dispute who should draw the minute, but it being the general desire of the Company, that Mr Walpole should do it, in the presence of the whole meeting, he put down in writing what has ever since been called, *The Bank Contract*, and which was in the following words, 'That the Bank of England shall undertake to circulate three millions of *South-Sea* bonds for one year, at a premium to

be agreed upon by the two Companies; a subscription to be taken, for enabling the Bank to carry on the circulation—*per cent.* to be paid down by every Subscriber, and—*per cent.* upon every call at a fortnight's notice; the contract with the Subscribers to be made in the nature and form with former Contracts for circulating *Exchequer* bills, and the charges of circulation to be borne by the *South-Sea* Company. That, in consideration of this undertaking, the *South-Sea* Company shall pay the 3,700,000*l.* to be paid to the Bank by notice of Parliament, in *South-Sea* stock, at a price to be agreed on between the two Companies.

This paper (which was all that Mr Walpole ever wrote relating to the affair; for at the other meetings he was never once present) had no title or preamble, signifying what it imported; The premium for circulating, and what was to be paid down for the circulation, was left blank, and the most material part of the whole, at what price the Bank was to take the *South-Sea* stock for 3,700,000*l.* was referred to a subsequent agreement. So it could not with any propriety be called a *contract*, but rather a rough draught of an agreement void of all form or any manner of obligation.

The next day after this meeting (Sept. 20.) there was a General Court of the *South-Sea* Company at *Merchant-Tailors-Hall*, where Sir John Fellows, the Sub-Governor, acquainted them, 'That, since their last meeting, their stock having taken an unexpected turn to the disadvantage of the Company, the Directors had been consulted what might be most for the benefit of the Corporation; and considering the great credit the Bank of England had justly gained, both at home and abroad, they had thought it for their interest to treat with that Company, for the circulating their bonds, and to grant them stock at a moderate price, in lieu of the 3,700,000*l.* which the *South-Sea* Company was to pay them at *Lady-Day*, and *Michaelmas*, 1721. And that from the result of the meeting they had the night before with some Gentlemen of the Bank, and some persons of the first rank, they doubted not but such an agreement might soon be perfected.' Hereupon Mr Dawson moved, 'That the Directors be empowered to agree with the Bank of England, or any other persons, to circulate the Company's bonds, or make any other agreement with the Bank, which they should judge proper.' And he was seconded by Sir John Eyles. Hereupon Mr Hungerford moved for amending the latter part of the question, by making express mention of that other agreement. But Mr Pulteney spoke for the question, and thought it best to use a latitude of expression, and so leave the Directors at liberty to act as they should think proper for the interest of the Company. He added, 'That it was a matter of surprize to see what a panic had seized upon the minds of the people, at a time when the Nation was in profound peace, and had

(1) The five Directors of the *South-Sea* were:

Sir John Fellows, Sub-Governor,
Charles Foye, Deputy-Governor,
Sir Theodore Janssen,
Mr Gore,
Mr Chester.

No. 96, Vol. IV.

The five Bank Directors were:

Mr Hanger, Governor,
Sir John Ward,
Sir Gilbert Heathcote,
Sir Peter Delmé,
Sir Nathaniel Gould.

7 T

1720. had nothing to fear, either at home or from abroad. That, indeed, a rumour had been universally spread, as if the armament of the *Spaniards* was designed either against *Port-Mabon* or *Gibraltar*; but that he took that report to be altogether false and groundless, and only intended to scandalize that Potentate, and to terrify the people here; for he himself had seen and perused a copy of a letter, written by the express command of the King of *Spain* by his Secretary of State, to the *British* Minister at *Madrid*, absolutely denying, in the strongest terms, any designs of the *Spanish* forces against any of his *Britannic Majesty's* Dominions. That he was as much concerned in the Company as most people; but that, notwithstanding this general and terrible alarm, he had not disposed of any part of his stock; for he would think it a scandal to be rich, if the Nation were ruined. That, however, he hoped the case would be quite otherwise; and he doubted not but the Company would soon be restored to its former flourishing condition, since it was like to be supported by the Bank of *England*, a Corporation, who by wife, though slow and cautious, measures, had established its credit, not only at home, but even among foreigners. Upon this the question was unanimously agreed to. Sir *John Fellows* then farther acquainted the Assembly, 'That, the Proprietors of the several annuities lately subscribed, as well as those interested in the two last money-subscriptions, being very much dissatisfied, fearing thereby to be great losers, the Directors had thought it proper, that the terms should be lowered to make them easy.' Whereupon Sir *Matthew Decker* moved, 'That power be given to the Directors, to relieve the Annuitants, who came in upon the last subscription; as likewise the Proprietors of the third and fourth money-subscriptions.' He was seconded by Mr *Craggs* senior, who, among other things, said, 'That nothing could be more reasonable and just, than to give satisfaction to people, who had trusted their fortunes and estates with the Company, and that it would be a notorious robbery to take any advantage of their confidence in the honour and integrity of the Directors.' This gave occasion to Mr *Budgel* to reflect, in a speech, on the prodigious leap from a subscription of 400*l.* to one of a 1000*l.* which left such a gap in the building, as would at last bring it to the ground. He then observed, that the fall of the stock was owing to the malicious rumour, that two or three of the very Directors had basely betrayed the trust reposed in them. When he had done speaking, Mr *Chester*, one of the Directors, spoke in vindication of his Brethren, and said, 'That he knew of no proceedings among them, but what were intended for the good of the whole Company: That, for his own part, he had not sold any of his stock, nor referred to himself any more of the subscriptions, than what was allowed to each of the Directors; and that his fortune would have been as large, if he had not been a Director: That, as to the great gap between the second and third subscription in money, which was objected as a wrong step in the management of the Company's affairs, he could assure them, that it was none of the Directors fault, since they designed to have made the third subscription at five or six hundred; but, the humour and eagerness of the people having run

up the *South-Sea* stock to seven or eight hundred, 1720. they could not in prudence open a subscription at less than a thousand.' The Assembly seemed to be very well pleased with Mr *Chester's* speech; but many wondered, that none of his Brethren took that opportunity to clear themselves, as he had done. Upon the whole matter, the Court unanimously agreed to the question for relieving the last Subscribers, and then adjourned.

Two days after, Sept. 22, there was a General Court of the Bank of *England*, when the Governor acquainted them, that this was one of their quarterly and half-yearly meetings, and that their Directors had come to a resolution to declare the last half-yearly dividend at four per cent; to which the Court having unanimously agreed, the Governor proceeded, saying, 'He presumed, none could be ignorant there had of late been divers Meetings and Conferences between the Directors of this Company, and the Directors of the *South-Sea*, under the influence and interposition of some persons of the highest figure and station: That they had made no agreement yet with the *South-Sea*; but that the Directors had thought fit to come to a resolution upon the matter. Then the resolution was read; and, without any person's speaking to it, was immediately formed into a question to this effect: 'That, for the better support of the public credit, the Directors of the Bank of *England* be empowered to agree with the Directors of the *South-Sea*, to circulate their bonds to what sum, and upon what terms, and for what time, they shall think proper; and to make what other agreements with the *South-Sea*, they shall judge to be for the interest of this Corporation.' Which question was instantly agreed to with great unanimity. Then the Governor acquainted them, that he believed books would be ready for a subscription to be taken in the next day, for the purpose aforesaid, and that it would be on the usual terms, 15 per cent. deposit, 3 per cent. premium, and 5 per cent. interest; and then the Court adjourned.

The Directors of the two Companies being thus empowered, a Committee of both met on the 23d of September, and a proposal was made by one of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, 'That the 3,700,000*l.* which the *South-Sea* Company was to repay to the Bank at *Lady-Day*, and *Michaelmas*, 1721) should be subscribed by the Bank into the stock of the *South-Sea* Company, for which the Bank was to have such shares as the funds would produce, the stock being valued at 400*l.* per cent.'

This proposal was the next day reported at a Court of Directors of the Bank; and, being agreed to, was the same day communicated, by a Director of the Bank, to the Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company.

This, in short, is the History of the famous *Bank Contract* which has made so much noise. The substance of all which is, that, in the day of distress, the Bank was thought the only resource to support the sinking state of the *South-Sea* Company. Every one that was thought capable of giving any assistance was called in: At the first Conference Mr *Walpole* assisted, and the Bank was persuaded to undertake what was proposed to them: The first part of the proposition, and, indeed, the original proposal for circulating the bonds upon which the first Conference was held, was dropped by the *South-Sea* Company;

1720. Company; and the last article of taking *South-Sea* stock at 400 *l. per cent.* was carried on, and accepted by a Committee of the Bank: And this example, it was hoped, by the Managers of the *South-Sea* affairs, would fix the price of *South-Sea* stock at that rate: But they were soon convinced, by the daily fall of the stock, that this expedient would not answer: And the Bank quickly found, they had been prevailed upon to consent to what they were not able to perform, as will presently be seen.

When the books were opened at the Bank for taking in a subscription for the support of public credit, the concourse of people, who readily brought in their money, was at first so very great, that it was judged, the whole subscription (which was intended for three millions) would have been filled that very day: But it happened, that the fall of the *South-Sea* stock, and the discredit of that Company's bonds, occasioned a run upon the most eminent Goldsmiths and Bankers, some of whom having lent out great sums upon *South-Sea* stock, and other public securities, were obliged to shut up their shops, and abscond. The Sword-Blade Company (who hitherto had been the chief Cash-keepers of the *South-Sea* Company) being almost drained of their ready money, were forced to stop payment, and set up at their Office written bills, giving notice, 'That they would pay any of their notes in *South-Sea* stock at four hundred *per cent.* or pay part in cash on the Monday following, and give five *per cent.* interest on the rest till paid; and that they would take their own notes in payment for the monies they had lent.' This, being looked upon as a kind of Bankruptcy, increased the public calamity, and occasioned a great run upon the Bank, who were obliged to pay out money faster than they received it upon the subscription. But the festival of *Michaelmas*, on which the Bank was shut of course, gave it some breathing-time.

In the mean time, *South-Sea* stock continued sinking till *Michaelmas* day, when it was about 150, at which price it was on the 2d of February, the day after the House of Commons accepted the proposals of the *South-Sea* Company; whose low credit appeared yet more plainly in that their bonds, payable on *Michaelmas*, 1721, were now at above 25 *per cent.* discount.

Pursuant to a former resolution for relieving the last Subscribers, a General Court was held the 30th of September, wherein, after the agreement with the Bank was ratified, it was resolved that the Proprietors of the redeemable debts taken in on the last subscriptions should be allowed, for

their several interests in the funds, the same terms, in all respects, as the Bank; and that the last subscription of the long annuities should be valued at 32 years purchase; and of the short at 17 years purchase; to be paid for in stock at 400 *per cent.* and be intitled to the last *Midsummer* dividend: And that all the Annuitants should be allowed the interest of their annuities to the 29th of September. It was also agreed, that the third subscription, which was taken at 1000 *per cent.* should be reduced to 400 *per cent.* and the subscription receipts given out accordingly.

That the 100 *per cent.* already paid should be taken in part of the payment; and that the remaining 300 *per cent.* should be paid in nine payments, whereof the three next payments to be at 40 *per cent.* each, and the other six payments at 30 *per cent.* at six months distance from each other; the first payment of 40 *per cent.* to be the 2d of July, 1721. It was also agreed, that the fourth subscription, which was taken at 1000 *per cent.* whereof 200 *per cent.* was paid down, should be also reduced to 400 *per cent.* and that the remaining 200 *per cent.* should be paid in eight equal payments of 25 *per cent.* each, the first of which was to be the 26th of September, 1721, and the remaining payments, at six months distance from each other. That interest should be allowed to the Company from *Michaelmas*, 1720, after the rate of 5 *per cent. per ann.* to the respective times of payment of the said third and fourth subscriptions: And that the 10 *per cent.* dividend at *Midsummer* should be also allowed on the third and fourth subscriptions. That the Proprietors of the receipts of all the money subscriptions should be allowed, in part of their payments, the several dividends, that should be made on the stock of the Company, till their payments were completed. That 5 *per cent.* interest be allowed on all the Company's bonds from the 29th instant, till they should become due; and that any of the Company's bonds should be taken as money in the fourth payment of the first subscription, which would become due on the 14th of October (1).

These resolutions gave no satisfaction to the Annuitants, nor put the least stop to the fall of the *South-Sea* stock. The Bank finding they were not able to stem the tide, without exposing the properties of their own Principals and Adventurers to be carried away and lost in the common deluge, they wisely kept themselves out of the general inundation, and did not care to be drowned, with those, they could not save. They resolved to drop an agreement, which they were under no obligation to perform (had it been possible)

(1) It may not be improper to insert here an account of the long and short annuities subscribed or unsubscribed:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
LONG ANNUITIES, <i>per ann.</i> —	666,821	8	3
First Subscription —	427,340	18	9
Second Subscription —	125,392	17	6
Unsubscribed —	114,087	12	0
SHORT ANNUITIES, <i>per ann.</i> —	81,000		
First Subscription —	48,132		
Second Subscription —	18,750		
Unsubscribed —	14,118		

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
LOTTERY ANNUITIES, 1710. —	46,260	6	1
First Subscription —	15,918	4	0
Second Subscription —	14,956	6	0
Unsubscribed —	15,395	16	1
REDEEMABLES —	16,546,482	7	1
Subscribed —	14,391,781	8	0
Unsubscribed —	2,152,694	7	1

1720. fible) and to which the *South-Sea* Company had no power to compel them. On the 10th of November, the Governor of the Bank reported from the Committee appointed to treat with the *South-Sea* Company, that the transactions between the Bank and that Company had been laid before Counsel, on behalf of the Bank; and that, the *South-Sea* Company pressing for an answer of what had been done therein, the Governor of the Bank had acquainted the Deputy-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, that the Committee did not think fit, for the present, to proceed further in that affair, and had delivered to him in writing the following answer:

‘When the proposition was offered by the Lords, at the meeting of the Committees of both Companies, as a suitable expedient for the support of public credit, the Court of Directors of the Bank shewed their readiness to join in any measures, that might tend to the service of the public.

‘But, some difficulties appearing to the Committee of the Bank, they had consulted with their Counsel, and they are advised, that, considering the nature of this transaction, it will not be safe for them to proceed upon the proposition without consent of Parliament.

‘However, they think it reasonable, that, in the mean time, the Committee of the *South-Sea* should give the Committee of the Bank some account of their estate, for the satisfaction of their Principals.’

About a week after, the following paper was sent to the Bank from the Lords of the Treasury: ‘My Lords desire, that the difficulties which have arisen (and upon which, they say, they have consulted their own Counsel) concerning the late agreement between them and the *South-Sea* Company, may be put into writing, and delivered to their Lordships, as soon as possible, that their Lordships may receive the opinion of the King’s Counsel.’

To this the following answer was given: ‘The Court of Directors of the Bank have, with the utmost deference, considered the message in writing, which your Lordships were pleased to send them, and they humbly apprehend, they cannot better explain themselves, than they have already done, in the manner they have given to the *South-Sea* Company, a copy whereof was delivered to your Lordships, which contains the substance of what they consulted with their Counsel thereupon.’

Thus ended the transactions between the two Companies, which (as it has been suggested) were carried on by the Authors and Promoters of them, with a design to take advantage of the first rumour of this supposed agreement, and draw in unwary persons, who, desirous to retrieve their losses, were induced to buy stock at the price, the Bank had agreed to take it. Those who had countenanced and run into every part of the *South-Sea* scheme, and were consequently deeply involved, were justly suspected of having contrived and taken advantage of the contract; by which means great numbers of deluded people were undone.

Thus, in the space of eight months, were seen the rise, progress, and fall of that mighty fabric, which, being wound up by mysterious springs to a wonderful height, had fixed the eyes and expectations of all Europe, but whose

foundation being fraud, illusion, credulity, and insatiation, fell to the ground, as soon as the artful management of the Projectors was discovered. The ebb of this swollen fluctuating credit returned with greater violence than it flowed, and carried every thing before it with that precipitation, that the application of the Ministers of State, and the Directors of the great Companies, jointly and separately to stop it, were ineffectual. Express after express was sent to *Hanover*, to give the King information of the state of affairs, which was so urgent, that the King set out for *England* sooner than he intended, and arrived at *London* the 11th of November.

The *South-Sea* stock, which was 200 at the King’s arrival, fell again upon the prorogation of the Parliament, from the 25th of November to the 8th of December, to 135; but, on a report that the Ministry had agreed with the principal Directors of the *South-Sea*, the Bank, and *East-India* Company, upon a project, which would very much conduce to the restoration of the public credit, it rose again to 210. But whatever the Ministers concerted, for that end, was frustrated by the Managers of the *South-Sea* Company, who published an advertisement in the *London Gazette*, ‘That the bonds of the *South-Sea* Company would be taken in repayment of the money on all loans made by the Company. That the bonds would be likewise taken in all future payments on the subscription receipts: And that all persons, who were willing to make their subscription capital stock, might do the same, by making the remaining payments in the bonds of the Company. This advertisement was generally looked upon as very extraordinary, since it was unreasonable to expect, either the borrowers of 400*l.* on 100*l.* capital stock absolutely transferred, or subscribers at 400*l.* should make repayments and remaining payments at a time, when *South-Sea* stock was under 200.

The squadron, which had been sent to the *Baltic* under the command of Sir John Norris, returned to *England*, and arrived at *Orford* on the 20th of November, all but the *Monk*; a fifty gun ship, which struck on the *Colston Sand* near *Tarmouth*, and was lost; but most of her crew was saved by boats from *Colston*.

The Parliament being met, pursuant to their last prorogation, on the 8th of December, the King went to the House of Peers, and, by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor, made the following speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“SINCE we last parted, the face of our affairs abroad is become more favourable. The peace in the *South* only wants the form of a Congress; and that of the *North* is brought much nearer to a conclusion. I shall, at a proper time, order the several treaties I have made, to be laid before you; by which you will perceive the success of our endeavours to establish a peace throughout Europe, and to secure and support the Protestant Religion. At the same time I can never sufficiently express my concern for the unhappy turn of affairs, which has so much affected the public credit at home.

Gentlemen

1720.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you consider of the most effectual and speedy methods to restore the national credit, and fix it upon a lasting foundation. You will, I doubt not, be assisted in so commendable and necessary a work by every man, that loves his Country, and especially by the several great Societies of this Kingdom. I hope you will, on this occasion, remember, that all your prudence, your temper, and resolution are necessary to find out and apply the proper remedies to our misfortunes; which will, if you succeed, serve to increase that reputation you have so justly acquired, particularly if you shall be able, notwithstanding these difficulties, to discharge a part of the public debt. I have ordered the several estimates to be laid before you of the expence of the ensuing year; and must desire you to dispatch the Supplies necessary for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I am glad to observe to you, that our trade does appear to have been more extended this year than in the preceding one. We have the most flourishing Navy of any Nation whatsoever to protect it. And I hope you will turn your thoughts to the best methods for the securing and enlarging of our Commerce. You may depend on my hearty concurrence to all such provisions, as shall appear to you necessary for the good of my people."

Address of the Lords.

The Lords, without any debate, unanimously agreed to congratulate the King in an address, for the near prospect of a general peace, and to thank him for his endeavours to secure and maintain the Protestant Religion. To this were added assurances of their utmost assistance towards attaining those great ends, and of their zealous concurrence in all measures for restoring public credit, and enlarging the commerce of these Kingdoms.

Debate on the address of the Commons.

The Commons, who were more concerned than the Peers in the fall of the *South Sea* Company, and in the subsequent calamities, were not so peaceable. Mr *Pulteney* made a motion for an address, to thank the King for the near prospect of peace, and for his tender concern for the misfortunes of his people, occasioned by the unhappy turn of affairs; and to assure him, that the House would proceed with all possible care, prudence, and temper, to inquire into the causes of these misfortunes, and apply the proper remedies for restoring and fixing public credit upon solid and lasting foundations. This motion being seconded by Mr *Pelham* and some others, Mr *Shippen* proposed, after the words for restoring public credit, to add, as far as it is consistent with the honour of Parliaments, the interest of the Nation, and the principles of Justice. Mr *Shippen* gave his reasons for this addition, urging, "That, in order effectually to remedy the present misfortunes, it was absolutely necessary to maintain the honour and faith of parliamentary engagements, and to shew the highest resentment against those, who, abusing the trust reposed in them, had given so fatal a wound to public credit, and enriched themselves by the

No. 97. Vol. IV.

plunder of the Nation. That, in his opinion, the Managers of the *South-Sea* project were not the most criminal, since there were those above them, whose duty it was to overlook and direct their proceedings, and who ought to have given a seasonable check to that extremity of folly, by which the *South-Sea* stock and the subscriptions were advanced to an extravagant rate: Adding, that, had those at the helm interposed in the affair of the *South-Sea*, as they did in the case of the two assurances and other projects, they would have prevented that dismal calamity, which has since befallen the Nation.^a The Lord *Moleworth*, who spoke with great vehemence on the same side, examined the King's speech, and made remarks upon it: He said, "He was glad they were told, *That the peace in the South only wanted the form of a Congress*, which gave him hopes, that the difficulties started by *Spain*, in relation to *Gibraltar*, were at last surmounted, and that we were like to preserve that important conquest of the preceding war, together with *Port-Mahon*, which would make us some amends for the great expence of blood and treasure we had lately been at, to conquer *Sicily* for the House of *Austria*." When he came to speak of the *South-Sea* calamity, he said, "That, before they considered of proper remedies, they ought to inquire into the cause and nature of the distemper: That it is with the body politic, as with the body natural; and therefore they ought to imitate skilful Surgeons, who, in order to cure a wound, begin with probing it; and, when they find it necessary, make incisions before they apply healing plaisters; and that they, who followed a contrary method, are but mere empirics, who by using palliatives make the sore fester, and endanger the life of the patient. He owned it had by some been suggested, that there was no law to punish the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, who were justly looked upon as the immediate authors of the present misfortunes: But that, in his opinion, they ought, on this occasion, to follow the example of the ancient *Romans*, who having no law against parricide, because their legislators supposed no son could be so unnaturally wicked, as to imbrue his hands in his father's blood, made one to punish so heinous a crime, as soon as it happened to be committed; and adjudged the guilty wretch to be thrown alive, sewn up in a sack, into the *Tyber*. That, as he looked upon the contrivers and executors of the villainous *South-Sea* scheme as the parricides of their Country, he should be satisfied to see them undergo the same punishment.^b

Sir *Jesseph Jekyll* spoke on the same side; and observed, "That as he doubted not, but among the *South-Sea* Directors some might be innocent, and others criminal, so he was of opinion, there were those, who were not Directors, no less, if not more criminal, than the Directors themselves, and who therefore deserved an equal, if not a severer punishment: Adding, that upon extraordinary emergencies, where the laws are deficient, the legislative authority may, and ought to exert itself, and he hoped a *British* Parliament would never want a vindictive power to punish national crimes.^c Mr *Grey Nevill*, Mr *Pitt*, and some others spoke also for the clause offered by Mr *Shippen*. But it was represented by Mr Secretary *Craggs*, Mr *Torke* the Solicitor-General, and Mr *Walpole*. That such a restriction did but ill suit with an address of thanks,

7 U

which

1720.

1720.

which, in their opinion, ought to run in the usual form, and answer in general terms the several heads of the speech from the Throne. That, as to the main drift of the clause, they thought it inconsistent with the rules of prudence, to begin this Session with irritating inquiries: That, if the City of London were on fire, they did not doubt but all wise men would be for extinguishing the flames, and preventing the spreading of the conflagration, before they inquired into the incendiaries. That in like manner, public credit having received a most dangerous wound, and being still in a bleeding condition, they ought to apply a speedy remedy to it; and that afterwards they might inquire into the cause of the present calamity. Mr Walpole, in particular, declared, 'That, for his own part, he had never approved the South-Sea scheme, and was lenient it had done a great deal of mischief. But, since it could not be undone, he thought it the duty of all good men to give their helping hand towards retrieving it: And, that with this view, he had already bestowed some thoughts on a proposal to restore public credit, which, in a proper time, he would submit to the wisdom of the House.' The majority acquiesced in these last reasons; so that, the question being put for inserting Mr Shippen's clause, it passed in the negative by two hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and three. However, the next day a motion being made by Mr Milner for inserting the words, *And for punishing the authors of them (our present misfortunes)*, the same was carried without dividing.

By these first proceedings, it was easy to see that this Session would not be so favourable to the Ministry as the former ones had been, and that the Whigs would hardly be distinguished from the Tories by their votes: These partialities were suspended, and, as it were, annihilated by various other passions, which produced numberless intrigues. Many of the Commons were sincerely touched with the public calamities, or moved by their own private losses: Others, dissatisfied with the Ministry and Court, were pleased to have an opportunity of covering their revenge, with the specious pretence of justice and the public good: Some had in view, by their loud and bitter complaints, to make themselves considerable to the Court, or draw the attention of the opposite party: Others, engaged in the secret practices of the South-Sea Company, had a mind, by an affected severity, to prevent their being suspected: A few there were, who politically concealed, under the appearance of zeal and indignation, their devotion to some of the principal Managers, and sought to be in the Committees of inquiry into those odious affairs, in order to screen the Authors thereof.

Proceedings of the Commons in the South-Sea affair.

However different these views might be, all seemed at first to agree. On the 12th of December, the Commons ordered, that the Directors of the South-Sea should forthwith lay before them an account of all their proceedings; of all the orders they had received from the Treasury; of what money and Exchequer bills they had received since the 25th of December, 1719; of what public debts had been subscribed or discharged, and of what sums of money had been borrowed on account of the Company, since the same time. Nor did the Commons rest here. A few days after, Sir Joseph Jekyll moved, That a select Committee should be appointed, to in-

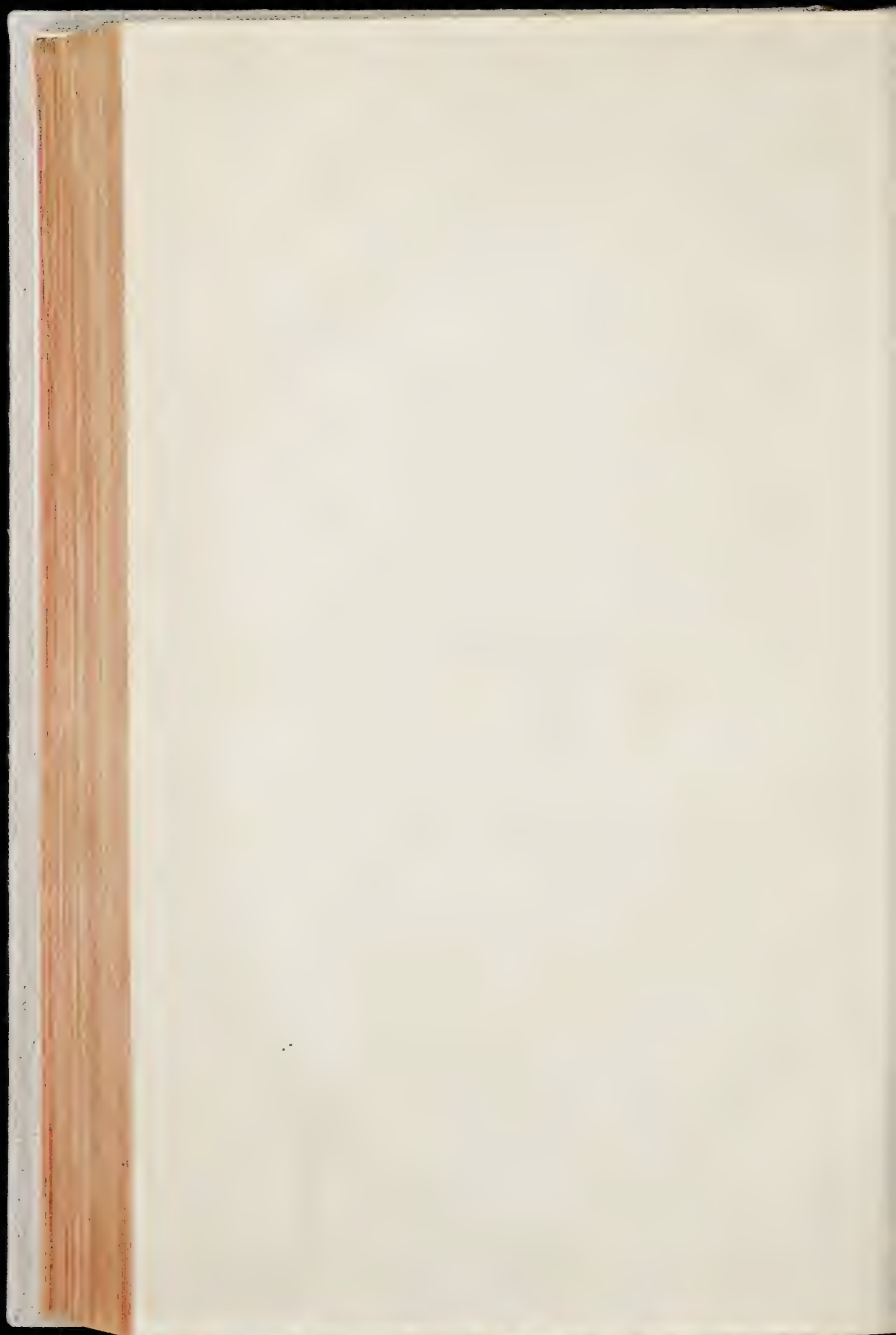
quire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the South-Sea act; but, upon Mr Walpole's representing, that such a method would take up a great deal of time, and that, the public credit being in a bleeding condition, a remedy ought to be applied to it, the motion was not insisted on. After that, Mr Walpole acquainted the House, 'That (as he had hinted a few days before) he had spent some time upon a scheme for restoring public credit; but that, the execution of it depending upon a position, which had been laid as a fundamental, he thought it proper, before he opened the scheme, to be informed, whether he might rely on that main foundation, *Whether the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea Company, should remain in the present state?*' This question, being stated, occasioned a warm debate, particularly in relation to the validity of the second subscription of the redeemable and irredeemable public debts. Sir Joseph Jekyll, and some others, urged in favour of the Subscribers, 'That most of them having been drawn in to set their names to a sort of letter of Attorney, which was never read to them; and not having had afterwards the option of the terms offered, as the former Subscribers had, the subscription was surreptitious, and therefore not binding.' But they were answered by Mr Walpole, Mr Secretary Craggs, Mr Attorney and Mr Solicitor-General, and some others, 'That the letter of Attorney, by virtue of which the contract of the second subscription was made, having been placed at the top of every page of the book, all the Subscribers might have read it, as many of them did; and so might have chosen, whether they would set their names to it, or not. But that, it seems, some persons thought the subscription valid while they got, and not binding when they were like to lose by it. However, if any thing were defective in the subscription, they thought it advisable to leave it to the determination either of a General Court of the South-Sea, or of the Common Law.' These reasons being approved by most of the landed Gentlemen, after a debate of several hours, it was at last resolved by two hundred and fifty-nine against one hundred and seventeen, 'That all the subscriptions of public debts and incumbrances, money-subscriptions, and other contracts made with the South-Sea Company, by virtue of an act made the last Session of Parliament, remain in the present state, unless altered for the ease and relief of the Proprietors, by a General Court of the South-Sea Company, or set aside by due course of Law.'

There are few instances which prove so strongly as this, that there is no cause so bad as to want an advocate in Assemblies, where a man may freely speak his opinion, without any other danger but that of being rejected. This pretended Contract, which was deemed valid, had not been read, nor could have been read, without being universally disapproved. Was it probable, that such multitudes should leave their most valuable interests to the discretion of two or three Attornies? They were not, indeed, forbid to subscribe, but they believed they had done it, with a liberty to consent to or reject the conditions that should be offered. Was not this sufficient to declare the subscription void, and to restore the Proprietors to their former state?

1720.



In the Possession of the Right Hon. William Lord Talbot. Engraved by T. & P. Worsley in London 1740.



1720. state? However, the Commons did not think so, for the resolution of the Committee was confirmed, the next day, by the House (1).

Mr Walpole's scheme for restoring credit.

The day after this resolution was agreed to, Mr Walpole laid before the Commons his scheme to restore public credit, the substance of which was, to ingraft nine millions of *South-Sea* stock into the Bank of England, and the like sum into the *East-India* Company, upon certain conditions (2). Mr Hutchinson and other Members made some exceptions to the scheme; but, none offering a better, it was ordered, 'That proposals should be received from the Bank of England, the *South-Sea* Company, and the *East-India* Company, towards restoring public credit.'

Though the plainness of Mr Walpole's scheme recommended it above all others, yet it met with some opposition in the general Courts of the three great Companies, who met to give powers to their Directors to bring the matter to perfection; But at last the Directors were empowered to make a proposal to the House of Commons.

Accordingly proposals agreeable to the new scheme were afterwards presented to the House of Commons by the several Companies, and it was resolved (Jan. 5.) 'That an ingrossment of nine millions of the capital stock of the *South-Sea* Company into the Capitals of the Bank and *East-India* Company, as proposed by these Companies, will contribute very much to the restoring public credit.' A bill upon this resolution was, after some debate, ordered to be brought in, which passed the House, and was sent up to the Lords, and afterwards received the Royal assent.

Pursuant to the order of the House, the Sub and Deputy Governors of the *South-Sea* Company having presented to the Commons their books and papers, Mr Shippen made a long speech, representing, 'That besides the papers, which had already been laid before them, it was necessary to have others, in order to discover the frauds and deceitful management of the *South-Sea* Directors and their Accomplices. That, in his opinion, the most villainous contrivance, whereby they ensnared unwary people, was their taking in money subscriptions at 1000 per cent. and their declaring a dividend of 30 l. per cent. at Christmas, and of not less than 50 l. per cent. per ann. for twelve years after; which had imposed upon the understanding of all such, as de-

1720. pended upon the wisdom and integrity of the Directors, and occasioned the ruin of many thousands of families.' He therefore moved, That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company should lay before the House the calculations or inducements, on which they took in the third and fourth money subscriptions, and grounded the resolutions of making such dividends. This motion, not being opposed, was agreed to; as was likewise a second motion for laying before the House a list of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, with the names of the Treasurer, Secretary, and Accountant, and also the original books of the minutes of the Committee of Treasury of the Company, since the 25th of December, 1719, with a copy of the by-laws. After which the Commons adjourned to the 4th of January, as the Lords did to the 9th of the same month.

By these proceedings of the Parliament it is evident, the Commons were divided in their opinions, one party being for applying a remedy to the calamity occasioned by the mismanagement of the *South-Sea* scheme: And the other party, for inquiring into the causes of the present misfortunes, and for punishing the Authors as the most effectual and only means to redress them. The first party, which was favoured by the Court, prevailed for a time; but, when the Commons met after the Holidays, it appeared that the other party had gained considerable strength, and that the artful introduction of other affairs, instead of diverting, only served to inflame their resentment against the Authors of the late proceedings.

On the 4th of January, Mr Trevor, Secretary of war, seconded by the Lord Carpenter, moved for a bill to prevent mutiny and desertion: But Sir Joseph Jekyll expressed his surprise, 'that a bill should be moved for so early, which seldom used to be brought in but towards the end of a Session: That such a hurry seemed to be intended to stop the prosecution of the Authors of the present misfortunes. That they very well knew, *their days were numbered*, and that, as soon as they had dispatched the money bills, and the bill now moved for, they should immediately be dispatched home. That therefore he was for staying those bills, until they had done justice to the Nation, who called aloud for

1720-21: Their far-ther proceedings.

(1) In the next day's debate, Mr Walpole, who spoke for the resolution, set forth the views, with which the *South-Sea* act was made, viz. 'To consult the landed and trading interest of the Nation, by lessening its incumbrances and public debts, and putting them in a method of being paid off in a few years; which could not have been done, unless a way had been found to make the annuities for long terms redeemable; which had been happily effected by the *South-Sea* scheme, without a breach of parliamentary faith: And, if they should now unravel what had been done, they should not only ruin the *South-Sea* Company, but, instead of alleviating, aggravate the present misfortunes.' In answer to this, Sir Joseph Jekyll urged, 'That, in order to remedy the present distemper, and restore public credit, they ought, in the first place, to resolve and assert public faith, equity, and justice, which the *South-Sea* Managers had notoriously violated, with respect to the first and second Subscribers of annuities and other public debts: For the former had not the stock, to which they were entitled, delivered to them, till six months after they had subscribed their effects, and when

the stock was fallen above half its price, and the latter had not the option either to accept or reject the terms, that were offered them.' Mr Walpole having, among other things, replied, 'That, if any injustice was done to the Subscribers, they were, by the resolution in question, left at liberty to seek their relief by law.' Mr Lechmere, Chancellor of the Duchy, insisted, 'That, if the *South-Sea* Company, whom the Parliament had appointed Trustees for the public debts, had not duly executed that trust, in relation to the Annuity, the latter could seek for relief no where but in Parliament; and that it was a duty incumbent upon the Legislature to relieve them.' Serjeant Pengelly, Mr Hutchinson, and some other Gentlemen, spoke on the same side; but were answered by Mr Secretary Cragg, Sir William Thompson, and Mr Hungerford, and, after some other speeches, it was moved to adjourn the debate; but, the question put thereupon being carried in the negative by two hundred and thirty-two voices against eighty-eight, the House agreed, without dividing, to the resolution of the day before.

(2) The substance of what was opened in the House

for it.' Mr Secretary *Craggs* said, 'He wondered to see any opposition made to a bill so necessary for the safety of the Government, especially by a person, who had received signal favours from the Crown.' Upon this the Lord *Moleworth* stood up, and said, 'Mr Speaker, is it come to this, that every man, who has a place, must do all the drudgery, that is enjoined him? This may be true of some underlings; but I do not believe it: I am sure it is false of King *George*; he commands his servants nothing, but what is according to laws, and for the good of his subjects.' Then Sir *Joseph Jekyll* added, 'That he was as zealous as any man for the service of the King and his Government; but he was of opinion, that the doing justice to the Nation, and punishing them, who had brought it into the present calamitous condition, was the most effectual way both to serve the King, and at the same time to discharge their duty to their injured Country: Concluding, however, that he did not oppose the bringing in of the bill;' which was agreed to. After this, the House resolving itself into a Grand Committee, Sir *Joseph* represented, That, before they proceeded any farther, they ought to secure the persons and estates of those they had reason to look upon as the Authors of the public misfortunes; and therefore he moved for a bill to restrain the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treasurer, Under-Treasurer, Cashier, Secretary, and Accountants of the *South-Sea* Company, from going out of this Kingdom for the space of one year, and till the end of the next Session of Parliament; and, for discovering their estates and effects, and preventing the transporting or alienating the same.' This motion met with no opposition, and Sir *Joseph*, with the Attorney

and Solicitor-General, and some others, were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill (1), which having passed both Houses received the Royal assent (2).

As soon as this was over, the House debated in what manner they should proceed in the intended inquiry, whether in a Grand or Select Committee. After several speeches on both sides, it was resolved that a Committee should be appointed to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act; and that the numbers should be thirteen, and chosen by ballot. Pursuant to this resolution, *Thomas Braderick*, *Archibald Hutcheson*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, *Edward Wortley*, Sir *Thomas Pengelly*, *William Clayton*, *Edward Jeffreys*, Lord *Moleworth*, *Thomas Strangways*, *William Sloper*, *Nicholas Lechmere*, General *Rosse*, and *Dixie Windsor*, were chosen, to whom the several books and papers, which had been laid before the House by the *South-Sea* Company, were referred; and they were afterwards voted a Committee of Secrecy.

In the debate the Lord *Hinchinbroke* represented, that it was to be feared that, before the bill against the Directors, &c. was gone through both Houses, the most criminal might withdraw out of the Kingdom, and therefore he moved, that they might be immediately taken into custody. But, Mr *Lechmere*, and others, having shewed the inconveniences of such a proceeding, the motion was dropped.

In vain did the Directors present a petition to be heard by their Counsel against the bill, which was now brought in, and having passed the Commons was sent up to the Lords.

By this time the House of Lords were entered upon the *South-Sea* affair. Some of the Lords in the Ministry were the first, who complained of the

A select Committee for the *South-Sea* affair.

Proceedings of the Lords on the *South-Sea* affair.

of Commons was told to the General Court of the *South-Sea* Directors two days after, by Sir *John Fellows*, to the following effect:

'That the 1st money-subscription be continued, allowing longer time for the future payments; and that what has been paid be made stock at 400*l.* per cent.

'That the money, paid upon the 2d, 3d, and 4th money-subscriptions, be also made stock at 400*l.* per cent. The Subscribers to have the *Midsummer* dividend at 10*l.* per cent, and their future payments to be discharged.

'The stock then undisposed of will be 11,600,000*l.* which, to be divided among the Proprietors, will be 45*l.* per cent, to be disposed of by subscription or otherwise, as a General Court shall order, which was to this effect:

'That a sum not exceeding nine millions be ingrafted into the Bank, on terms to be agreed on with that Company.

'The like as to the *East-India* Company.

'That, for the stock so to be ingrafted, those Companies to have an annuity of 5*l.* per cent. per annum.

'That one fourth part of the present stock of this Company be wrote into the Bank, and one other fourth part into the *East-India* Company, the Proprietors to be allowed stock in each of those Companies, at 120*l.* per cent.

'That there will be in all seven millions and a half of Bank stock, and the same of *India* stock, for the Proprietors of this Company.

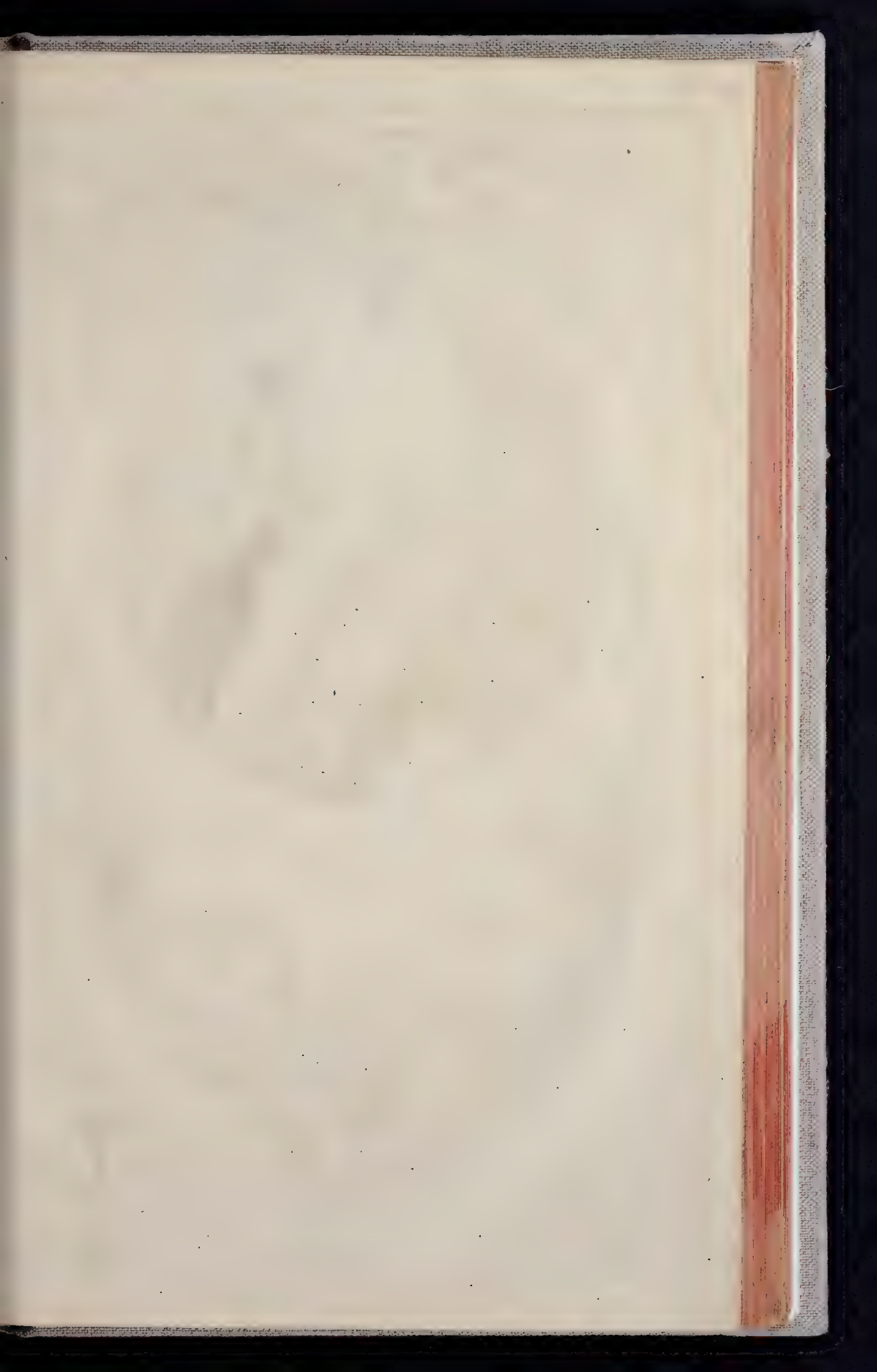
'That all the profits of this Company, by their subscriptions or otherwise, shall be for the sole benefit of this Company.'

(1) This done, Mr *Shippen* expressed his great satisfaction to see a *British* House of Commons resume their ancient vigour and spirit, and act with so great

unanimity for the public good. He owned 'the necessity of securing the persons and estates of the *South-Sea* Directors and their Officers; but said, that, in his opinion, there were some men in great stations, whom, in time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no less guilty than the Directors.' Mr Secretary *Craggs* being somewhat exasperated at this, said, 'That he was ready to give satisfaction to any man, who should question him, either in that House, or out of it.' This expression gave no small offence; and thereupon the Lord *Moleworth* said, 'That he had had the honour to be a Member of that House upwards of thirty years, and never before now knew any man bold enough to challenge the whole House of Commons, and all *England* besides: That, for his part, though past sixty, he would answer whatever he had to say within the House, and hoped there were young Members enough, who would not be afraid to look Mr Secretary in the face out of the House.' Upon this, Mr Secretary, seeing the House in a great ferment, got up, and said, 'That, by giving satisfaction, he meant clearing his conduct.' Upon which the matter went no farther.

(2) By this bill, the Directors were each to enter into recognizances, in the penalty of 100,000*l.* with two sureties in the penalty each of 25,000*l.* If they neglected to do so before the 8th of February, they were to be imprisoned; and, in case they went out of the Kingdom, were to be adjudged guilty of felony. They were also obliged to deliver in upon oath, before the 5th of March, exact particulars of all the effects they were possessed of by themselves, or in trust, on the 1st of June 1720, or any time after, with an account of what they had disposed of since that time. They were likewise disabled from conveying any lands or effects, for a year after the 5th of January 1720-21.

(1) The





1720-21. the mismanagement of the *South-Sea* Directors, which had occasioned the present distress; and Earl *Stanhope* said, 'That the estates of the criminals, whether Directors or not Directors, ought to be confiscated, to make good the public losses.' The Lord *Cartaret* spoke to the same effect, as did likewise the Earl of *Sunderland*, who owned, indeed, that he had been for the *South-Sea* scheme, because he thought it calculated for the advantage of the Nation, in order to lessen the public debt, and, in particular, to take off the heavy incumbrance of long annuities; and no man would imagine, that so good a design could have been so perverted in the execution, as to produce quite contrary effects: But that, in his opinion, no Act of Parliament had ever been so much abused as the *South-Sea* act; and therefore he would go as far as any body to punish the offenders. Several Lords were surprized to find themselves prevented by those, whom they were ready to oppose, upon a supposition, that they entertained more favourable thoughts towards the Directors, against whom the others had left them but little to say. However, the Duke of *Wharton* observed, 'That they ought to have no respect of persons: That, for his part, he would give up the best friend he had: That the Nation had been plundered in a most flagrant and notorious manner; and therefore they ought to find out the Offenders, and then punish them with the utmost severity.' The Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Earl of *Abingdon*, and some others, urged also the ill effects of the *South-Sea* project, which the Bishop of *Rochester* compared to a pestilence. Earl *Cowper* spoke likewise on the same side, and in particular 'blamed those, who, by the act of Parliament, were appointed to overlook and check the *South-Sea* Directors, and who, in discharge of their trust, ought to have prevented their jumping from a subscription at 400 to 1000, which was the main cause of the misfortunes that ensued.' The Earl of *Sunderland*, finding himself and the other Lords of the Treasury thus attacked, said, 'That by the *South-Sea* act they were directed to appoint such persons, as they should think fit to be Managers and Directors, on the part of the Treasury, for the due execution of the act: That, as they had reason to look upon those persons, who had the principal share in framing this scheme, as the most able and proper to execute it, they had accordingly appointed some of the *South-Sea* Directors to be Managers and Directors for the Treasury: Concluding, that in this they had followed former precedents.' Upon this a question was propounded and stated, that the Commission issued out, by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to three of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, was, according to former precedents, and legal. This occasioned a great debate; but, after the reading of some papers,

the Lord *Harcourt's* opinion for the affirmative prevailed, by a majority of sixty-three against twenty-eight, most of whom entered their protest against that resolution. Then some Lords moved for appointing a secret Committee, to inquire into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act; but this was opposed by others, who said, they ought, in the most solemn manner, to examine the persons concerned. Which being agreed to, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Directors, and Officers of the *South-Sea* Company were ordered to attend on the 12th of *January*.

On that day, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, about twenty-four of the Directors, Mr *Knight* Treasurer, Mr *Surman* his Deputy, and some other inferior Officers, attended the House, and at the bar were sworn to make true answers to such questions, as should be put to them. After this, the Governors and Treasurer were examined separately, and then the Directors. The examinations being ended, it was resolved, 'That the Sub-Governor and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company had prevaricated with them, in giving false representations of several matters of fact: That, by lending money on stock, and subscriptions, they were guilty of a notorious breach of trust; and that they ought to make good the losses, which the Company had sustained by their fraudulent management.' Some Lords were unwilling to involve all the Directors in this censure, and would distinguish the innocent from the guilty; but they were told, that the whole Court of Directors were guilty, either in acting or assenting; upon which they acquiesced in declaring them all criminal. The Directors being called in again, the Lord Chancellor gave them a severe reprimand for giving the House such lame accounts, and for having ordered their Clerks to omit several material things in the copies, that had been laid before the House; commanding them, at the same time, to produce either the originals themselves of several accounts of their Treasury, or authentic copies of them.

Soon after this, a bill passed the House of Lords, to disble the present Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, to enjoy any office in that Company, or in the *East-India* Company, or Bank of *England*, and from voting upon elections in the Company. Then the Lords examined several Brokers, as *Stroude*, *Tessard*, *Lacour* a Jew, and his son. By the three last great discoveries were said to be made. This done, the House adjourned to the 24th of *January*.

In the mean time, Mr *Knight*, Treasurer of the *South-Sea* Company, who was intrusted with the principal secrets of the *South-Sea* affair, either of his own accord, or (as it was suspected) at the suggestion of others, thought fit to retire out of the Kingdom (1). He absented himself the 22d of *January* from his house, and embarked the

(1) When Mr *Knight* attended at the House of Lords, a Peer spoke to the Earl of *Sunderland*, that a motion might be made to secure him immediately; for it was strongly surmized that he would soon make off. The Earl agreed in that surmise, but said, Earl *Cowper* should be consulted before any such motion was made, for, without his joining in with it, there was no likelihood of its passing; and then *Knight* would be alarmed to no purpose. The other Lord ap-

plied to Earl *Cowper*, who seemed very averse to the taking any such step, till, upon *Knight's* further examination, the House should come to a resolution, particularly with relation to him: Upon which the motion dropped; and it was suspected, that the Earl of *Sunderland*, knowing Earl *Cowper's* sentiments, referred that other Peer to him, on purpose to prevent the motion's being then made.

(1) The

the next morning in the river, on board a vessel, which carried him, the same day, to *Calais*. A letter, directed to the *South-Sea* Directors, was brought that morning, by a Porter, to Mr *Surman* (1), who delivered it to the Committee of Secrecy, then sitting at the *South-Sea-House*. They immediately repaired to the House of Commons, and acquainted them with what had happened. Two... sent for a proclamation to apprehend Mr *Knights*, and for another to stop the Ports to prevent him, or any of the Directors, from escaping out of the Kingdom. Then General *Refs* and other Members of the Secret Committee informed the House, 'That they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany... Nation, which, in due time, they would lay before the House; and that, in the mean while, in order to a further discovery, they thought it highly necessary to secure the persons of some of the Directors and principal *South-Sea* Officers, and to seize their papers.' Upon which the books and papers of Mr *Knights*, Mr *Surman*, Mr *Turner*, Sir *George Caswall*, and Mr *Griffiths*, were ordered to be secured, and *Surman* and *Griffiths* to be taken into custody; as were also Sir *John Blunt*, Sir *John Lambert*, two of the Directors, and Sir *John Fellows*, Sub-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company. Then, Mr *Sawbridge* and Sir *Theodore Jansson* being come into the House, a motion was made and carried, 'That they were guilty of a notorious breach...

and had occasioned very great loss to numbers of his Majesty's subjects, and highly prejudiced the public credit.' They were both expelled the House, and taken into custody, with Sir *Robert Clapain* and *Francis Eyles*, two other Directors, and Members of Parliament.

which Mr *Aislabie* resigned his places of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord of the Treasury. Orders were also given for removing all *South-Sea* Directors from any place they had in the Government (2).

The Lords, on the 24th of January, examined Mr *Joye*, Deputy Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, who made a very frank confession of several important matters, and communicated Mr *Knights*' letter, which was read. After this, upon Earl *Stanhope*'s motion, five Directors, Sir *William Chapman*, Mr *Helditch*, Mr *Lawes*, Mr *Gibbon*, and Mr *Chister*, were ordered to be taken into custody, with their papers, and those of Mr *Clark*, the Company's Solicitor. Of which notice was sent to the Commons with a message, that these persons and their papers should be produced in such manner as they should direct. This message contributed very much to the preserving a good understanding between the

Two days after, the Directors Mr *Astell* and Sir *Harcourt Masters* were examined by the Lords, and, among other discoveries, named several persons both in the Administration and in the House of Commons, to whom large sums in

(1) The letter was as follows:

Gentlemen,

'I write this from a true sense of the obligation I am under to make up my accounts with the Company, and to pay them their full demand: And, though self-preservation has obliged me to withdraw myself from the resentment against the Directors and myself, yet I am not conscious to myself of having done any one thing that I can reproach myself for, so far as relates to an honest sincere intention and zeal for the Company; but I can and do charge myself with a great many indiscretions, and am (besides the concern I must be under for leaving my own family, friends, &c.) very sensibly touched with what you are like to suffer on this account; and it will be the more I am afraid, from your want of unanimity, which I heartily recommend to you for the future, and, I am sure, wish you all well as you wish yourselves.

I... great deal of concern, so cannot be so particular, as otherwise I would have been. I have herewith sent Mr *Surman* the key of my desks, who knows so much of the state of the cash, as to be able to make it up. There are a good many bills of exchange, and other payments, to write off, and the weekly receipts to write on. There is cash in the Bank, in the Company's book, which, together with the notes taken on the third and fourth subscriptions, and the Company's bonds, will make up the balance, as I do believe: But, if it fall short, I have 3000 Equivalent stock, 1600 Bank stock, 2000 *India* and *South-Sea* stock, over and above what I owe the Company on the loan, as will be sufficient to make it up with money owing on securities on my particular account. The Company need not deliver or be answerable for the subscription-receipts or stock on the third and fourth subscriptions, unless these notes are paid; so the loss can only be the difference between the subscriptions and money in value; and I think, it would be hard for me to bear the loss, because the Clerks took by far the greatest part of

them, as thinking them better than none; and most of refused: However, I submit this to the Company. I have taken with me but little more than a sufficiency to answer for all deficiencies. I have bought no land in trust for me, nor have I ever conveyed or settled any part of that I had formerly, or have bought lately; it remains to answer any demands on me from the Company or the Legislature. I have withdrawn myself only to avoid the weight of the enquiry, which I found too heavy for me; and I am sensible that it would been impossible for me to have avoided the appearance of... not from my own intention to do so, but from the largeness and extent of the enquiry, and the nature and largeness of the... I am sure I am a great deal concerned to add to your present difficulties; though I must say, that I have deserved better usage than I have had from the Court the last week: But this I say without any resentment, otherwise than that it has been an addition to the weight I had before upon me.

I am pressed for time, so can only assure you that I am, with all respect, in inclination though not in power,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient,

humble Servant,

ROBERT KNIGHT.

Sunday Evening,
Jan. 22. 1720.

(2) Accordingly, *Francis Hawes*, Receiver-General of the Customs; Sir *Harcourt Master*, Receiver-General of the City of London; Mr *Reynolds*, Commissioner of the Victualling-Office; Mr *Helditch*, Treasurer of the Stamp-Office; and *Arthur Ingram*, Treasurer of the duty on salt, were all removed from their employments.

(1) Three

1720-21. in *South-Sea* stock had been given, for procuring the passing the *South-Sea* act. After this, upon the motion of Earl Stanhope, seconded by the Lord Townshend and Earl Cowper, it was unanimously resolved, 'That the taking in of stock, the transferring of stock belonging to the *South-Sea* Company, or giving credit for the same, without a valuable consideration actually paid, or sufficiently secured; or the purchasing stock by any Director or Agent of the *South-Sea* Company, for the use or benefit of any person in the Administration, or any Member of either House of Parliament, during such time, as the late bill relating to the *South-Sea* Company, was depending last year in Parliament, was a notorious and most dangerous corruption.' This resolution was soon followed by another, after the examination of Mr Waller, (son-in-law to Mr Aislaby) and Mr Astell, relating to a great quantity of *South-Sea* stock, transferred to, and negotiated by Mr Waller, who pretended not to have kept minutes of what he had done in *Exchange-Alley*. This being looked upon as prevarication, it was resolved, 'That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company having ordered great quantities of their stock to be bought for the service of the Company, when stock was at a very high price, and on pretence of keeping up the price of the stock; and, at the same time, several of the Directors, and other Officers belonging to the Company, having, in a clandestine manner, sold their own stocks to the Company; such Directors and Officers are guilty of a notorious fraud and breach of trust; and their so doing was one great cause of the unhappy turn of affairs, that has so much affected public credit (1).

On the 4th of February, the Lords designed to have examined Sir John Blunt, the chief Projector of the *South-Sea* scheme, and it was expected, he would make great discoveries: But, instead of that, he would not so much as be sworn to answer to such interrogatories, as should be put to him, alledging, that he had already been examined before the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, and to such extent of affairs, that, unless he had a copy of his examination, he could not remember every particular; and, as no man is obliged to accuse himself, he would not run the hazard of prevaricating. The Lords were surprized at this proceeding; but, upon a surmise, that Sir John Blunt might design to break the harmony, which had hitherto been preserved in this affair between the two Houses, they thought fit not to shew immediately their indignation against his obstinacy. In the debate how they should proceed in this unprecedented case, some reflections were made against the Ministry by a noble Duke,

who observed, that the Government of the best of Princes was sometimes made intolerable to their subjects by ill Ministers; and alledged the example of *Sejanus*, who had made a division in the Imperial Family, and rendered the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius* odious to the *Romans*. This reflection was highly relented by Earl Stanhope, who undertook to vindicate the Ministry. He spoke with such vehemence, that, finding himself taken suddenly with a violent headache, he went home, and was cupped, which eased him a little. The next morning he was let blood, and continued pretty well till about six o'clock in the evening, when he fell into a drowsiness, and then into a suffocation, in which he instantly expired. The King was so sensibly touched with the news of his death, that he retired for several hours into his closet, to lament the loss of a faithful and able Minister, whose service he so much wanted at that time. The Lord Townshend was appointed Secretary of State in his room.

Two days after, Mr Secretary Craggs was taken ill of the small-pox; of which he died the ninth day, on the 16th of February. Thus, in the space of eleven days, England lost two Secretaries of State.

Mr Knight, after his escape into France, went to Brussels, from whence (not thinking himself safe there) he intended to retire to Liege. As the King had sent orders to his Ministers in foreign Courts, to make application for the seizing Mr Knight, in case he should shelter himself in the Dominions of any State in Alliance with him, Mr Gaudot, Secretary to Mr Leathes, the British Resident at Brussels, having information, that Mr Knight was going towards Louvain, applied to the Marquis de Prié, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, who ordered a Major and sixteen Dragoons to attend him, and follow his directions. With these Gaudot sets out for Louvain, where he was informed, that two English Gentlemen had, that morning, taken the road to Tirlemont. Upon this Gaudot, with the Major and four Dragoons, hastened to Tirlemont, and, by means of a Postilion sent before to make inquiry, they put up at the same Inn where the Gentlemen had stopped. Gaudot, entering the Inn, met Mr Knight and his Companion, who instantly yielded themselves prisoners. Soon after Mr Knight's son, who had followed his father from Brussels, arrived at Tirlemont, and was also seized. They were all carried back to Brussels, and, by a warrant from the Marquis de Prié, the Major conducted Mr Knight to the Citadel of Antwerp, where he was kept in safe custody by an Officer who lay in the room with him, and four centinels without the

(1) Three days after, Mr Hawes, a Director, having been examined with some Brokers, the Lords came to the following resolutions:

1. That the Directors, &c. buying the *Midsummer* dividend about the 4th of January 1719-20, and paying 5 s. down, and 3 l. after the receipt of the dividend, was a fraud to the persons, with whom they contracted.

2. That the giving a premium, for the refusal of stock, at higher prices than they knew the value was, was a fraudulent artifice to raise the price of stock.

3. That promoting the third subscription at 1000 per cent. was to answer a particular end, and to cheat the public.

4. That the declaring 30 l. per cent. dividend for the half year ending at Christmas, and 50 l. per cent. per annum for no less than twelve years after, was a villainous artifice to delude and defraud his Majesty's good subjects.

5. That the declaring the *Midsummer* dividend to be paid in stock, when they had money by them to answer the same, was a notorious fraud, and was one occasion of the misfortunes that ensued.

1720-21. the house, and as many within, and was not allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper. His son went with him to the Citadel.

Great was the joy at the news of Mr *Knight's* being in custody. Addresses were presented by both Houses to thank the King for giving such effectual directions for securing Mr *Knight*, and to desire that orders might be given to his Ministers at *Vienna* and *Brussels*, to make proper applications that Mr *Knight*, with his papers and effects, might be delivered to such persons as should be appointed to receive him. Pursuant to these addresses, the King sent Colonel *Charles Churchill* to the Court of *Vienna*, to make instances for the delivering up Mr *Knight*; who, on the other hand, made application to the States of *Brabant*, for the protection of their Constitution. By an article of the Charter, called the *Joyful Entry* (granted by the Emperor *Charles V.*, and sworn to by all his Successors) no person charged with, or apprehended for, any crime, can be removed to be tried out of *Brabant*. When therefore Mr *Leathes* made pressing instances with the Marquis de *Prié* to have Mr *Knight* delivered up, the States of *Brabant* insisted upon their privilege, and the Marquis would proceed no farther in the affair, without particular instructions from *Vienna*; for which purpose, Colonel *Churchill* was sent to that Court. In the beginning of *March*, the Colonel sent word, that he was just arrived at *Vienna*, and would immediately apply to the Imperial Court, for the delivering up Mr *Knight*, and did not doubt of success, unless the privileges of the States of *Brabant* interfered. This letter being communicated to the House of Commons, reflections were made (particularly by the Lord *Melbourn*) upon the frivolous pretence, used to frustrate the King's endeavours to bring over Mr *Knight*. But the House came to no resolution in the affair. About three weeks after, a letter from the Emperor to the King was laid before the Commons, wherein 'the Emperor expresses his inclination to comply with his Majesty's desires, but, the States of *Brabant* insisting on their privileges, it would be necessary to make application to them, which he would not fail to support.' In a debate on account of this letter, Mr *Hutchinson* represented, 'How much, on the one hand, the Public was concerned in having the Authors of the present distress fully discovered, and brought to condign punishment; and how impracticable it was, on the other, to proceed in that important inquiry, so long as the principal Agent of the *South-Sea* Directors, and their Accomplices, was kept out of the way; that, in the mean time, the public calamity increasing every day, the Nation called aloud for justice; and therefore, if the means already used for bringing over Mr *Knight* proved abortive, it were advisable to have recourse to more speedy and effectual methods.' Sir *Joseph Jekyll* also shewed, 'That it was incumbent on some persons in the Administration to have Mr *Knight* brought over, in order fully to clear their own innocence, otherwise, though acquitted, they would still be looked upon as criminal: Urging, moreover, that it was matter of wonder, that so frivolous a pretence, as the privileges of the State of *Brabant*, should be used, to put a stop to so important an inquiry, especially considering how little

those privileges had been regarded in more material points, and what obligations the House of *Austria* lay under to the *British* Nation.' On the other hand, Mr *Lechmere* represented, 'That, in all probability, the Court of *Vienna* had not fully considered the importance of the instances made to them in his Majesty's name, and at the desire of the Commons of Great Britain: But it was to be presumed, when so wise a Prince as the Emperor should be apprized, that the welfare and safety of *England* depended in some measure on the delivering up of Mr *Knight*, he would readily comply with their desires.' Then Mr *Lechmere* moved for an address to thank the King for the instances he had made, by a letter under his own hand to the Emperor about Mr *Knight*, to express their dissatisfaction at the obstacles raised against a compliance with his endeavours, and to desire his most pressing instances for the obtaining what was thought of such importance to the justice due to his people. This address was agreed to and presented to the King, who assured them, he would continue to use his utmost endeavours for obtaining what they desired, and hoped they would prove effectual. But, notwithstanding all this, before the Emperor had sent any instructions to the Marquis de *Prié*, Mr *Knight* found means to make his escape out of the Citadel of *Antwerp*.

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to look into all the proceedings relating to the execution of the *South-Sea* act, made their first report to the House of Commons the 16th of *February*. On that day Mr *Henry Crugge* died. At the entrance into their enquiry, they observed, the matters referred to them were of great variety and extent. Many persons were intrusted with different parts in the execution of that act, and, in an unwarrantable manner, disposed of the properties of many thousands of persons, amounting to many millions. In the progress of their inquiry they found it attended with many difficulties.

In some of the books, false and fictitious entries were made; in others, entries with blanks; in others, entries with razures and alterations; in others, leaves torn out. They found, some books had been destroyed, others secreted: However, they were enabled to lay some matters of importance before the House.

The first matter, that occurred to their consideration, was a scene of iniquity and corruption, the discovery of which they conceived to be of the highest concern to the honour of Parliaments, and the security of the Government.

It appeared, that, before the passing the *South-Sea* act, and before any subscription could be made, a fictitious stock of no less than 574,000 *l.* had been disposed of by the Directors, in order to facilitate the passing the bill. This stock was set down as sold at several days, and at several prices, from 150 *l.* per cent. to 325 *l.* per cent. (amounting in all to 1,259,325 *l.*) and was from those times to be esteemed as holden of the Company, for the benefit of the pretended Purchasers, though no mutual agreement was then made for the delivery or acceptance of the stock at any certain time, and though no money was paid down, nor any security given for payment by the supposed Purchasers. So, if the price of stock had fallen, no loss could have

1720-21. been sustained by them; but, if it should advance, the difference was to be made good to the pretended Purchasers. As this fictitious stock was designed for promoting the bill, the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Sir John Blunt, Mr Gibbon, Mr Chester, Mr Holditch, with the Cashier Mr Knight, had the disposal of this stock, of which the following particulars were taken for several persons:

For the Earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr Craggs, senr.	50,000
For the Ducheſs of Kendal	10,000
For the Counteſs of Platen	10,000
For the Counteſs's two Nieces	10,000
For Mr Craggs, ſenr.	30,000
For Charles Stanhope	10,000
For the Sword-blade	50,000

The difference of the laſt parcel amounting to 250,000*l.* was ſuppoſed to be paid to Mr Charles Stanhope by Sir George Caſwal and Company; but that Sir George ordered the name Stanhope to be partly erased out of the book, and made Stangape. It alſo appeared, that Mr Aſſlabie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, had great quantities of South-Sea ſtock given him; but that his affairs were chiefly managed by Mr Edmund Waller, his ſon-in-law, and Mr Weymondſel, a Broker: That Mr Aſſlabie's laſt account with Turner, Caſwal and Company, was 794,451*l.*: That 68,000*l.* part thereof, was paid in caſh to Mr Waller, as was alſo 44,600*l.* more by a bond of Caſwal and Company; and 33,000*l.* by another bond of Caſwal and Company, was paid to Mr Weddall: That Mr Aſſlabie, as a Commiſſioner of the Treafury, had 4000*l.* in the firſt money-ſubſcription; but that as ſoon as it came to bear an advance of about 40 per cent. he had 20,000 more: That no war-

rant was found for making the ſecond money-ſubſcription more than one million; but that afterwards ſome of the leading Directors, by the advice of Mr Aſſlabie, made it 500,000*l.* more: That the third money-ſubſcription at 1000*l.* was promoted by Mr Aſſlabie, whoſe liſt amounted to 70,000*l.* the Earl of Sunderland's liſt to 160,000*l.* Mr Secretary Craggs's liſt to 659,000*l.* and Mr Charles Stanhope's to 47,000*l.* That Mr Aſſlabie likewiſe adviſed the lending money on ſtock; and that the Directors ſold part of the pawned ſtock at high prices; but that of 2,800,000*l.* that ſhould have been transferred by Mr Knight to four of the Directors, there appeared to be but 2,400,000*l.* ſo that there was 400,000*l.* ſtock wanting. The Committee obſerved, that, in the account of ſtock ſold, they found the names of ſeveral Members of Parliament, not concerned in the Adminiſtration, whole caſes they could not particularly examine, without the direction of the Houſe in what manner to proceed. The Report ended, with an account of the divers practices uſed to raiſe the nominal value of South-Sea ſtock, to the extravagant rate to which it was afterwards advanced above the real value (1). This Report was followed by fix others, and, at the cloſe of the laſt, the Committee ſaid, they were under a neceſſity of ending their inquiry, by reaſon of the abſence of Mr Knight, who appeared to have been principally and in many inſtances ſolely intruſted in the execution of the black and deſtructive South-Sea ſcheme.

Soon after the firſt Report, the Commons having taken it into conſideration, came to theſe reſolutions:

1. That the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the South-Sea Company, and their Officers, and their Aiders and Abettors, in lending out the Company's money upon

(1) As this part of the report gives a brief hiſtory of all the contrivances for ſupporting the ſcheme, it will not be improper to infer it at large:

Your Committee find, that, by computation made by their direction, it appears, that the Directors of the South-Sea Company might have raiſed the whole ſum ſtipulated for the Public, with a profit of near one million and an half for the benefit of the Proprietors of the old ſtock, without ſetting their ſtock to ſale at any higher price than 150*l.* per cent.

That after the ſaid Directors had taken in the firſt money-ſubſcription at 300*l.* per cent. and the ſecond money-ſubſcription at 400*l.* per cent. and the firſt ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities at 375*l.* per cent. the value of 100*l.* South-Sea ſtock was but 120*l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid firſt and ſecond ſubſcriptions (amounting to 12,750,000*l.*) had been all paid in.

That the ſaid Court of Directors did afterwards proceed to take in a third and a fourth money-ſubſcription at the rate of 1000*l.* per cent., and a ſecond ſubſcription of the long and ſhort annuities, and a ſubſcription of the redeemable debts at the rate of 800*l.* per cent. after which the value of 100*l.* South-Sea ſtock was but 332*l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the whole money of the ſaid four money-ſubſcriptions (amounting to 68,750,000*l.*) had been all paid in.

That, if all the remaining public debts had been taken in, and all the remaining ſtock of the Company ſold, on the terms which the ſaid Directors pretended to expect, 100*l.* South-Sea ſtock would have been worth but 547*l.* or thereabouts, ſuppoſing the money of the ſaid four ſubſcriptions, and the money for the

remaining ſtock (which together would have amounted to 205,039,401*l.*) had been all paid in.

That, on the 30th day of Auguſt laſt, the Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company came to a reſolution (which on the 8th day of September laſt was confirmed by a General Court) to declare a dividend of 30*l.* per cent. to be made at Chriſtmas 1720, and of not leſs than 50*l.* per cent. per ann. for not leſs than twelve years to come from that time.

That ſoon after this reſolution (viz. at a General Court held the 20th day of September laſt) the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court, that the affairs of the Company, in relation to the price of their ſtock, and ſubſcriptions, had taken an unexpected turn, and thereupon propoſed their giving a power to the Court of Directors to relieve the laſt Subſcribers of the public debts, and the Proprietors of the two laſt money-ſubſcriptions, which was accordingly granted; and, at a Court of Directors held the 29th day of September laſt, it was reſolved, That the ſaid Subſcribers ſhould have the ſame terms with the Bank, viz. That their ſubſcriptions ſhould be reduced from 1000*l.* and 800*l.* per cent. to 400*l.* and that they ſhould alſo have the benefit of the Midſummer dividend of 10*l.* per cent. which was accordingly confirmed by a General Court held the 30th day of the ſame month; upon which your Committee obſerves, That it appears to them very extraordinary, that the Directors on the 8th day of September (when the ſaid high dividend was declared in a General Court) ſhould have had no foreſight of the turn which ſo ſoon after (viz. on the 20th day of the ſame month) happened in their affairs.

1720 21.

upon stock and subscriptions, without taking security for repayment thereof, have been guilty of a notorious breach of trust, and have thereby occasioned great loss to the Company, for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own estates.

2. That the selling or disposing of stock or subscriptions, transferred or deposited as a security for the repayment of the money so lent, was a notorious breach of the trust reposed in the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, and their Officers, and a fraud on the Proprietors, in order to enrich themselves; for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own estates.

3. That the taking in or holding of stock, by the *South-Sea* Company, for the benefit of any Member of either House of Parliament, or person concerned in the Administration, during the time that the Company's proposals, or the bill thereto relating, were depending in Parliament, without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such stock; and the Company's paying or allowing such person the difference arising by the advanced price of the stocks, were corrupt, infamous, and dangerous practices, highly reflecting on the honour and justice of Parliaments, and destructive of the interests of his Majesty's Government.

4. That any of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company selling their own stock at high

prices to the Company or others, at the same time, that they gave orders for buying stock upon account of the Company, under pretence of keeping up the nominal value of the stock, was a scandalous practice, tending to enrich themselves, to the great loss and detriment of the Company, and of others his Majesty's subjects, for which they ought to make satisfaction out of their own estates.

5. That the declaring a dividend of 30 per cent. for Christmas last, and not less than 50 per cent. per ann. for not less than twelve years after, was an infamous contrivance to give his Majesty's subjects false notions of the value of the stock, that the Directors might more easily dispose of their own stock at exorbitant prices.

6. That the setting the stock of the *South-Sea* Company to sale by subscriptions, at high prices, above the intrinsic value of the same, by the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the Company, was a gross and notorious fraud; and has been one great cause of the sinking of the public credit, and bringing upon the Nation the distress it at present labours under.

7. That the advising the Sub Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, to set the stock of the Company to sale by subscriptions at high and extravagant prices, or to declare the high and extravagant dividends for Christmas last, and twelve years after, by any persons in the Administration, was a
notorious

That, on the said 8th day of September, the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court, that their Directors had been unanimous in all their proceedings, which, amongst other things, includes the before-mentioned several subscriptions by them taken in, except the first; and upon the examination of the Directors it doth not appear to your Committee, that any one of them protested against, or declared any public dissent from any of the said proceedings; and it appears, that all of them took their shares and proportions of the subscriptions, which were allotted for the respective Directors to dispose of.

And your Committee have been informed by Sir *Theodore Janssen*, that there was a meeting at the house of Sir *John Fellows*, betwixt sixteen of the Court of Directors, Mr Secretary *Craggs* and Mr *Aylmer*, at which time it was proposed, that a subscription should be taken in at 300 l. per cent. which was approved of by Mr Secretary *Craggs*, and Mr *Aylmer*; and that, when the said Company broke up, it was agreed, that every person should use their best endeavours to promote it; which is also confirmed by the information of Sir *Lambert Blackwell*.

And, at a Court of Directors held the 13th day of April last, it was resolved to take in a subscription for two millions, at the rate of 300 l. per cent. but the same was afterwards increased, without any previous resolution to that purpose, to 2,250,000 l. and your Committee observe, that the imaginary value of the said subscriptions rose very fast; and that those who had the benefit of the said additional subscription, if they sold, and disposed of the same, made very great gains thereby.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 28th day of April last, it was resolved to take in a second money-subscription, at the rate of 400 l. per cent. for 1,000,000 l. but, by the accounts delivered into this House, it appears, that the said subscription was for 1,500,000 l. yet it does not appear that there was any previous resolution of the Court of Directors for the addition of 500,000 l. nor was the said addition declared till the 8th of September last, at which time the Sub-Governor acquainted the General Court therewith; upon which

your Committee cannot but observe the great distance of time between the taking in of the second subscription at 1,000,000 l. and the 8th of September, when the same was reported to the General Court at 1,500,000 l. during which interval the imaginary value of that subscription was excessively increased, whereby the persons, who had the same, had the advantage of that extraordinary rise.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 15th day of June last, it was resolved to take in a third money-subscription at the rate of 1000 l. per cent. one tenth part whereof was to be paid down at the time of subscribing; and, at a Court of Directors held the 23d day of the same month, the Sub-Governor acquainted the Court, That the said third money-subscription was completed, without mentioning to what sum; but at the before-mentioned General Court, held the 8th day of September last, he declared the same to be for five millions; and Mr *Knight*, late Cashier of the *South-Sea* Company, by an article dated the 20th day of June last, in the cash-book, fol. 125, charges the said sum of five millions as received; which account was passed, and allowed by the Company's Committee of Treasury, on, or some time after the 4th day of August last; and yet, in the account of the third money-subscription delivered in to this House, it is stated at 4,400,000 l. only the remaining sum of 600,000 l. being entered on the credit side of the said cash-book on the 19th of December 1720, as a supposed deficiency of the payment on this subscription; although it appears to your Committee upon the evidence of Mr *Lockyer*, and others, that not only the whole sum of five millions, but even a considerable exceeding thereon was paid in; that a great deal of money was repaid back to reduce the subscription to five millions; and that they had money enough paid in for near eight millions.

That, at a Court of Directors held the 12th day of August last, it was resolved to take in a fourth money-subscription for one million, at the rate of 1000 l. per cent. And, at a Court of Directors held the 25th of the same month, it was declared, That, upon calling up the books, it was found the said fourth money-subscription,

1720-21. notorious breach of the trust reposed in them, to the prejudice of his Majesty's Government, and the interest of the Kingdom.

8. That the entry in the cash-book of the *South-Sea* Company of 574,500 *l.* stock, pretended to be sold for 1,213,575 *l.* between the 4th of February, 1719, and the 12th of April following, was contrived with a design to conceal the names of persons, for whose benefit stock was taken in by the Company.

9. That every person, for whom stock was taken in or held, such stock being part of the 574,500 *l.* pretended to be sold by the *South-Sea* Company, from the 4th of February 1719, to the 12th of April, without money paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, and payment for such stock, be obliged to pay to the Company all such sums of money, as have been received by way of difference, or otherwise, for such stock.

10. That the addition of 250,000 *l.* to the first money-subscription, after it had been declared to have been opened for two millions, and the addition of 500,000 *l.* to the second money-subscription, after it had been declared to be opened for one million, were fraudulently contrived to give corrupt advantages to particular persons, and were injurious to public credit.

Upon these resolutions, a bill was brought in, for the relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the *South-Sea* Company.

Mr Stanhope, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, having been charged, in the Report of the Secret Committee, for having large quantities of stock and subscriptions held for him, pressed the House, that a short day might be appointed to examine the matter, that he might have an opportunity to clear himself. A day being appointed, several of the Directors and others were ordered to attend, who were examined concerning the charge against him, consisting of two articles: 1. That 10,000 *l.* *South-Sea* stock was taken in for his benefit by Mr Knight, without any valuable consideration; and that the difference, arising from the advanced price thereof, had been paid him out of the cash of the *South-Sea* Company. 2. That Turner and Company had bought 50,000 *l.* stock at a low price of the *South-Sea* Company, in the name, and for the benefit of Mr Stanhope, the difference of the advanced price whereof, amounting to 250,000 *l.* had been paid him by Sir George Caswall and Company. To prove these articles, the Secret Committee caused the examinations of Sir John Blunt, Mr Holditch, Mr Sawbridge, Mr Henry Blunt, and others, to be read, and those

subscription, instead of one million, was increased to 1,250,000 *l.* which was occasioned by taking the said subscription in several books; and at the before-mentioned General Court, held the 8th day of September last, the Sub-Governor declared the fourth money-subscription was completed to 1,250,000 *l.* And Mr Knight the Cashier hath, in an article dated the 30th day of August last, and entered in the cash-book, fol. 128, given the Company credit for the first payment made on the fourth subscription, viz. for 2,500,000 *l.* which account was passed, and allowed by the Committee of Treasury on the 4th day of October last; and yet, in the account of the said fourth money-subscription delivered into this House, it is stated at 1,200,000 *l.* only: That upon the examination of Mr Knight, and several of the Directors, in relation to the deficiency of the said third and fourth money subscriptions, their answers were very unsatisfactory: And your Committee cannot but observe, That as, by the before-mentioned additions to the first two money-subscriptions, some persons made great gains, whilst the price of the said subscriptions continued high; so, when the price of the subscriptions fell, many other persons were favoured, by having their subscriptions withdrawn, which was the cause of the deficiency.

That on the second money-subscription each Director was allowed, for himself and friends, 26,000 *l.* and that the remainder of the million, at first resolved to be taken in, was at the disposal of the Sub and Deputy-Governors; but, for whose benefit the additional subscription of 500,000 *l.* was intended, your Committee have not yet been able to discover.

That on the third money-subscription each Director was allowed 54,000 *l.* for himself and friends; and that several large lists of the names of persons were sent to the Sub-Governor, to be admitted into the said third subscription; viz. by the Earl of Sunderland, first Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, a list amounting to 167,000 *l.* by John Aylmer, Esq; late Chancellor of the Exchequer, another of the Lords of the Treasury, a list amounting to 75,300 *l.* by James Cragg, Esq; one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, two lists, amounting to 695,000 *l.* and by Charles Stanhope, Esq; one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, a list amounting to 49,700 *l.* Which four last mentioned lists amount to 987,000 *l.*

That, upon examination, it appears, that other lists have been given in, as well on the third as on the se-

cond subscription; but, the same being lost or mislaid, as your Committee have been informed, they are thereby disabled, at present, from making any report thereon.

They find 25,000 *l.* of the second subscription hath been given unto John Aylmer, Esq; about eight or ten days after the opening of that subscription, at which time the subscriptions were at an advanced price, of about 40 *l.* per cent. and soon after rose vastly higher.

That it doth not appear to your Committee that any of the persons, who had the honour to serve his Majesty in the Treasury, or in any other part of the Administration, used any endeavours to prevent the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company from taking in subscriptions at the aforesaid extravagant prices; but on the contrary it doth appear, that some of them, by the lists they gave in as aforesaid, did not only encourage and promote the said subscriptions, but did greatly enlarge the same.

Your Committee observing that Sir John Fellows, late Sub-Governor of the *South-Sea* Company, did at a General Court of the said Company, held the 21st of April, 1720, acquaint that Court, that the design of the Government's million of Exchequer-bills to be lent to the Company, by virtue of the late Act of Parliament for issuing Exchequer-bills to be circulated at or near the Exchequer, was to enable the Company to lend money upon their stock; and finding that by order of the Court of Directors of the said Company the same had been so lent out, your Committee proceeded to enquire into this affair.

And on the examination of Mr Robert Knight, late Cashier of the said Company, he declared, that he did not remember that any application was made by the Directors to have those bills issued; but that the first discourse of this matter was by John Aylmer, Esq; then Chancellor of the Exchequer, a week before the proposals of the *South-Sea* Company were offered to this House; that Mr Aylmer said, it would be more acceptable to have those bills circulated at the Exchequer, than to send them to the Bank or elsewhere, and that the Company might afford to circulate them for nothing, they being to be lent to the Company to enable them to execute their scheme. That the Examinant believed, the intention of lending the said bills upon stock had been communicated to Mr Aylmer, and that he (the Examinant) on his attending at the Treasury to solicit the issuing of these bills, did mention

those persons themselves to be examined; but some of them rather weakened than confirmed their former depositions. Sir *John Blunt*, in particular, owned, as to the first article, that Mr *Knight* had shewn him a letter, which he told him was signed by Mr *Stanhope*, desiring him to take 10,000 *l.* stock for him; but that he did not know whether that letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: And, as for the 50,000 *l.* stock transferred to the Sword-blade Company in Mr *Stanhope's* name, Mr *Sawbridge* and Mr *Turner* owned they had made use of Mr *Stanhope's* name without his privity or consent. After the examinations, and the animadversions of the Members of the Secret Committee, Mr *Stanhope* said, 'That, for some years past, he had lodged all the money he was master of in Mr *Knight's* hands, and whatever stock Mr *Knight* had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable consideration for it. And as for the 50,000 *l.* he could not answer for what had been done without his consent.' When the question was put, whether he was concerned in the manner represented by the two articles, he was cleared, though by three voices only, 180 against 177. A few days after, Sir *George Caswall* having been heard in his place, it was resolved by the

Commons, 'That it appeared to the House, 1720 21 that Sir *George Caswall*, one of the Copartners of *Turner and Company*, and a Member of the House, did, on the 14th of *December* 1720, after the House had begun to inquire into the conduct of the Directors of the *South Sea Company*, order *Daniel Watkins*, one of the Book-keepers of *Turner and Company*, to erase, in several places of the books, the name of *Stanhope*, and to make the same *Stangape*, which was accordingly done.' After this and some other resolutions concerning him, a bill was ordered to be brought in, to make the estates real and personal of Sir *George Caswall*, *Jacob Sawbridge*, and *Elias Turner*, answerable for 250,000 *l.* to the *South-Sea Company*, the advanced price of the forementioned 50,000 *l.* *South-Sea* stock.

The case of the Earl of *Sunderland* was also taken into consideration. By the report of the Secret Committee it appeared, that 50,000 *l.* stock had been taken by Mr *Knight* for the Earl's use, without any thing paid, or security given for payment for the same. The House seemed to be intent upon the inquiry: A warm dispute arose, and much was said for and against him: But, upon the question, the vote passed in his favour, by a majority of 233 against 132. Not-

tion that design, and never heard that the Treasury disapproved of it.

That Sir *John Blunt* declared it would be better to employ those bills in the lending upon stock, than in paying of the redeemables, which would take up more time.

Hereupon your Committee examining Sir *John Fellows*, he said, that he and others of the Directors treated with Mr *Aylmer* and others at the Treasury about the issuing the said *Exchequer-bills*; but that it was first proposed to Mr *Aylmer*, and the Examinant believed, it was at first mentioned by Sir *John Blunt*, in a Committee of the Directors, and that it was the general opinion of the Directors.

Your Committee examining Sir *John Blunt* upon this transaction, he declared, that he spoke to Mr *Aylmer* to hasten the issuing of the said bills; and that himself, or some other of the Directors, acquainted Mr *Aylmer* (as he believes at the Treasury) with the Company's design to lend them upon stock; that it did not at first arise from the Directors, but that it was intimated to them before, or very soon after the Company's proposals were laid before the House, by some of the Treasury, and on recollection, the Examinant said, it was by Mr *Aylmer*, to enable the Company to carry on their business, and thereby to raise the price of their stock, the borrowers being enabled to buy stock.

That, by the book of loans delivered in to this House, it appears that the sum of 9,039,936 *l.* 11 *s.* was lent to several persons on the security of 2,567,117 *l.* 17 *s.* 5 *d.* stock: And that the further sum of 2,219,089 *l.* was lent on the security of 773,600 *l.* subscription-receipts; the money so lent, and still remaining due, amounting in the whole to the sum of 11,259,025 *l.* 11 *s.*

That by several resolutions of the Court of Directors of the 21st of *April*, the 20th of *May*, and the 9th of *June* last, for three several loans, it appears, that the sum, resolved by them to be lent on stock from the 21st of *April* to the 21st of *May*, was limited to 500,000 *l.* in the whole, and that not more than 5000 *l.* should be lent to any one person, and such loan to be only at the rate of 250 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock; that, from the 20th of *May* to the 9th of *June*, the rule of lending was at the rate of 300 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock; and that not more than 3000 *l.* should be lent to any one person; and, from the 9th of *June*, the rule of lending was at 400 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock, and that not more than 4000 *l.* should be lent to any one person.

That, on examination of the books of loans, it appears, that on the first loan the rules of lending were greatly exceeded, viz. That there was lent in the whole 943,631 *l.* more than the sum of 500,000 *l.* to which the said loan was confined. That the excess above 250 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock, amounts to 316,740 *l.* and the excess above 500 *l.* to one person, amounts in the whole to 779,231 *l.* That on the second loan the excess above 250 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock amounts to 39,750 *l.* and the excess above 500 *l.* to one person, amounts in the whole to 169,025 *l.* And that on the third loan the excess above 400 *l.* on 100 *l.* stock amounts to 59,473 *l.* and the excess above the rate of 400 *l.* to one person, amounts in the whole to 1,447,677 *l.* For the particulars of all which your Committee refer to the book marked No IV. in which the same are more fully expressed, and the resolutions of the General Court, and Court of Directors, in relation to loans, are transcribed.

That your Committee do not find any resolution, either of a General Court, or a Court of Directors, for lending money on subscription-receipts; but, by the examinations which they have taken, it appears, That Mr *Knight*, the late Cashier of the *South Sea Company*, and his Under-Cashier and Clerks, by his directions, did lend money on the subscription-receipts, by verbal orders from the Directors of the said Company, and under colour of an order of a General Court, made the 21st of *April* 1720, to empower the Court of Directors from time to time, as they shall see for the interest of the Company, to lend any sum or sums of the Company's money, on the Company's present and to be increased capital stock; and to do all such matters and things, as they should judge most for the good of the Company.

But your Committee find, that by the second by-law of the said Company, relating to the keeping the cash of the Company, it was ordained, That the cash of the Corporation should from time to time be kept under three several locks, with different wards, the keys of which to be kept, one by the Cashier, and the other two by such of the Governor, Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governors or Directors, as the said Court should from time to time appoint, except such sum or sums as the Court of Directors should think necessary to let remain in the custody of the Cashier; and no money relating to the trade or affairs of the said Company should be disposed of, without an order of the said Court of Di-

1720-21. Notwithstanding this, it was generally thought, the Secret Committee need not have accused the Prime-Minister, if the charge had not been at least probable. The Earl did not lose the confidence of his Master, though he resigned his post of First Commissioner of the Treasury, which was given to Mr *Walpole*, as one of the most capable to hold it in such critical circumstances.

Mr Aillabie expelled the House.

Mr *Aillabie* did not escape so well as the Earl of *Sunderland*. When that part of the Report of the Secret Committee, which related to Mr *Aillabie*, came to be considered, Mr *Hawes's* deposition against him, 'That he had caused the book of accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a discharge for the balance, amounting to 842,000*l.*' appeared so strong, that the Commons came to several resolutions against him, particularly, that he had promoted the destructive execution of the *South-Sea* scheme, with a view to his own exorbitant profit, and combined with the Directors in their pernicious practices, to the ruin of the public credit; and therefore he was expelled the House, and ordered to be committed to the *Tower*,

Mr Craggs sent down.

Mr *Craggs* would have been called to an account on the 17th of *March*, but he happened to die the day before of a lethargic fit, leaving behind him an immense estate to be divided among his three daughters, who were married to

three Members of Parliament, Mr *Trefusis*, 1720-21. Mr *Newsham*, and Mr *Elliot*. About six weeks after his death, the Commons having taken Mr *Craggs's* affair into consideration, it was resolved that a large quantity of *South-Sea* stock had been held by the Company for his use, and that he was a notorious accomplice with *Robert Knight*, and some of the Directors, in carrying on their scandalous practices; and therefore that all the estate, he was possessed of from the 1st of *December* 1719, should be applied towards the relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the *South-Sea* Company,

The Directors having delivered in the inventories of their estates, it was debated what allowance should be given them. Mr *Lowndes* proposed an eighth part: But it was objected, such an allowance would be too much for some who had the largest estates, and consequently had been deepest in the guilt; and too little for others who had but small estates, and were only passively criminal, by not entering their dissent to the fraudulent management of the rest. It was at last agreed, that the affair of each Director should be particularly considered, and more or less favour shewn, according as they should appear more or less guilty. The Commons began with the Sub and Deputy-Governors, and proceeded alphabetically to the rest. The value of their estates, as given in upon oath, amounted

Allowedances to the South-Sea Directors out of their estates.

rectors; and that the interest of all other advantages, arising and growing upon the cash of the said Company, should be brought to the account of the said Company. However, it appears that the said loans on subscriptions were generally known, and never objected against, by any of the Directors in a General Court, or in any Court of Directors.

That, on the said loans on stock, the stock was transferred to persons for that purpose nominated in the same manner as if the same had been absolutely sold, without any defeasance on the part of the Company, or of the persons to whom the stock was transferred, for re-transferring the same, on repayment of the money; nor was any covenant or other security taken, for repayment from the Borrowers, except the stock so transferred; nor doth there appear any distinction between the said transfers on loans, and the other transfers, which were made of stock absolutely purchased, on account of the Company: Upon which your Committee observe, that it was in the power of the persons, to whom the said pawned stock was transferred, to dispose thereof at any time, as they thought fit, when the price of stock was high, and to replace the same when it fell.

And your Committee do find, that, on the 19th day of *October* last, the said Mr *Knight*, to whom the said pawned stock was transferred, did, pursuant to an order of the Court of Directors, transfer stock to the amount of 2,141,867*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* to Sir *Harcourt Masters*, Colonel *Hugh Raymond*, *Edward Gibbon*, and *John Gore*, Trustees, for that purpose nominated by the Court of Directors, in whose names the same now remains; but the sum is 421,250*l.* short of the aforesaid sum of 2,563,117*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.* which is mentioned in the said book of loans to have been pledged for the security of the repayment of the aforesaid sum of 9,039,936*l.* 11*s.* from which it is evident, that the said sum of 421,250*l.* of the stock mortgaged or pawned on loans, as aforesaid, has been sold, or otherwise disposed of, by the Trustees, or Agents of the *South-Sea* Company; and, till replaced, cannot be re-transferred to those, by whom the same was pawned or mortgaged: Upon which your Committee observe how easy it was for the Trustees of the Company to have sold the said stock, when it was at high prices, and to have replaced the same again when it fell; for on

examination it appears, that there was no distinct and separate account kept of the said mortgaged and pawned stock, nor was the same any ways distinguished from the other stock of those persons, to whom it was at first transferred.

That, as to the said sum of 2,219,087*l.* lent on 773,600*l.* subscription-receipts, it appears by the aforesaid book of loans, that the general rule of lending was at the rate of 300*l.* on 100*l.* subscription-receipts; but, excluding from the said loans on subscriptions the two great loans, the one to the million-bank, and the other to *Turner* and Company, the loans to the other Borrowers will at an average come out above 300*l.* per cent. It appears that on the first subscription-receipts, at the time of the said lending, there was paid in only from 90*l.* to 120*l.* per cent. and on the second subscription-receipts generally 40*l.* and on some few 80*l.* per cent. but how much more there hath been paid in since, or whether all the said subscription receipts on which money was lent be now remaining in the custody of any person for the security of the Company, your Committee cannot at present discover, the receipts not having been as yet produced to them.

That it appears that *Turner* and Company were employed by the Directors, to lend out 500,000*l.* on subscription-receipts, and that they accordingly lent 150,000*l.* on such receipts, after the rate of 190*l.* per cent. on the first subscription, and 40*l.* per cent. on the second. But, such rates being by the said Directors thought too low, the said *Turner* and Company were ordered to proceed no farther in disposing of the remaining part of the said 500,000*l.* and were told at the same time, that by lending at such low rates on subscriptions, they were ruining the stock. And it also appears, that Mr *Knight* did issue a considerable sum to be disposed of by Brokers, for the refusal of *South-Sea* stock at certain times, at very high prices; and likewise, that, on the declension of the price of the stock, large sums were issued to purchase stock, on account of the Company, at very high prices; and part of the stock then bought appears to have belonged to some of the Directors of the said Company. And although your Committee are not yet prepared to set this matter in a full light, they cannot but observe, that the said Directors, in all their proceedings in the execution

ed to about 2,014,000*l.* of which 334,000*l.* was left to the Proprietors (1).

Mr *Aislaby's* affair occasioned debates proportionable to his great riches, and the multitude of his friends. He was allowed all the estate he was possessed of, on the 20th of October 1718. His country-house, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels, and household-goods, were also excepted from the forfeiture.

Soon after, an act passed for raising money upon the estates of the Sub and Deputy-Governors, Directors, Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, and Accountant of the *South-Sea* Company, and of Mr *Aislaby* and Mr *Craggs*, towards making good the damages sustained by the Company, and for disabling such of these persons, as were living, to hold any place, or sit in Parliament, for the future.

When the motion was made in the House of Commons, for joining Mr *Aislaby* in the same bill with the Directors, his friends represented the hardship of putting a man of his eminence on the same level with them, and the danger of such a precedent: But it was to no purpose, for the motion was approved. Mr *Aislaby*, when the bill was depending in the House of Lords, petitioned to be heard by his Counsel. He was himself heard at their bar, and made two very long and eloquent speeches in his defence, but they met with more applause than success, for the bill passed as sent up by the Commons.

After these proceedings against the Managers of the *South-Sea* scheme, the Commons, with the same moderation and wisdom, applied themselves to repair the mischiefs, that scheme had produced, and at several times came to the following resolutions:

I. That, for the re-establishing of public credit, relief be given to the *South-Sea* Company, with regard to the payment of the 4,156,306*l.* and the four years and a half's purchase on the annuities and other national debts, the Company giving such consideration to the Proprietors, as the House shall think proper.

II. That, in order to put an end to all disputes between the Company and the Proprietors of the redeemable funds, and of the second, third, and fourth money-subscriptions, who have stock allowed them at 400*l.* per cent. with the *Midsummer* dividend, an addition of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* be given to the Proprietors by the Company.

III. That the seven millions, payable to the Public by the Company, be remitted so, as, from the 24th of June 1722, two millions of the stock be annihilated, and a proportionable part of their annuity or yearly fund from that time, cease.

IV. That the second subscription of the irredeemables be made equal to the first, by an addition of stock at 150*l.* per cent.

V. That all the stock belonging to the Company, which, after the proposed distribution,

execution of their scheme, appear to have had chiefly in view the raising and supporting the imaginary value of the stock, at an enormous price, to the benefit of themselves, and those who were in the secret with them.

That, as to the aforesaid loans on subscription-receipts, it appears, there were no discharges executed by those with whom the receipts were deposited, for a re delivery of the same, on repayment of the money, nor any security given by the Borrowers, besides the receipts by them so delivered; nor doth any thing else appear to distinguish the receipts so pledged from such receipts as were, or might have been, absolutely sold to the Company; for all the said receipts were made out in one name, viz. *Joseph Safford*, and by his indorsement the bearer became intitled to the property thereof: Upon which your Committee observe, the security of the Company, as to the money lent on the said subscription-receipts, is more precarious than the loans on stock; for by the transfer-book it might appear by whom such stock was transferred; but it hath not yet appeared to your Committee that any books have been kept, or entries made, of the names of the persons to whom such loans have been made on subscription-receipts: And your Committee do farther observe, That it was in the power of the persons, with whom such subscription-receipts were deposited, to sell the same at high prices, and to replace them again when the price fell. And upon the whole it doth appear to your Committee, that the said loans on stock, and on subscriptions, have been managed with the utmost negligence, with respect to the interest of the Company, and were contrived for the raising and keeping up the price of stock at an extravagant height.

Before your Committee concludes this report, they think it proper to observe, That it has appeared to them throughout their examination, that Mr *Knight*, Cashier of the *South-Sea* Company, was principally concerned in their most secret transactions. And your Committee have been informed by Sir *Thodore Janßen*, soon after Mr *Knight's* withdrawing himself, That upon his pressing Mr *Knight*, two or three days before

he went away, to make a discovery of whatsoever he knew relating to the whole proceedings; Mr *Knight* answered, that, if he should disclose all he knew, it would open such a scene as the world would be surprized at.

(1) The debates in the Grand Committee about settling the allowances were as follow:

They began with Sir *John Fellows*, the Sub-Governor, in whose behalf Mr *Sleper* moved, 'That, since it did not appear, that he had been so active in the late vile and pernicious practice, as some others, he might be allowed 20,000*l.* out of his estate.' Mr *Hungerford* reduced it to 15,000*l.* others to 12,000*l.* and Mr *Walpole* having at last proposed 10,000*l.* it was agreed to without any division. Mr *Joye*, the Deputy-Governor, appearing to have been deeply concerned in the guilt, it was agreed to allow him only 5,000*l.* The same sum was allowed Mr *Astell*: And the question being put to allow Sir *Lambert Blackwell* 10,000*l.* some proposing only 5,000*l.* it was carried for the former by a majority of four voices, one hundred and twelve against one hundred and eight. The allowance to Sir *John Blunt* occasioned a long debate. Mr *Laurence Carter* moved to allow him one shilling only; the Lord *James Cavendish*, 1,000*l.* Mr *Plummer*, 5,000*l.* Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, 10,000*l.* which was seconded by General *Roffe*, the Lord *Millsworth*, Mr *Jeffreys*, and Mr *Windsor*: But Mr *Sleper*, Mr *John Smith*, Mr *Horace Walpole*, and Mr *Milner*, were of opinion, that he ought to be most severely punished. Mr *Sleper* said, That he was grown to that height of pride and insolence, that he could not give a civil answer to persons far above him; instancing in his behaviour one day at the Treasury, when, a relation of a great man asking Sir *John*, in his (Mr *Sleper's*) hearing for a subscription, Sir *John*, with a great deal of contempt, bid him go to his cousin *Walpole*, and desire him to sell his stock in the Bank, and by that means he might be supplied.' Mr *Walpole* entered fully into Sir *John Blunt's* life and character, and shewed, that he had been a projector of many years standing, and had been the Author of several fallacious schemes, by which unwary people had been drawn in to their utter ruin, particularly

1721. shall remain undisposed of, shall be divided among the Proprietors.

VI. That such Persons as have borrowed money of the Company upon *South-Sea* stock, or upon subscription-receipts, shall, upon payment of 10 l. per cent. be discharged from all future demands.

VII. That all contracts for the sale or purchase of subscriptions or stock of the *South-Sea* Company, or any other, which shall be unperformed before the 29th of September next, be entered in books before the 1st of November next, or else be void.

VIII. That no special bail be required for any action brought upon any contract, since the 1st of December 1719, for the sale or purchase of any subscription or stock.

IX. That no execution be awarded, or any judgment obtained in any such action, till the end of the Session of Parliament, which shall be next after the 29th of September ensuing.

X. That all contracts for the sale or purchase of any subscription or stock, unperformed before the 29th of September next, where the Seller, or the person on whose behalf such contract was made, was not, at the same time of such contract, or within a time to be limited, actually possessed of or intitled to such subscription or stock, shall be declared null and void.

With these resolutions, the Commons presented to the King an address, demonstrating both the necessity and wisdom of their proceedings, and which deserves to be inserted at large:

'We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, being sensibly affected with the misery and calamities, that have befallen great numbers of your Majesty's faithful subjects, occasioned by the heavy losses they have sustained, from the fatal execution of the *South-Sea* scheme; and taking into our serious consideration the low state of public and private cre-

dit, which it seems impossible to us should ever revive under the present uncertain and unsettled posture of affairs, have come to several resolutions, which we humbly beg leave to lay before your Majesty.

When we first entered upon the consideration of this extensive and perplexed affair, we thought it most advisable to leave every man's property to be determined by due course of law, and were of opinion, that no relief or abatement could properly be prescribed or given, but from the *South-Company*. But, the discontents of the people daily increasing, and the uncertain and doubtful events, that threatened very great and valuable properties, creating such infinite anxieties and dissatisfaction, as had a most fatal and general influence upon all public and private credit, the interposition of Parliament became unavoidable, and we found ourselves under a necessity of refusing the consideration of this nice and intricate matter, and to endeavour to remove, as far as possible, the chief and greatest inconveniencies.

The great difficulty in remedying these mischiefs seemed to arise from the several contending interests engaged in the *South-Sea* Company, which made it impossible to give relief to some but at the expence of others: And as all the new Proprietors, as well those concerned in the public funds, as the other Adventurers, were equally imposed upon by the artifices of the late Directors, and equally drawn in by their own too great credulity and desire of gain; to have discharged any particular sett had been not only an injustice to the rest, but, by dissolving the whole system, had involved them in utter ruin, which made a distribution of losses, and some abatement to all, absolutely necessary. It was indeed very much to be wished, that such ease could have been given to the Proprietors of the public debts, as would have made their property as valuable to them, as they had enjoyed it for many years: But as they had voluntarily consented to take stock at some rate or other, even

at

particularly in a project for the linen manufacture. To this Mr *Horace Walpole* added, 'That was not the fact; for there was a Gentleman, who sat next to him, meaning Mr *Jesse*, whom Sir *John Blunt* had drawn into a project for bringing water to London from a great distance, which was to out-do the New River water; by which the Subscribers lost all their money, though Sir *John* himself got some thousands by it.' This Mr *Jesse* confirmed. However, the Lord *Hinchinbroke* moved for allowing Sir *John Blunt* 10,000 l. but the question being put for allowing him 1,000 l. it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of one hundred thirty-eight against ninety-four.

The next allowance in debate was for Sir *Robert Chaplin*, for whom the Lord *Molesworth*, Sir *John Eyles*, and other Members spoke; and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000 l. The same allowance was given to Sir *William Chapman*, Mr *Chester*, and Mr *Cibd*. A motion being made to give Mr *De la Porte* the like sum, the Lord *Molesworth* was for reducing it to 7,000 l. but upon the question it was carried for 1,000 l. by a majority of one hundred and fifty against sixty-nine. The case of Mr *Francis Eyles* appeared in so favourable a light, that he was allowed 20,000 l. without dividing. Mr *Edmondson's* estate amounting to little more than 5,000 l. it was moved to allow him the whole, and leave him out of the bill; but, after some debate, it was agreed to allow him only 3,000 l. The question being put to allow

Mr *Gibbon* 15,000 or 10,000 l. it was carried for the latter without dividing. It appearing, that Sir *William Hammond* and Mr *Gore* had little or no share in the fraudulent contrivances of the leading Directors, Mr *Gore* was allowed 20,000 l. and Sir *William Hammond* 10,000 l. It was proposed to give Mr *Hawes*, late Receiver-General of the Customs, 1,000 l. But, Sir *Nathaniel Gould* and some other Members having observed, that he was very active in the late vile practices, and had occasioned the ruin of many people, Mr *Ducminique* moved, and it was agreed to allow him only 31 l. the odd money of his inventory. Several Members spoke in favour of Mr *Horsey*, particularly the Lord *Hinchinbroke* and Sir *Robert Rich*, who moved for allowing him 10,000 l. which was carried without a division. It was then debated, whether to allow Mr *Holditch* 500 l. 1,000 l. or 5,000 l. The voices were equally divided, eighty-six and eighty-six; upon which Mr *Clayton*, the Chairman, gave the casting vote for 5,000 l. which met with general approbation. Mr *Horace Walpole* and Sir *Richard Steele* spoke in favour of Sir *Theodore Janßen*, and were answered by General *Rosse* and the Master of the Rolls. But, after a small debate, Mr *Trenchard* moved for allowing him 50,000 l. which was carried by a majority of one hundred and thirty-four voices against one hundred and eighteen. Sir *Jacob Jacobson's* case coming next under consideration, Mr *Hungerford* moved for allowing him 11,000 l. which was all his estate, except

481 l.

1721. at the time when they saw the stock raised to the highest pitch, the giving stock at one and the same price to them and all others, that were most immediately concerned, make the provision as just and equitable, as the nature of the thing will admit; it being impracticable, so far to remove the two different interests in this general concern, as to make the conditions of trade equal, that had engaged themselves at different rates, and upon unequal terms.

The great and principal mischiefs arise from several concurring circumstances; from the hard terms of sale of the Proprietors, occasioned by the high price at which they had purchased stock, or the excessive rates, at which, as well the Proprietors of Public debts, as the Money-lenders, had obliged themselves to take stock; from the demand of above seven millions, payable to the public, which could only be raised out of the properties of those, that were already too great sufferers, and which rendered the Company incapable of giving them any farther ease or relief; from the disputes and contests at law, which were preparing to be carried on, not only between the Company and the Subscribers of the redeemable funds, but between infinite numbers of private persons engaged in contracts for the sale and purchase of

stock and subscriptions; from the impossibility of the Money-subscribers making any farther payments; from the great loss the Company had sustained by the late Directors, having lent out above eleven millions of the Company's money, without any, or without sufficient security; and from the very little prospect of recovering any considerable part thereof; without which it was impossible for the Company to comply with the demand of the Public, but at the infinite expence and insupportable loss of all their Adventurers, which must have proved destructive to the trade and credit of the Kingdom.

These considerations induced us to come to the foregoing resolutions; being, as we conceive, the most proper means to enable the Company to give relief to such of their Proprietors, as most wanted and deserved it; to put an end to all disputes at law; and to fix, settle, and ascertain the several properties and interests of all persons concerned with the *South-Sea Company*; to deliver infinite numbers of your Majesty's good subjects from the apprehension of vexatious law-suits and prosecutions, and from the farther demand of such excessive sums of money, as must sink and deprecate all public and private credit.

And as the greatest mischiefs, which we now

481 l. and it was agreed to without a negative. Mr *Ingram's* case being much the same, Mr *Pulteney* moved for allowing him 10,000 l. near three parts in four of his estate; and, being seconded by the Lord *Hinchinbroke*, it was carried without dividing. Sir *John Lambert* was allowed 5,000 l. without a division, as was Sir *Harcourt Masters*, and Mr *John Sturt* 1,800 l. near his whole estate. Mr *Page* had an allowance of 10,000 l. without dividing. Mr *Hosham* moved for allowing Colonel *Raymond* 30,000 l. and, being seconded by Mr *Tufnel*, the Attorney-General, and Mr *Hungerford*, no opposition was made to that motion. Mr *Sloper* moved for allowing Mr *Read* 10,000 l. He was seconded by Sir *John Ward* and Mr *Dominique*; and the motion carried without a debate; as was the allowance of 14,000 l. to Mr *Reynolds*. Mr *Hungerford* moved for allowing Mr *Saubridge* 10,000 l. and was opposed by Mr *Lennox*, the Lord *Boleworth*, Sir *Adolphus Oughton*, and Mr *Horace Walpole*. But another Member moving for 5,000 l. it was agreed to without a division. Mr *Tillard* had in like manner an allowance of 15,000 l. and Mr *Turner* 800 l. which was near his whole estate. The case of Mr *Surman*, the Deputy-Cashier, occasioned a debate of about an hour and a half. He had not the best character amongst the offenders; but, acting only as a servant, and by the command of Mr *Knight*, or the Directors, several Members thought there should be a mitigation in his punishment, as there was no crime. Mr *Lord North* attended, and made it, that he might be let out of the bill. Another Member would have allowed him 30,000 l. Mr *Hungerford* would have reduced it to 20,000 l. Mr *Lechmere* to 12,000 l. and two other Members to 10,000, and 5,000 l. All these were opposed by Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Serjeant *Pengelly*, and Mr *Horace Walpole*, who would not have allowed him above 20 or 30 l. but at last the question being put for allowing him 5,000 l. it was agreed to without dividing. Mr *Arthur Moore* moved for allowing *John Grigby*, Accountant to the *South-Sea Company*, 10,000 l. But another Member said, 'That, since that uplift was once so prodigally vain, as to bid his coachman feed his horses with gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himself: And therefore he moved he might be allowed as much gold, as he could eat; and that the rest of the money might go towards the relief of the sufferers.' However a motion being made for allowing him 2,000 l. it was carried without dividing.

The particulars of the estates and allowances were as follow:

	Inventories.			Allowances.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
Sir John Fellows, Sub-Governor	243,096	00	06	10,000	00	00
Mr Charles Jere, Deputy-Governor	40,105	02	00	5,000	00	00
Mr Astell	27,750	19	08	5,000	00	00
Sir John Blunt	18,241	10	00	1,000	00	00
Sir John Blackwell	4,549	10	11	1,000	00	00
Sir Robert Chaplin	45,875	14	05	1,000	00	00
Sir William Chapman	39,161	06	08	10,000	00	00
Mr Chester	140,372	15	06	10,000	00	00
Mr Child	52,437	19	01	10,000	00	00
Mr Delaport	17,151	04	06	10,000	00	00
Mr Eyles	31,370	16	07	20,000	00	00
Mr Edmondson	5,365	00	00	3,000	00	00
Mr Gibbon	100,513	05	06	10,000	00	00
Mr Gore	38,400	15	06	2,000	00	00
Mr Hawes	40,031	00	02	31	00	02
Sir William Hannon	27,000	04	00	10,000	00	00
Mr Hays	10,000	05	03	10,000	00	00
Mr Hatched	3,500	10	04	5,000	00	00
Sir Isaac Jacobson	24,000	00	00	50,000	00	00
Sir Jacob Jacobson	11,400	00	00	11,000	00	00
Mr Ingram	16,795	00	00	12,000	00	00
Sir John Lambert	72,508	01	05	5,000	00	00
Sir Harcourt Masters	11,814	12	03	1,800	00	00
Mr Morley	1,869	10	03	1,800	00	00
Mr Page	31,817	12	03	10,000	00	00
Mr Raymond	64,373	06	03	30,000	00	00
Mr Read	117,297	16	00	10,000	00	00
Mr Reynolds	18,368	13	02	14,000	00	00
Mr Saubridge	77,254	07	08	5,000	00	00
Mr Tillard	19,175	14	04	15,000	00	00
Mr Turner	881	10	00	00	00	00
Mr Surman, Deputy-Cashier	121,321	10	00	5,000	00	00
Mr Grigby	31,687	06	00	2,000	00	00

Some alterations were afterwards made in these allowances. Mr *Astell* had 10,000 l. instead of 5,000 l. Sir *John Blunt* 5,000 l. instead of 1,000 l. Sir *Lambert Blackwell* 15,000 l. instead of 10,000 l. and Mr *Hawes* 5,000 l. instead of 31 l. A motion was made to reduce Sir *John Blackwell's* allowance to 30,000 l. but it was rejected.

1721. so justly complain of, have arisen from the unwarrantable methods used by the late Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, in selling and disposing of such part of their increased capital stock, as belonged to the Company; to remove such a foundation of stock-jobbing, and to prevent the like fatal consequences for the future, we thought it necessary to take care, that all the increased capital stock belonging to the Company, which, after the proposed distribution is made, shall remain undisposed of, be divided among all the Proprietors of the Company, in proportion to their several and respective interests.

These resolutions, if passed into a law, and duly put in execution, we humbly hope will tend very much to the re-establishing of public credit, to the quieting of the minds of your Majesty's subjects, and contribute to the ease and relief of great numbers, though not sufficient to give satisfaction to, or repair the losses of all that are unhappily involved in the present calamity.

But, as the ancient usage and established rules of Parliament make it impracticable for us to prepare bills for the Royal assent, during the present Session of Parliament, for some of the purposes contained in our resolutions, we have humbly presumed to lay the same before your Majesty for your Royal consideration; not doubting but that your Majesty will, out of your great wisdom and accustomed grace and goodness to your people, as soon as the public and private bills, now depending in Parliament, shall be dispatched, give us an early opportunity of perfecting this great and necessary work.

The King returned for answer, 'That he had such an entire confidence in the Parliament's duty and affection to him, and their zeal for the public service, that he should very readily comply with what they desired, and would soon give them opportunity of doing what they proposed for settling and establishing the credit of the Kingdom.'

The next day being the 29th of July, the King came to the House of Peers, and, passing the bills that were ready, the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament for two days only to the last of July, when the King came again to the House of Lords, and made the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE occasion of my calling you together again, so suddenly, is to give you an opportunity of resuming the consideration of the state of public credit.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The progress, that you made in this affair during the last Session, laid such a foundation of this necessary work, that the world is fully apprised of what is reasonably to be hoped for at this present conjuncture.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must recommend to you all possible dispatch, and am persuaded, that at this season

of the year your deliberation will be confined to what is absolutely necessary upon this extraordinary occasion.'

Pursuant to this short speech, the Commons came again to their former resolution, and ordered a bill to be brought in under the title of, 'A bill for making provisions to restore public credit, which suffered by the frauds and mismanagements of the late *South-Sea* Directors and others.'

This bill was formed upon the forementioned resolutions, and it may here be observed, that the whole capital stock, at the end of the year 1720, amounted to above 37,800,000*l.* and the stock, allotted to all the Proprietors in their several shares, did not amount to 24,500,000*l.* The remaining capital stock, being about 13,300,000*l.* belonged to the Company in their corporate capacity, and was the profit arising from the execution of the *South-Sea* scheme, and out of which the seven millions was to be paid to the Public.

When this scheme was blown up, and the calamities and ruin attending numberless families appeared, the Parliament, in favour of the unhappy Sufferers, by the present act directed several additions to be made to the stock of the Proprietors out of the stock possessed by the Company, in their own right; and made a particular distribution of stock, which amounted to above 2,200,000*l.* and upon remitting five millions of the seven, that was to be paid to the Public, annihilated two millions of their capital, which was inflicting upon the payment of two millions: Then they enacted, that, after these distributions, the remaining capital stock should be divided among all the Proprietors which came to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent. and this took from the Company above 8,900,000*l.*

There was then due, and owing to the Company, above eleven millions for money lent by them on stock unredeemed, and of this the Parliament discharged all the Debtors to the Company upon paying 10*l.* per cent. (which some did comply with, and others refused) and the loss to the Company was upon this article above 6,900,000*l.*

This act gave some relief to the Sufferers, and the cries and lamentations of undone multitudes were less heard, but the Proprietors of the stock loudly complained of the two millions taken from them: Upon which (as will hereafter be related) the Parliament, in 1723, revived the two millions that had been annihilated, and directed it to be distributed among the Proprietors which made an addition of 6*l.* 5*s.* to every man's capital.

Whilst the affair of the *South-Sea* was depending in Parliament, petitions from Counties, Cities, and Boroughs were sent up, crying for justice, and pamphlets were daily published, exasperating the minds of the people against the *South-Sea* Directors and their Abettors. But the loudest cries for justice were contained in letters directed to the Author of the *London Journal*, and supposed to have been mostly penned by Mr Gordon, under the borrowed name of Cato (1).

The

(1) A Committee was appointed to inquire into the Authors, Printers, and Publishers of seditious libels. No. 98. VOL. IV.

1721.
General
Court of
Sept. 1.

The affairs of the *South Sea* being thus settled, the Company were soon in condition to satisfy their engagements with the public. On the 11th of September a General Court was held, which Sir John Eyles, the Sub-Governor, opened with a speech, setting forth the regulations of the Parliament, without which the Directors would have been involved in difficulties insuperable, and confusions without end. He enlarged upon his Majesty's care of their interests in the late treaties with *Spain*, and upon the advantages that might be gained by the *Assiento* contract, to which end the Directors were fitting out the *Royal George*, whose cargo amounting to 280,000*l.* was loaded. He acquainted them with the intention of carrying on a trade hitherto not meddled with by the Company, the *Greenland* trade, so beneficial to *Holland* and *Hamburg*. He then told them, that the forfeited estates of the late Directors, and the 10*l.* per cent. on the borrowed stock, with some other particulars, were abundantly sufficient for discharging the debts of the Company, and maintaining the credit of their bonds: That therefore the Directors had discharged part of the bonds due at *Christmas*, and hoped to give a speedy determination to the rest, that so their credit might be established upon a solid foot: That the Court of Directors had also resolved to divide (if thought fit) 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in stock upon the present capital. That, as all the remaining stock was, by act of Parliament, to be divided equally among the Proprietors, the Directors had, in great measure, executed that appointment, amounting, upon a calculation, to 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* upon every 100*l.* capital. After this, he mentioned the Company's being empowered, by a late act, to ingraft part of their stock into the capitals of the Bank and *East-India*; but, as the act for restoring public credit had adjusted the concerns of the Company upon a new foot, he only barely mentioned the ingraftment.

This speech met with applause, not only in the Court, but from the Public; and the matters contained in it were agreed to, except the affair of the ingraftment, which was left. At this Court it was unanimously resolved, that

the Directors should take the most effectual measures to oblige the Bank to stand to their contract, for taking stock at 400*l.* per cent. in lieu of the 3,775,000*l.* the Company was to have paid them; and the contract was ordered to be registered.

During these proceedings concerning the affairs of the *South-Sea* Company, the following transactions passed in the Parliament.

There was formed (at least, it was pretended *Hell-Fire-Club*) a scandalous Society at *London*, with the shocking name of the *Hell-Fire-Club*. The Members whereof were guilty of the like extravagancies with the *Mobacks*, formerly mentioned. Several persons of Quality, particularly the Duke of *Wharton*, were marked out as belonging to this Club. The King, being informed of their wicked proceedings, published a proclamation (April 29) against blasphemous and scandalous Clubs, declaring, he was determined to shew all marks of displeasure to any, who even lay under the suspicion of such destructive practices. He gave orders also to the Officers of his Household, to make strict inquiry, whether any of his servants were guilty of such horrid impieties. The same day this order was given, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had lately returned from *France*, took the occasion to complain, in the House of Lords, of the growth of atheism, profaneness, and immorality. Upon this, Dr *Verney*, Lord *Willoughby of Brooke*, Dean of *Windſor*, brought in a bill for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness. It contained several articles, which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly designed to secure the belief of the thirty-nine articles of the Church of *England*, and restrain the liberty granted by the laws of the former Session to the Non-conformists. The substance of it was:

I. If any one spoke or writ against the Being of God, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, or the Holy Ghost, or the Doctrine of the Trinity, as set forth in the thirty-nine articles, or the Truth of the Christian Religion, or the Divine Inspiration of the Scriptures, he should, upon conviction,

They sent for Mr *Peele*, Publisher of the *London Journal*, and for the reputed Author of the letters, but *Adit*, the Printer and Publisher of a *Weekly Journal*, was, for reflections cast on the King for his interpolations on behalf of the Protestants in the *Palatinate*, sentenced to stand in the Pillory, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and after three months imprisonment to give security for his good behaviour seven years. His *Journal* was carried on under the title of *Fog's*, and two months after (May 27) was censured again by the Commons as a traitorous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, and excite Rebellion. However, the *Journal* continued many years afterwards.

(1) About the latter end of *March*, a full Convocation of the University of *Oxford* unanimously resolved, That the solemn thanks of the University should be returned to the Earl of *Nottingham*, for his most noble defence of the Christian Faith, contained in his answer to Mr *Whiston's* letter to him, concerning the eternity of the soul. *Adit*, the Printer and Publisher of a *Weekly Journal*, was, for reflections cast on the King for his interpolations on behalf of the Protestants in the *Palatinate*, sentenced to stand in the Pillory, to pay a fine of fifty pounds, and after three months imprisonment to give security for his good behaviour seven years. His *Journal* was carried on under the title of *Fog's*, and two months after (May 27) was censured again by the Commons as a traitorous libel, tending to alienate the affections of his Majesty's subjects, and excite Rebellion. However, the *Journal* continued many years afterwards.

Wing, *Chipping-norton*, and *Henley*. The Archdeacon of *Hereford*, and forty-five of the Clergy, signed an address of thanks to the Earl, wherein they hinted, that he had asserted the Convocation to be a part of the Parliament. The same was done likewise by the Clergy of *Chesler* and *Shropshire*. About the same time Mr *Joseph Hall*, Mace-bearer to the King, and Justice of the Peace, was sentenced to stand in the Pillory, to pay 200*l.* fine, to lie three months in prison, and give security also for seven years, for his seditious reply to Mr *Higgs's* merry argument for the Trinitheistical Doctrine of the Trinity.

In *May*, the King published directions to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops, for the preservation of unity in the Church, and the purity of the Christian Faith, particularly in the Doctrine of the Trinity. They were required to see, That no Preacher whatsoever, in his sermon, or lecture, do presume to deliver any other doctrine, concerning the great and fundamental truths of our most holy Religion, and particularly concerning the blessed Trinity, than what are contained in the Holy Scriptures, and are agreeable to the three Creeds, and to the doctrine of the Persons in the Trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to suffer imprisonment three years.

1721. viction, be imprisoned many months, unless he should, within such a time, publicly renounce his error, in a form prescribed.

II. If any Preacher in a separate Congregation should deny any of the fundamental articles of the Christian Religion, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

III. The Archbishops in their Provinces, and every Bishop in his Diocese, should be authorized to summon any person in Holy Orders, to appear before, and subscribe the declaration above-mentioned, and upon refusal, such person should be incapable to hold any Ecclesiastical benefice.

IV. The Justices at their Quarter-Sessions are authorized, in like manner, to summon any Dissenting Preacher, and upon his refusal to subscribe the Declaration of Faith, he should be deprived of the benefit of the act of Toleration.

At the second reading of this bill (*May 2*) all the Lords about *London* being summoned to attend, the Archbishop moved to have it committed. Upon which the Lord *Onslow* said: 'He was as much against Blasphemy, and for promoting Religion, as it is professed in the Church of *England*, as any body; but he could not be for any law, that was for Persecution, of which nature he took this bill to be; and therefore he moved, that it might be thrown out'. He was seconded by the Duke of *Warton*, who said, 'He was not insensible of the common talk and opinion of the town concerning himself, and therefore he was glad of this opportunity to justify himself, by declaring, he was far from being a patron of Blasphemy, or any enemy to Religion; but, on the other hand, he could not be for this bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture.' Then, taking an old family Bible out of his pocket, he quoted and read several passages of the Epistles of *St Peter* and *St Paul*; concluding, That the bill might be thrown out. He was supported by the Duke of *Argyle*, and the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Illy*, the Lord *Townshend*, and Earl *Cowper*. The Earl of *Peterborough* said, 'Tho' he was for a parliamentary King, yet he did not desire to have a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary Religion: And, if the house were for such a one, he would go to *Rome*, and endeavour to be chosen a Cardinal; for he had rather sit in the Conclave, than with their Lordships upon those terms.' Dr *Kenner*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, spoke likewise on the same side, and said, 'That neither himself, nor, he hoped, any of that Bench, would be executioners of such a law, which seemed to tend to the setting up of an Inquisition.' On the other hand, the Earl of *Nottingham*, the Lord *Balburst*, the Bishops of *London*, *Winchester*, *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, and some others, spoke for the bill; as did likewise the Lord *Trevor*. One of these having said, 'That he verily believed, the present calamity, occasioned by the *South-Sea* project, was a judgment of God on the blasphemy and profaneness the Nation was guilty of.' The Lord *Onslow* replied, 'That noble Peer must then have been a great sinner; for he heard, he had lost considerably by the *South-Sea*.' After some other speeches, the bill was put off to a long day, by a majority of 60 voices against 21.

The Supplies were, contrary to custom, granted very late, and not with the usual readiness. The King, not to increase the ill humour, had

not mentioned the Subsidy he was obliged, by the last year's treaty, to give *Sweden* for her support against *Russia*. However, on the 16th of *June*, he thought proper to send the following message to the House of Commons:

'His Majesty, having taken the first opportunity, upon the death of the late King of *Sweden*, to renew the antient Alliances between this Kingdom and *Sweden*, and having stipulated by a treaty to pay a Subsidy to that Crown, hath ordered that treaty to be laid before the House of Commons; and hopes from their known zeal and affection for the Protestant Religion, and the true interest of their Country, that they will enable him to make good the engagements he has entered into upon this occasion.

His Majesty being informed, that two ships called the *Bristol Merchant* and *Turkey Merchant* (now lying under quarantine) did arrive from *Cyprus*, and other parts of *Turkey*, infected with the plague, and have cotton wool and other goods on board, which are dangerous to spread the infection; and conceiving it necessary for the preservation of the health of his subjects, that these ships and their ladings be burnt and destroyed, and that a reasonable satisfaction be given to the owners, hath, by advice of his Privy-Council, caused the value thereof to be computed by his Majesty's Officers, and ordered those computations to be laid before the House of Commons, that provision may be made for satisfying the same.'

This message occasioned a long debate. Mr *Shippen*, Sir *William Wynham*, Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, the Lord *Moleworth*, Mr *Butler*, and some others, desired to know, 'Whether we were to give 72,000*l*. (for that was the Subsidy) to *Sweden*, besides the maintaining a great fleet, with six thousand seamen in the *Baltic*, which they thought a sufficient charge to the Nation, without paying so great a subsidy? Urging, that, before this last treaty with *Sweden*, there had been a rupture between the two Nations, and hostilities, and great depredations committed by the *Swedish* Privateers on our Merchants; so that, before any Subsidy be given to that Crown, accounts ought first to be stated and settled, and it might appear upon the balance, that *Sweden* is indebted to us.' To this it was answered by Mr *Walpole* and his brother, Mr *Lechmere*, the Lord *Barrington*, and some others, 'That the Subsidy allowed to *Sweden* by this last treaty, and the Squadron sent to their assistance, was no more than had been stipulated by former engagements; but that the subsidy was not like to be demanded any more, the preliminaries of the peace between the Czar of *Moscow* and the Crown of *Sweden* being in a manner settled. Neither did the King desire any new tax for it, the land and malt tax being sufficient to answer all this year's expence.' Mr *Walpole* added, 'He was extremely glad, he could at the same time acquaint the House, that his Majesty's endeavours to procure a general peace had been so successful, that an advantageous treaty with *Spain* was actually agreed on and signed.' The Lord *Moleworth* observed, 'That he would go as far as any man to maintain and support the honour and dignity of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; but that, on the other hand he was not for squandering away unnecessarily the small remainder of the wealth of the Nation. That by our late conduct we were become the Allies of the

the whole world, and the bubbles of all our Allies; but, when we have occasion for our Allies, we are obliged to pay them well? And to that purpose, he instanced in the Dutch troops, that came over to our assistance in the Rebellion in 1715. He added, 'That, as to our Alliances with Sweden, it was a matter of great intricacy and nicety, because the treaties, which England has at several times made with Sweden, are partly contradictory.' He then entered into a detail of the treaties of *Roschild* and *Travendal* made in the Reigns of King *Charles II.* and *William III.* 'That the engagements lately entered into with the Crown of Sweden were likewise, in some measure, contrary to the Treaties subsisting with Denmark; particularly as to the securing to the Duke of *Holstein* the Duchy of *Sleswick*; and directly opposite to the measures formerly concerted with the Czar of *Moscow*, in order to engage him to check the fierceness and ambition of the late King of Sweden: And therefore, in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gained, it were but just, that the King of *Prussia* should give up *Stettin*, and the Elector of *Hanover*, *Bremen* and *Verden*. He owned, that the distressed condition, to which the Swedes had been reduced, was really worthy of compassion: But that, on the other hand, it must be considered, they had been, in great measure the authors of their own misfortunes by their tame submission to a despotic tyrannical Prince, and by sacrificing their whole substance to enable him to carry on his unjust, rash, and ambitious designs; and that any Nation who followed their example, deserved the same fate. To this purpose he took notice of the hard usage of the subjects of *Mecklenburgh* from their Prince, which he insinuated to have been one of the causes of the late rupture with the Czar; but that, after all, *England* ought not to intermeddle with the affairs of the Empire: That the getting naval stores for our shipping was the main advantage we reaped from our trading in the Baltic: And he owned, that Linn was a very necessary commodity, particularly at this juncture; but that, if due encouragement were given to some of our Plantations in *America*, we might be supplied from thence at a much cheaper rate than from Sweden and Norway.' Mr *Lechmere* distinguished himself also on this occasion; but the Subsidy was at last granted by a majority of 100 yeas to 40 nays. A Supply was also given to satisfy the owners of the ships that were to be burnt, on account of their being suspected to be infectious.

Notwithstanding this warm debate about the Swedish Subsidy, the King sent, about three weeks after, another message to the Commons, relating to the debts of the Civil List.

His Majesty finds it necessary to acquaint his loyal House of Commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts contracted in his Civil Government; which, being computed at *Lady Day* last, do amount to more than 550,000 *l.*

If the provision, made by an act of the last Session of Parliament for discharging this debt, had not hitherto proved in a very great degree ineffectual, his Majesty had not been under a necessity of applying again to Parliament upon this occasion. But being resolved to cause a retrenchment to be made of his Civil List expences for the future, and finding, that such a retrenchment cannot well be effected, without

discharging the present arrears, has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the House, and hopes he may be empowered to raise ready money for that purpose on the Civil List revenues, which, to avoid laying any new burden on his people, his Majesty proposes shall be replaced to the Civil List, and reimbursed by a deduction to be made out of the salaries and wages of all officers, and the pensions, and other payments from the Crown.' After the reading of this message, Mr *Shippen* stood up, and made a long speech, wherein he took notice of 'this new and unusual method of asking for money, not from the Throne, and at the beginning of a Session, as it had always been the custom in the former Reigns; but now, by a message, towards the end of the Session, when most of the Members were gone home. Look round about the House, Gentlemen, said he, and see how few Members are present, when a business of this consequence is to be debated.' But, besides the unseasonableness of the time, he observed, 'That this message was no less extraordinary as to another circumstance; for, whereas the ways and means of raising Supplies were always left to the Commons, here, not only the sum, but the way of raising it, was pointed out to them, which was making the House a perfect parliament of *Paris*. That, if things were brought to that pass, it might be easy for any King, whenever he thought fit, to make himself arbitrary and absolute Master of our liberties and properties; concluding, he was sure, that the Gentleman who had advised the asking for such a sum in that manner, would have been of a quite contrary mind two years ago; but that it was usual for men's judgments to alter as their interests lead them.' Mr *Shippen* was answered by Mr *Walpole*, who shewed the occasion and the reasonableness of the King's message, the tenderness and regard he expressed in it for the ease of his subjects, and the necessity of complying with his desires. He was seconded by Mr *Lowe*, who said, that six-pence in the pound on all the Civil List funds would answer the purpose. But Mr *Pulteney*, and Sir *Josiah Jekyll* were of opinion, that it would not do, and therefore moved for one shilling in the pound; adding, that, if this were too much for the present occasion, the overplus might go towards the discharge of the public debts. Mr *Steele* agreed with them, and upon this last consideration moved for one shilling and six pence in the pound; and that the tax might extend to all military Officers, whose pay was above ten shillings a day. But this motion was dropped, and after some other debates it was at last agreed, that 500,000 *l.* should be raised for the debts of the Civil List, by a deduction of six pence in the pound out of salaries, wages, pensions, and other payments from the Crown. For this purpose a bill passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent. At the same time passed also an act for a general pardon.

The act for restoring public credit was passed the 10th of *August*, when the King came to the House of Peers, and concluded the Session with the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I Am glad, that the business of this, and the former Session, is at length brought to such a period, that I have now an opportunity

1721.

The Parliament began Aug. 1

1721. 'tunity of giving you some relief, after the great pains you have taken in the service of the Public.

'The common calamity, occasioned by the wicked execution of the *South-Sea* scheme, was become so very great before your meeting, that the providing proper remedies for it was very difficult. But it is a great comfort to me to observe, that public credit now begins to recover, which gives me the greatest hopes, that it will be entirely restored, when all the provisions, you have made for that end, shall be duly put in execution.

'I have great compassion for the sufferings of the innocent, and a just indignation against the guilty; and have readily given my assent to such bills, as you have presented to me, for punishing the Authors of our late misfortunes; and for obtaining the restitution and satisfaction due to those, who have been injured by them, in such a manner, as you judged proper. I was at the same time willing and desirous, by my free and general pardon to give ease and quiet to the rest of my subjects, many of whom may, in such a general infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in to transgress the laws.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

'I return you my hearty thanks for the Supplies you have granted for the current service of this year, and particularly for your enabling me to discharge the debts and arrears on the Civil List, and to make good the engagements I was under for procuring peace in the North, which, in all probability, will now very soon be concluded. These instances of your faithful endeavours to support the honour and dignity of the Crown at home and abroad, are fresh marks of your zeal and affection to my person and Government.

My Lords and Gentlemen.

'I take this opportunity of acquainting you, that we have renewed all our treaties of commerce with *Spain*, upon the same foot as they were settled before the late war, which must necessarily prove an immediate and valuable advantage to the trade and manufactures of this Kingdom.

'I earnestly recommend to you all, in your several stations, to suppress profaneness and immorality, and to preserve the peace and quiet of the Kingdom.

'You are all sensible that the discontents occasioned by the great losses that many of my subjects have sustained, have been industriously raised and inflamed by malicious and seditious libels: But I make no doubt, but that, by your prudent conduct in your several Countries, all the enemies of my Government, who flattered themselves they should be able to take advantage from our misfortunes, and blow

up the sufferings of my people into popular discontent and disaffection, will be disappointed in their wicked designs and expectations.'

The zeal of the Parliament deserved the praises bestowed by the King, for having in great measure restored the public credit, when under such difficulties, and his thanks, not only for the Supplies for the service of the year, but for the discharge of the Civil List debts, and the Subsidy to *Sweden*. The King was sensible of the injurious suspicions raised on his account with regard to the *South-Sea* Company: The Emperor's refusal to deliver up Mr *Knight*, and the favour shewn to the Directors and their Abettors, were considered as his work, and greatly increased the number of the disaffected. Hence it was that he strongly expressed his apprehensions, that the enemies to his Government would endeavour to blow up the sufferings of the people into discontent, that the Members of Parliament might be the more zealous to disappoint their designs.

After the speech the Parliament was prorogued to the 19th of October.

During those proceedings, several changes had been made in the Ministry. Mr *Walpole* (as has been said) was made First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1). The Lords *Townshend* and *Carteret* were appointed Secretaries of State. The Earl of *Illy* was made Privy-Seal of Scotland, and the Earl of *Bute* a Lord of the Bed-Chamber.

Whilst the Parliament was employed in settling affairs at home, the King had continued his Negotiations abroad, and ended them with success.

On the 13th of June, N. S. the treaty of Peace between Great-Britain and Spain was signed at Madrid. It contained only six articles, by which all the regulations with regard to commerce, agreed upon by the former treaties, were renewed; and both the contracting parties promised to execute it with the utmost sincerity, and to renounce all interpretations, which had been made use of to restrain and to weaken these Conventions. They engaged to restore mutually all the effects seized and confiscated on both sides. His Britannic Majesty, in particular, was to restore all the ships of the Spanish fleet, which had been taken by that of England, in the action near Sicily, with the Guns, sails, rigging, &c. in the same condition, in which they then were, or the value of them, if they were sold.

The decision of the other difficulties and pretensions was referred to the congress of Cambray. It was stipulated likewise, that the publication of this treaty should be deferred till the general peace, which was negotiating at Cambray, or some other agreement should be made. It was, however, to take place immediately after its being ratified, and the letters of which ratification were to be exchanged in six weeks, or sooner, if possible. To these was added a secret

(1) The other Commissioners of the Treasury were *Bailie*, *Turner*, *Edgeworth*, and *Pelham*. Mr *Horatio Walpole* was made Secretary of the Treasury: and *Edward Carteret* and *Gafridu Walpole*, Post-Master General. *Benjamin Mildmay*, Brother to the Lord Numb. XCIX. Vol. I. IV.

Fitzwalter, was made a Commissioner of the Excise, and *Charles Stanhope*, Treasurer of the Chamber to the King. *Hugh Fortescue* was called up to the House of Lords by the title of Baron Clinton.

1721. cret article, by which King George promised not to interfere any longer in the affairs of *Italy*, and the King of *Spain* made an absolute cession of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mabon*.

The same day another treaty was signed at *Madrid*, which was little expected: It was a defensive Alliance between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*; by which they were to defend the Dominions of each other, wherever situated, as they were fixed by the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and *London*. Each of the Allies was to furnish him, who should have occasion for assistance, or be attacked, with 8000 foot and 4000 horse, or an equivalent in money and ships.

One design of this Alliance was the maintenance and observation of the treaty, which was to be made at *Cambray*, in order to terminate the differences between the Emperor and King of *Spain*.

Their *Britannic*, most Christian, and Catholic Majesties (said the fifth article of this treaty) being entirely satisfied with the sentiments, the Duke of *Parma* has always shewn towards them, and being desirous to give him marks of the singular esteem and affection they have for him, promise and engage, by virtue of the present treaty, to grant him a particular protection for the preservation of his territories and rights, and for the support of his dignity; so that, if he shall be disturbed, they will join their good offices and endeavours to obtain a just satisfaction; and, if that be refused, they will agree upon measures to procure it him by all other methods, which shall be in their power.

The *States-General* were, on the first opportunity, to be invited to enter into this treaty; and it was promised to maintain the treaty of defensive Alliance, made at the *Hague*, the 4th of *January* 1717, and that nothing should be done, either directly or indirectly, to the prejudice thereof.

Congress of
Cambray
fruitless.

The Congress at *Cambray*, to which all the difficult points were referred, was at last opened. The Ambassadors of *England* and *France* had the title of Mediators, and were to terminate the numberless differences between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but they could not succeed, the demands on both sides being so opposite. The Imperial Ministers talked in so high and decisive a strain, that there was no treating with them: 'All the pretensions of their Master were incontestable, and equity itself; to oppose or contest them, was attacking his sacred Majesty.' It was thus they expressed themselves, in speaking of the pretensions of the Duke of *Parma*, who had insisted, That the Emperor and Empire had no right to exercise any superiority over the Duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The Imperial Ministers declared, 'They were amazed the Duke of *Parma* should have the assurance to draw up such a memorial, and engage the Mediators to present it to them. It violates (said they) the respect due to his Imperial Majesty, by denying, he has any sovereignty over the Duke. The Mediators should have suppressed such unreasonable pretensions, which they neither could regard, nor had time to discuss. If the Duke had any just complaints to propose, and would represent them with respect to the Imperial Court, they would undoubtedly be treated there with equity.'

The Mediators answered, that the terms used by the Imperial Ministers were not very becoming

between Princes: That the memorial in question could not, without censure, have been suppressed: That the Duke of *Parma* had reason to apply to the Congress for justice, and that he had not met with sufficient encouragement, in his representations to the Court of *Vienna*, to address himself thither again. To this it was added, that the Negotiations had been always delayed, by continual obstructions from the Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor.

With such dispositions, nothing was concluded, and never was Congress more fruitless. To amuse and surprise one another was the chief business; and, when they broke up, they were farther than ever from agreeing.

After the peace with *Spain*, King George had the satisfaction to see the tranquillity of Europe restored, by a reconciliation between *Sweden* and *Russia*. Though this was not done by his mediation, yet, it is certain, the assistance he had given *Sweden*, and the peace he had procured between that Crown and those of *Prussia*, *Denmark*, and *Poland*, had determined the Czar to bound his pretensions, and hearken to an accommodation. As the Czar had no quarrel with *France*, he accepted the mediation of that Crown, but absolutely refused to hear of the mediation of *Great-Britain*.

Sweden was forced to yield up to the Czar almost all his conquests, after the battle of *Pultowa*; as *Livonia*, *Ingria*, *Estonia*, part of *Carrelia*, and of the territory of *Wyburg*, *Riga*, *Revel*, *Nerva*, &c. and, in return, the Czar restored only part of *Finland*, with two millions of Rix-dollars, promising not to concern himself with the regulations of their Government.

The Czar included in the treaty the King and Republic of *Poland*, and consented also to the including of the King of *Great-Britain*, in such sort, that the differences between them should be adjusted in an amicable manner.

These differences daily increased; and, if these Princes had been neighbours, a war would certainly have ensued. Their enmity was in great measure personal. The Czar's was founded upon the conduct of King George, who, whilst only Elector of *Hanover*, had entered into the views of the Northern States against *Sweden*, and, after reaping the fruit of that Alliance had declared, on all occasions, against *Russia*. Hence the Czar always distinguished the King of *England* from the Elector of *Hanover*, and shewed all possible regard for the English, whilst he endeavoured, by all methods, to annoy their King; and, perhaps he would have succeeded, had it not been for the Death of *Charles XII*. That Prince and the Czar, how much soever they were offended with each other, were more so with King George, and were going to lay aside or suspend their resentments, in order to be revenged. About the time of the King's last arrival from *Hanover*, Mr *Bassenge*, the Czar's Resident at *London*, for some expressions in a memorial, was ordered to depart the Kingdom in a fortnight. The Czar, in revenge of this affront, took occasion to publish a declaration (which was delivered to the English factory at *Petersburg*, and printed in *Holland*) in order to raise discontents in *England*. The declaration was as follows:

Petersburg, July 29, 1720. 27.

'It is notorious in what an unjust and injurious manner our Resident was sent away from

1721.

Peace between
Russia and
Sweden.

Treaty of
Pultowa.

Personal
enmity between
King
George
and the
Czar.

the

1721. the Court of *England*; which, having done us a great and sensible wrong, ought naturally to have engaged us to use reprisals, according to what is practised every where else. But as we perceive that all this is done without any regard to the interest of *England*, and only in favour of the *Hanoverian* interest; for which the Ministers of *Great-Britain* not only neglect the friendship of foreign powers, but do not even spare their own Country, which more nearly, and more sensibly concern them; we were unwilling that the *English* Nation, which has no share in that piece of injustice, should suffer for it; and therefore we grant to them all manner of security and free liberty to trade in all our Dominions.*

These two Princes, without mentioning their other qualities, had great talents for Negotiation; but King *George* excelled; for, it must be owned, no Prince could more wisely improve any favourable circumstances to disconcert his enemy's projects.

Besides these treaties in which King *George* had so great an influence, there was one made with the *Moors*, and signed the 12th of *August*. *Spain*, being then at war with the *Moors*, loudly complained of the treaty, but without any effect.

Death of
Clement
XI.

This year died Pope *Clement XI*. His name was *John Francis Albani*, native of *Urbino*. He had fate in the papal chair above twenty years. When he was Cardinal, he was for his abilities courted by all the powers of *Europe*, and had a great hand in the will of King *Charles II*. of *Spain*. He was revengeful to the last degree, inflexible in his resolutions, and rejected all advice. His greatest policy was to keep Princes at variance. He expressed great kindness for the Pretender. When he found he was going to die, he sent for the Pretender, who being come, he told the Cardinals then in his Bed-chamber, that he wanted to speak with him in private; but, one of them representing, that it would redound most to his Holiness's honour to deliver his last thoughts to him in their presence, the Pope complied, and recommended to them the three following points:

1. To let the Pretender reside constantly in the palace which he had assigned him.
2. To continue the pension granted to him, that he may be always enabled to support the Royal dignity, till he recover his Kingdoms.
3. To oblige the Successor in the holy see, to assist the Pretender in all things against the attempts of his enemies.

The Cardinals assured the Pope they would take care to perform the 1st and 3d articles; but that, as to the 2d, they would be inexcusable, if they should continue to exhaust the treasure of

the Church, which was by no means appropriated for the preservation of one Prince alone, but for the defence of the *Roman Catholic* Religion in general. To this the Pope answered, that his Successor might, with a very safe conscience, draw out sums from the Treasury for the maintenance of the Pretender, because he had been deprived of his Dominions for the sake of the *Catholic Religion*; moreover, the Pretender himself made a very moving speech against the inhumanity of abandoning one that was so helpless: But the Cardinals replied, That they would consider of it, and give their answer next day. The Pope, acquiescing therewith, desired the Cardinal *d'Alban* to engage the Emperor to espouse the Pretender's interest, and not to forsake him in the present juncture; but that Cardinal begged to be excused, and shewed, that it was impossible to be done, not only on account of solemn treaty, but also by reason of the signal services which *England* did to his Imperial Majesty, in the late war against the *Spaniards*.

Clement XI. was succeeded by *Michael Angelo*, of the family of *Conti*, who took the name of *Innocent XIII*, in memory of Pope *Innocent III*. the most worthy of all the Popes chosen from among the Cardinals of that family (1).

On the 15 of *April*, the Princess of *Wales* was delivered of a Son at *Leicester-House*, and the next day the City of *London* having presented a congratulatory address, the King in his answer, said, 'I cannot omit taking this opportunity of assuring you, that I am truly concerned at the calamity brought upon you by the wicked management of the *South-Sea Company*. I have, however, this comfort, that the report of any part of this misfortune cannot with the least justice be imputed to me. Nothing will give me more ease and satisfaction than the seeing you delivered from your present sufferings, your trade revived, and public credit re-established.' This declaration was thought to be necessary, by reason of the insinuations raised by the disaffected.

The young Prince was christened the 2d of *May*: The Godfathers were the King of *Prussia* and the Duke of *York*, represented by the Earl of *Granby* and the Lord *Lumley*. The Godmother was the Queen of *Prussia*, represented by the Duchess of *Dorset*. The young Prince was named *William Augustus*, who, this very year 1746, defeated the Rebels in *Scotland*.

The King held, on the 27th of *March*, a Chapter of the order of the Garter, to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the death of the Dukes of *Rutland* and *Buckingham* (2). In their room were chosen *Charles Fitzroy*, Duke of *Grafton*, and *Henry Clinton*, Earl of *Lincoln*.

The Parliament had but one Session left, since the seven years expired at *Lady-day* next. It

was

(1) The family of *Conti* is one of the four chief families of *Rome*; the other three are those of *Colonna*, *Orsini*, and *Savelli*, which last is extinct.

(2) *John Sheffield*, Duke of *Buckingham*, died February 24, 1720-21. He had himself made the following Epitaph, and ordered it to be engraved on his tomb: But it was not orthodox enough:

Pro Rege sæpi, pro Republicâ semper, dubius non improbus vixi. Incertus nec perturbatus morior. Christum veneror. In Deo confido æterno ac omnipotente. ENS ENTUM MISERERE MEI.

He was made Knight of the Garter by King *Charles II*, and Lord Chamberlain by his Successor: He was always in the opposition against King *William*, and made Privy-Seal by Queen *Anne*. Notwithstanding his dying in a state of uncertainty, as he owned in his Epitaph, he had appeared very zealous for the Church. He left a son by a natural daughter of King *James II*, who are since both dead, and the family extinct.

This year Sept. 25, died *Matthew Prior*, for whom a monument was erected in *Westminster-Abbey*.

1721. was proposed in Council to dissolve the present, and call a new Parliament; but it was represented by the majority, that it would be more expedient to hold another Session, as farther measures were to be taken towards a perfect restoration of the public credit, which another Parliament might not so readily come into. It had been insinuated, that a design was formed for the continuance of the Parliament beyond the next Session; and so far believed, that several Members of the Common-Council of London demanded, in form, of the Lord-Mayor, that a Council should be summoned, in which it was intended to move for an address to the King, to thank him for his great care of the trade and commerce with *Spain*, but principally to express their hopes of his calling frequent and new Parliaments. The Lord-Mayor, perceiving their intentions, refused to comply with their request on various pretences. Upon this, they published an account of their proceedings, with the heads of their intended address, under the artful title of *An Apology for the Citizens of London, for their not addressing his Majesty under the present circumstances of affairs*.

The plague raged this year in the southern parts of *France*, particularly at *Marseilles*. On this occasion a proclamation was published, forbidding any person to come into *England* from any part of *France*, between the day of *Biscay* and *Dunkirk*, without certificates of health. The streets were ordered to be paved and kept clean; and an act of Parliament passed the last Session for prevention of infection, by building of Pest-houses (to which the infected persons, or healthy of an infected family, were to be removed) and by ordering trenches or lines to be drawn round any city, town, or place infected. These precautions, appearing to some to be unreasonable, caused great debates, as will hereafter be seen.

The Parliament met on the day appointed, *October 19*, and the Session was opened with the following speech from the Throne:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you, when we parted last, with our having renewed all our treaties of commerce with *Spain*; since which, peace is happily restored in the North, by the conclusion of the treaty between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, and by that, which I have made with the *Moors*, a great number of my subjects are delivered from slavery; and all such of them, as trade to those parts of the world, are, for the future, secured from falling under that dreadful calamity.

In this situation of affairs, we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable opportunity, which this general tranquillity gives us of extending our commerce, upon which the riches and grandeur of this Nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so public a good, than to make the exportation of our own manufactures, and the importation of the commodities, used in the manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be. By this means, the balance of trade may be preserved in our favour, our navigation increased, and greater numbers of our poor employed.

I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the duties upon these branches may be taken off and replaced, without any violation of public faith, or laying any new burthen upon my people. And I promise myself, that, by a due consideration of this matter, the produce of those duties, compared with the infinite advantages, that will accrue to the Kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little room for any difficulties or objections.

The supplying ourselves with naval stores, upon terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the care and attention of Parliament. Our Plantations in *America* naturally abound with most of the proper materials for this necessary and essential part of our trade and maritime strength: And if, by due encouragement, we could be furnished from thence with those naval stores, which we are now obliged to purchase and bring from foreign Countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the riches, influence, and power of this Nation, but, by employing our own Colonies in this useful and advantageous service, divert them from settling up and carrying on manufactures, which directly interfere with those of *Great-Britain*.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

It will be a great pleasure to me, if, in raising the Supplies of this year, it may be so ordered, that my people may reap some immediate benefit from the present circumstances of affairs abroad. I have ordered estimates to be prepared for the service of the ensuing year, and likewise an account of the debts of the Navy to be laid before you. You cannot but be sensible of the ill consequences, that arise from such a large debt remaining unprovided for; and that, as long as the Navy and Victualling bills are at a very high discount, they do not only affect all other public credit, but greatly increase the charge and expence of the current service. It is therefore very much to be wished, that you could find a method of discharging this part of the national debt, which of all others is the most heavy and burdensome; and by that means have it in your power to ease your Country of some part of the taxes, which, from an absolute necessity, they have been obliged to pay.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The unspeakable misery and desolation, that has of late raged in some parts of *Europe*, cannot but be a sufficient warning to us, to use all possible precautions to prevent the contagion from being brought in among us; or, if these Kingdoms should be visited with such a fatal calamity, to be in a condition, with the Blessing of God, to stop its farther progress. And as all other provisions will be altogether vain and fruitless, if the abominable practice of running goods be not at once totally suppressed, I most earnestly recommend to you, to let no other consideration stand in competition with a due care of preserving so many thousand lives.

The

1721. 'The several affairs, which I have mentioned to you, being of the highest and most immediate concern to the whole Kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the consideration of them with that temper, unanimity, and dispatch, that the necessity and importance of them require.'

The King, in this speech, proposes the affairs to be considered: Shews the best manner of extending commerce, and supplying naval stores: Expresses his concern for the debts of the Navy, and hopes they will be taken care of in the Supplies for the present year: Concludes with recommending all possible means to prevent the plague, or stop the progress of its contagion, particularly by providing against the practice of smuggling.

The addresses of thanks were suitable to the speech; the King was congratulated upon his success for restoring the tranquillity of Europe, and securing the trade of the Nation by treaties: Assurances were given to proceed to the consideration of the affairs recommended by him, with temper, unanimity, and dispatch. Notwithstanding these assurances of unanimity, the debates ran very high this Session, and nothing passed without great opposition.

One of the first debates which happened in the House, of Lords was about the famous Mr Law. He came to England, on the 20th of October, in the fleet under Sir John Norris from the Baltic. Mr Law after the downfall of the Mississippi stock had been forced to leave France, to avoid the resentment of the enraged people, who had more than once attempted his life. Having spent some time at Venice, and paid a visit to the Pretender at Rome, people were not a little surpris'd, some time after, to hear, that he was gone to Hanover, from whence he designed shortly to come into England. He was brought up to London by a Lord, with whom he had negotiated for great parcels of South-Sea stock; was privately admitted at Court; and having taken a house in Conduit-Street, near Hanover-Square, he was, for some days, visited by great numbers of persons of quality and distinction. This gave so much umbrage, that, on the 26th of October, Earl Coningsby represented to the House of Lords, how dangerous it might be, on several accounts, to entertain and countenance such a man as Mr Law; and a day being, at his motion, appointed to consider of that matter, the Earl said, 'That he, the Earl, could not but entertain some jealousy of a person, who had done so much mischief in a neighbouring Kingdom, and who being so immensely rich, as he was reported to be, might do a great deal more hurt here, by tampering with any, who were grown desperate, by being involved in the calamity occasioned by the fatal imitation of his pernicious projects. That this person was the more dangerous, in that he had renounced, not only his natural affection to his Country, and his allegiance to his lawful Sovereign, by being naturalized in France, and openly countenancing the Pretender's friends, but, which was worst of all, he had also renounced his God, by turning Roman Catholic: Concluding, that they ought to inquire, Whether Sir John Norris had orders to bring him over?' The Lord Carteret answered, 'That Mr Law had, many years ago, the misfortune to kill a Gentleman in a duel; but that,

No. 99. Vol. IV.

having, at last, received the benefit of the King's clemency, and the appeal lodged by the relations of the deceased being taken off, he was come over to plead his Majesty's pardon. That there was no law to keep any Englishman out of his Country; and as Mr Law was a subject of Great-Britain, it was not even in the King's power to hinder him from coming over, if he thought fit.' To this the Lord Trevor replied, 'That Mr Law was indeed a subject of Great-Britain, and, therefore, as such, had an undoubted right to come hither; but the circumstances of a person of his character being brought over on board an English Admiral, and at this juncture of time, might deserve the consideration of that House.' Earl Cowper spoke much to the same effect: But, however, the affair was dropped, and Mr Law, attended by the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Ilay, pleaded his pardon at the King's-Bench according to form.

The Navy debt, which was increased to 1,700,000 *l.* and of which the consideration had been recommended from the Throne, occasioned great debates in both Houses. Mr Freeman, in the House of Commons, reflected with some warmth upon the persons concerned in that part of the Administration, saying, 'It was matter of wonder, how so great a debt could be incurred, when the Parliament had provided what had been desired upon that head.' Mr Shippen hinted, 'That such extraordinary expences could not be for the immediate service of Great-Britain, but, in all probability, for the preservation of some foreign acquisitions.' Sir Joseph Jekyll said, 'That he was not against providing for any just public debt; but that, in his opinion, they could not answer it, either to themselves, or those they had the honour to represent, if they gave away the Nation's money blindfold; and therefore he desired, that the House might be informed, How so great a debt had been contracted?' To this Mr Walpole replied, 'Nothing in the world was more reasonable; and therefore he backed the motion, for having a particular account of that debt laid before the House; but, in the mean time, he might assure them, that near 1,100,000 *l.* of it was contracted in the last Reign; and, as the persons now in the Administration were not answerable for that part, neither did they desire, that above one million of it should be this year provided for.' This was agreed to without dividing.

The same affair was more warmly debated in the House of Lords: When a surprize was expressed, how the Navy debt came to be so large, it was answered (as in the House of Commons) that near two thirds of the debt had been contracted in the last Reign, of which the proofs were ready. Upon this the Earl of Rochester said, 'That, since the debt was incurred, it was but justice, that they, who trusted the Government, should be paid; but, on the other hand, it became the wisdom of that House to endeavour to prevent the like for the future, and to restore the Navy on the antient foot, that is, not to exceed the expences provided for by Parliament.' And moved for an address to that purpose. This was opposed by the Earl of Ilay, who urged, that, the public good, and the safety of the Nation, being the grand object and rule of Government, some latitude must of necessity be given, and allowance made, to those who are in the Administration, for extraordinary

1721. ry expences, upon unforeseen exigencies. And therefore, if the Ministers, as they had promised it, gave the House a satisfactory account, how the debt in question came to be contracted, there was, in his opinion, no occasion for such an address.' The Lord Chancellor *Parker* and others speaking on the same side, the motion for an address was rejected by 64 voices (among which was the Lord *Harcourt's*, who had been lately made a Viscount) against 22.

In several other debates on this affair, it was urged, 'That the Navy debt was increased by employing more seamen than were provided for by Parliament, particularly by sending large fleets to the *Baltic* and *Mediterranean*, and keeping the sailors in pay during the winter: That these extraordinary expences were not necessary for the service of *Great-Britain*, and therefore it was proper to have all the papers relating to the Northern transactions, particularly the Lord *Carteret's* private instructions, laid before the House, in order to have full satisfaction concerning the grounds of these expeditions, and to see whether the act of settlement had been no ways infringed by them, a point of the utmost consequence to the present Establishment. To this it was answered, That the employing more seamen for several years, than were provided for by Parliament, was occasioned by services which either were pursuant to the previous advice, or had the subsequent approbation of one or both Houses, and were also necessary for the safety of the Kingdom, and tranquillity of *Europe*: That, the nature of these services detaining the squadrons till the months of *November*, or *December*, the paying off the seamen was inconsistent with having the ships ready to sail early in the spring, and nothing would be saved by it. By a great majority it was voted, that the Lord *Carteret's* private instructions should not be addressed for, and that the sending a squadron to the *Baltic* did no way break into the act of settlement.

About the
affairs of
Spain and
the North.

The affairs of *Spain* and the *North* were so equally concerned in the increase of the naval debt, that the inquiry into the one naturally led to the inquiry into the other. The debate was opened by the Duke of *Wharton*, who animadverted upon the conduct of the Ministers, both as to the war and peace with *Spain*, and moved that the treaty with that Crown might be laid before the House. The Earl of *Sunderland* said, 'He did not doubt but his Majesty would be always ready to comply with the desires of that House, and even in this particular, as well as in others; but that, for his part, he would be so free as to declare his judgment against advising his Majesty to communicate the treaty in question at this juncture, because, to his knowledge, there was in it a secret article, which the King of *Spain* had desired might not be made public, till after the treaty of *Cambray* was over; and, his Majesty having granted that request, he therefore hoped that House would not desire his Majesty to break his promise.' Upon this the Duke of *Wharton's* motion was rejected by a majority of 59 voices against 22. In another debate the Earl of *Stratford* suggested, 'That as the war with *Spain* was undertaken without necessity, or a just provocation, so the peace was concluded without any benefit or advantage. That, contrary to the law of Nations, the *Spanish* fleet was fallen upon without any declaration of war, and even while a *British* Minister and a Secretary of

State were amicably treating at *Madrid*; so that the *Spaniards* might think themselves secure from any hostilities. And, as the manner of beginning the war did not appear justifiable, so neither could the war itself be easily reconciled with sound politics, since it was an interruption to one of the most valuable branches of our trade, and at a time, when the Nation groaned under the pressure of heavy debts, occasioned by a former long expensive war: Concluding with a motion for an address to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to cause the instructions, that were given to Sir *George Byng* (now Lord *Torrington*) to be laid before the House.' But as the motion for the treaty, so this for the instructions of Sir *George Byng*, was upon the question rejected by a majority of 67 against 24. A protest was entered, representing, that a motion for Admirals instructions had never been denied; that, without a sight of the Lord *Torrington's* instructions, the war with *Spain*, in which the action in the *Mediterranean* involved us, did not appear justifiable, and was plainly prejudicial to the Nation, as it interrupted our commerce with *Spain*, and occasioned a strict union between the *French* and *Spanish* Crowns, which it was the interest of *Great-Britain* to have kept always divided. Nor did it appear that *Great-Britain* reaped any fruits from that war.

After this it was moved, that the House would inquire what were become of the ships taken from, the *Spaniards*, and how they were disposed of, and an address for that purpose was voted.

The debates on the Navy debt being put off for three weeks, a protest (*Feb.* 19.) was entered against it, in which the several particulars that were designed to be proceed upon were specified, but they were afterwards expunged by an order of the House.

The bill to prevent infection from the plague A bill about the
caused likewise long and warm debates in the House of Lords. Earl *Cowper* moved, 'That a clause might be added to the bill for repealing so much of the late quarantine act, as impowers the Government to remove to a Lazaret, or Pest-House, any persons whatsoever, infected with the plague, or healthy persons out of an infected family from their habitations; and also so much of the act, as gives power for the drawing lines or trenches round any City, Town, or place infected. He represented, that these powers were altogether unknown to our Constitution, inconsistent with the lenity of our free Government, such as could never be wisely or usefully put in practice; and the more odious, because they seemed to be copied from the arbitrary Government of *France*, and could not be executed but by military force.' The Earl also opposed the forcing persons to accept of Nurses and Physicians appointed by the Government. Though the repeal of the obnoxious clauses in the quarantine act, met with much opposition, and a petition from the City of *London*, for that purpose, had been rejected by the Lords: Yet an act passed at last for repealing the clauses for removing persons to Pest-Houses, and drawing lines round any City or Town that was infected.

The mutiny and desertion bill occasioned the usual disputes about the army. The Lord *Trenor* opened the debate with a long speech, wherein he excepted against the clauses for punishing soldiers with death for desertion, and for

Debaters on
the army.

1721-22. for exempting them from being arrested for debt.

He urged, 'That the exercise of martial law in time of peace was unknown, and repugnant to our Constitution: That such a law was indeed necessary during the late Rebellion; but, there being at present no such reason, and all being perfectly quiet and easy under his Majesty's mild Government, the punishment of offences committed by the soldiery ought to be left to the Civil Magistrate: And that, on the other hand, it was unreasonable to grant soldiers a protection from their lawful creditors, since a great many poor people, who might be drawn in to trust them, might be ruined.' After a warm debate, the bill passed without any alteration or reduction of the forces.

On the French buying ships in England.

There was at this time great clamour against the French building and buying ships in England. Some were built for them at Bristol, and more at London. When this matter was considered in the House of Lords, it was suggested, 'That the practice of building ships for foreigners might be attended with very ill and dangerous consequences; for, as such foreigners, though at present in amity with us, may yet, one time or other, become our enemies, they will, in such a case, make use of these very ships to fight against us: Besides this general consideration, the present great scarcity of timber in England made such a practice so much the more unjustifiable, especially if it was considered what a great number of ships had lately been built for the French, some of which were sixty or seventy gun-ships.' To this it was answered, 'That they knew of no law in being to hinder any ship-carpenter from working for any one, that would employ him. That the French, through now in amity, may indeed be one day our enemies; but yet, if they built not here such ships as they have occasion for, they might get them built in Holland or at Hamburgh; and they were of opinion, that it was better for us to get their money than our neighbours: That indeed, if we could hinder the French from building ships at all, it would be prudent to do it; but, since they can have them in other places, our prohibiting them to buy them here would rather be detrimental than advantageous to us.' After some other speeches, it was agreed to consult the Judges. Upon which, Chief-Justice Pratt, in the name of all the Judges present (except Baron Mountague, who desired further time to consider of it, before he gave his opinion) declared, 'That they knew of no law, whereby the King was empowered to hinder any of his subjects from building ships for any one, that would employ them, whether Natives or Foreigners.' Earl Cowper said, if there was no such law, it was high time there should be one, to put a stop to such a pernicious practice for the future; and therefore moved, that the Judges be ordered to bring in a bill for that purpose. But, after some disputes about certain provisos, the consideration of the bill was put off and never more resumed.

On the Quakers bill.

The Quakers having petitioned the Commons for leave to bring in a bill for taking out of their solemn affirmation the words, *In the presence of Almighty God*, a bill passed the House for that purpose, and was sent up to the Lords, where it occasioned a debate. The Bishop of Rochester having, among other things, said, 'He did not know why such a distinguishing indulgence

as was intended by this bill, should be allowed

to a set of people, who were hardly Christians.'

The Earl of Ilay answered, 'He wondered that Reverend Prelate should call in question, whether the Quakers were Christians, since they were so, at least by act of Parliament, being included in the Toleration act, under the general denomination of *Protestant Dissenters*.

The Bishop replied, 'It was against the standing orders of that August Assembly to make any personal reflections; and he thought it a much greater indecency to make a jest of any thing, that was sacred; and that the calling the Quakers Christians, by act of Parliament, was a sort of side-wind reflection upon Christianity itself: However, he would let that pass, and reserve to another opportunity what he had to offer against the bill. Accordingly, he afterwards endeavoured to prove the Quakers were no Christians, and was seconded and supported by the Earl of Strafford, Lord North and Grey, and the Archbishop of York. When the bill

was committed, a petition from some of the London Clergy was presented by the Archbishop of York, setting forth, 'That, the bill might, in its consequences, nearly affect the property of the subject in general, so it would, in a more especial manner, endanger the legal maintenance of the Clergy by tythes, inasmuch as the people called Quakers pretend to deny the payment of tythes upon a principle of conscience; and therefore might be under strong inducements to ease their consciences in that respect, by violating them in another, when their simple affirmation, on behalf of friends of the same persuasion, shall pass in all Courts of Judicature for legal evidence. However, that the injuries, which the Petitioners in their private affairs might possibly suffer, were, as they ought to be, of small account with them, in comparison of the mischief, which might redound to society from the indulgence intended, as it seemed to imply, that Justice may be duly administered, and Government supported, without the intervention of any solemn appeal to God as a witness of the truth of what is said, by all persons, in all cases of great importance to the common welfare; whereas the Petitioners were firmly persuaded, that an oath was instituted by God himself, as the surest bond of fidelity among men, and hath been esteemed, and found to be so by the wisdom and experience of all Nations in all ages. But that what chiefly moved the Petitioners to apply to their Lordships, was their serious concern, lest the minds of good men should be grieved and wounded, and the enemies of Christianity triumph, when they should see such condescensions made by a Christian Legislature to a set of men, who renounce the divine institutions of Christ; particularly that, by which the faithful are initiated into his Religion, and denominated Christians; and who cannot, on this account, according to the uniform judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, be deemed worthy of that sacred name. The Petitioners moreover represented, that, upon the best information they could get, the instances, wherein any Quaker had refused the solemn affirmation prescribed by an act in the 7th and 8th years of William III, had, from the passing that act to that day, been exceeding rare; so that there might be ground to hope, that the continued use of the said solemn affirmation would, by degrees,

1721-22.

Petition against it.

grees, have entirely cured that people of all those unreasonable prejudices against an oath, which the favour designed them by the bill might tend to strengthen and confirm. And the Petitioners humbly left it to their Lordships wise deliberations, whether such an extraordinary indulgence, granted to a people already, as is conceived, too numerous, might not contribute to multiply their sect, and tempt persons to profess themselves Quakers, in order to be exempted from the obligation of oaths, and to stand upon a foot of privilege, not allowed to the best Christians in the Kingdom.

The receiving and reading of this petition was warmly opposed, and, the question being at last put, it was rejected. All the Bishops present (except the two Archbishops, the Bishops of *Oxford**, *Litchfield* and *Coventry*†, and *Rochester*) were against the petition. The Bishop of *Salisbury* endeavoured to mitigate the matter, and proposed, that the Petitioners might have leave to withdraw their petition; but this was opposed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who said, that a Committee ought to be appointed to inquire into the Authors and promoters of it, for he looked upon it to be no better than a libel. The Lord *Townshend* took notice of the irregular way, in which the petition was presented, for, if it was a petition of the *London* Clergy, it ought to be offered either by the Bishop of that Diocese, or the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; whereas it was presented by the Archbishop of *York*, who was Metropolitan of another Province. However, a protest was entered by several Lords and Bishops against rejecting the petition. After this, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* moved, that the Quakers affirmation might not be admitted in Courts of Judicature, but among themselves; and the Archbishop of *York* moved for a clause, that the Quakers affirmation should not go in any suit at law for tythes: But, after some farther debate, the bill was gone through, and sent back to the Commons; but a protest was entered against it by several Lords and Bishops.

An order
about protests.

As nothing had passed without being protested against, the Earl of *Sunderland*, towards the end of the Session, took notice, 'That the privilege of entering protests had, of late, been so much abused, that, in his opinion, some restraint ought to be put to it by limiting the time for entering protests upon asking leave of the House, which was never denied: And therefore he moved, that such Lords, as shall enter their protestations with reasons, shall do the same before two o'clock the next sitting day, and sign them before the House risks.' This was opposed by the Lord *Cowper*, who alledged, 'That, the time being so short, and very few Lords coming so early, such an order would in effect put an end to all protesting, which was an ancient privilege of that House.' The Bishop of *Rochester* added That, if protests were limited to so short a time, this was at least the way to have them crude and indigested; and he thought it unbecoming the dignity of that August Assembly to have any thing entered upon their journals, which were records for after ages, before it had been duly considered, and well digested.' However, it was resolved, that it should be a standing order of the House (instead of the order of the 5th of *March*, 1641) That such Lords, as shall enter their protestations with reasons, shall do the same before two o'clock the

next sitting day, and sign them before the House risks. 1721-22.

The Commons, after having granted the necessary Supplies, brought in a bill for securing the freedom of elections of Members of Parliament. Great debates arose about several clauses that were offered to be inserted in the bill; particularly, that no Officer of the Customs or Excise should vote at any election for Parliament Men: This was strenuously opposed, as taking away from those Officers their birthright, as *Englishmen* and *Freeholders*; upon which that clause was dropped. Another was proposed, that no person, who did not pay scot and lot, should have a vote in a Corporation. This was also opposed, 'because (as it was urged) it had already been adjudged at Committees of elections, and agreed to by the House in several cases, that such persons, in some places, should have no votes; and in other places they should be allowed to vote, provided they did not receive alms from the parish.' As this clause was not insisted upon, the bill passed, and was sent up to the Lords. The Earl of *Sunderland* endeavoured to shew the impossibility of the several clauses of the bill being put in execution, without exposing the most innocent persons to the guilt of perjury. After several speeches on both sides, the bill was rejected by 48 voices against 30.

An act passed this Session, to enable the *South-Sea* Company to dispose of the effects in their hands by way of lottery or subscription, in order to pay the debts of the Company. By a clause in this bill, the *South-Sea* Company were empowered to sell 200,000 *l.* a year of their capital stock for the same purpose. Another act passed, to prolong the times for hearing and determining claims upon the estates of the *South-Sea* Directors, and of Mr *Asplabe* and Mr *Craggs*.

On the 7th of *March*, the business of the Session being over, the King came to the House of Peers, and put an end to the Parliament, with the following speech to both Houses: The Parliament is dissolved.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU could not have given me a more acceptable instance of your zeal and affection, than by dispatching, with so much unanimity, the several particulars I recommended to you at the beginning of this Session, for the ease and advantage of my people.

The many and great encouragements you have given to our trade and manufactures, and the provision you have made for our being supplied with naval stores from our own Plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the industry of my subjects, employ a greater number of the poor, increase our navigation, and be a considerable addition to the riches and strength of this Nation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

The raising the current Supplies of the year, and the making a provision for the discharge of so considerable a part of the debt of the Navy, is a farther proof of your affection to me, and your regard for the public; and your doing it, in a manner so little burthenfome to my people, gives me the greatest satisfaction.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

'I cannot in justice part with this Parliament, without returning you my sincerest thanks for your steady and resolute adherence to my Person and Government, and to the interest of the Protestant Cause both at home and abroad. The enemies of our happy Constitution have given the strongest and most honourable testimony of your behaviour in these particulars, by the implacable malice, which they have, upon all occasions, expressed against you.

'You must all be sensible, that they are at this juncture reviving, with the greatest industry, the same wicked arts of calumny and defamation, which have been the constant prelude to public troubles and disorders: And such is their insatiation, that they flatter themselves, the grossest misrepresentations will turn to their advantage, and give them an opportunity of recommending themselves to the favour and good opinion of my people. But I have so just a confidence in the affection of my subjects, and in their regard for their own welfare, that I am persuaded they will not suffer themselves to be thus imposed upon, and betrayed into their own destruction.

'For my part, as the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State shall always be my care, I am firmly determined to continue to countenance such, as have manifested

'their zeal for the present Establishment, and have the religious and civil rights of all my subjects truly at heart; and I question not but that behaviour, which has justly recommended them to me, will effectually secure to them the good-will of all that are well-affected to my Government, and will convince the world, that the expectations of those are very ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a Protestant free people, to give up their Religion and Liberties into the hands of such as are enemies unto both.'

After this speech the Parliament was prorogued to the 15th of March, but, on the 10th, a Proclamation was published to dissolve the Parliament, and, three days after, another for calling a new one.

Soon after the dissolution of the Parliament, died *Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland*, whose abilities as a Minister were indisputable, but who exposed himself to great odium by the violence of his temper, and the share he was thought to have had in the *South-Sea* scheme; and in the latter part of his life it is thought, upon good grounds, that he had entered into correspondencies and designs, which would have been fatal to himself, or to the public.

His death was followed in less than a month by that of his father-in-law the Duke of *Marlborough*, whose character has been given in the former part of this history (1). He was interred the

1722.
Death of the Earl of Sunderland, Apr. 19.

and of the Duke of Marlborough, June 16.

(1) It may not be improper to insert here the monumental inscription on the pillar in the Park, before the Castle of *Blenheim*, which enumerates the Duke of *Marlborough's* exploits in a plain, elegant, and masculine style:

The Castle of *Blenheim* was founded by Q. ANNE.
In the fourth Year of her Reign;
In the Year of the Christian Era 1705;
A Monument designed to perpetuate the Memory of
the signal Victory
Obtain'd over the *French* and *Bavarians*,
Near the Village of *Blenheim*,
On the Banks of the *Danube*,
By JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH;
The Hero not only of his Nation, but of his Age;
Whose Glory was equal in the Council and in the Field;
Who by Wisdom, Justice, Candour, and Address,
Reconciled various and even opposite Interests;
Acquired an Influence, which no Rank, no Authority
can give,
Nor any Force but that of superior Virtue;
Became the fixed important Center,
Which united in one common Cause
The principal States of Europe;
Who by military Knowledge, and irresistible Valour,
In a long Series of uninterrupted Triumphs,
Broke the Power of France,
When raised the highest, when exerted the most;
Rescued the Empire from Desolation;
Asserted and confirmed the Liberties of Europe.

PHILIP, a Grandson of the House of France, united to the interests, directed by the policy, supported by the arms of that Crown, was placed on the Throne of Spain. King William the Third beheld this formidable union of two great, and once rival, Monarchies. At the end of a life spent in defending the liberties of Europe, he saw them in their greatest danger. He provided for their security, in the most effectual manner. He took the Duke of *Marlborough* into his service.

Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
To the States-General of the United Provinces.
No. 99. VOL. IV.

The Duke contracted several Alliances before the death of King WILLIAM. He confirmed and improved these. He contracted others, after the accession of Queen ANNE; and reunited the Confederacy, which had been dissolved at the end of a former war, in a stricter and firmer league.

Captain-General and Commander in Chief
Of the Forces of GREAT-BRITAIN.

The Duke led to the field the army of the Allies. He took with surprising rapidity *Tenlo, Ruremunde, Struenswaert, Liege*. He extended and secured the frontiers of the Dutch. The enemies, whom he found insulting at the gates of *Nimwegen*, were driven to seek for shelter behind their lines. He forced *Bonne, Huy, Limbourg* in another campaign. He opened the communication of the *Rhine*, as well as the *Maes*. He added all the Country between these rivers to his former conquests. The arms of France, favoured by the defection of the Elector of *Bavaria*, had penetrated into the heart of the Empire. This mighty body lay exposed to immediate ruin. In that memorable crisis, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops with unexampled celerity, secrecy, order, from the Ocean to the *Danube*. He saw; he attacked; nor stopped, but to conquer the enemy. He forced the *Bavarians*, sustained by the *French*, in their strong intrenchments at *Schellenberg*. He passed the *Danube*. A second royal army, composed of the best troops of France, was sent to reinforce the first. That of the Confederates was divided. With one part of it the siege of *Ingolstadt* was carried on. With the other the Duke gave battle to the united strength of France and *Bavaria*. On the second day of August, 1704, he gained a more glorious victory than the histories of any age can boast. The heaps of slain were dreadful proofs of his valour. A Marshal of France, whole legions of French, his prisoners, proclaimed his mercy. *Bavaria* was subdued. *Ratisbon, Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen*, all the usurpations of the enemy, were recovered. The liberty of the Diet, the peace of the Empire, were restored. From the *Danube* the Duke turned his victorious arms toward the *Rhine*, and the *Moselle*. *Landau, Trever, Tranbach*

1722.

the 9th of August, with great funeral pomp, in *Wesminster-Abbey*; and was succeeded as Master-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of the

first regiment of Foot-guards by the Earl of Cadogan. 1722.

The elections for Members of Parliament were

Traerbach were taken. In the course of one campaign the very nature of the war was changed. The Invaders of other States were reduced to defend their own. The frontier of *France* was exposed in its weakest part to the efforts of the Allies.

That he might improve his advantage, that he might push the sum of things to a speedy decision, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH led his troops early in the following year once more to the *Moselle*. They, whom he had saved a few months before, neglected to second him now. They, who might have been his companions in conquest, refused to join him. When he saw the generous designs he had formed frustrated by private interest, by pique, by jealousy, he returned with speed to the *Maas*. He returned; and fortune and victory returned with him. *Liege* was relieved; *Huy* re-taken; the *French*, who had pressed the army of the *States-General* with superior numbers, retired behind intrenchments, which they deemed impregnable. The Duke forced these intrenchments, with inconsiderable loss, on the seventh day of *July*, 1705. He defeated a great part of the army, which defended them. The rest escaped by a precipitate retreat. If advantages proportionable to this success were not immediately obtained, let the failure be ascribed to that misfortune, which attends most Confederacies, a division of opinions, where one alone should judge; a division of powers, where one alone should command. The disappointment itself did honour to the Duke. It became the wonder of mankind how he could do so much under those restraints, which had hindered him from doing more.

Powers more absolute were given him afterwards. The increase of his powers multiplied his victories. At the opening of the next campaign, when all his army was not yet assembled, when it was hardly known that he had taken the field, the noise of his triumphs was heard over *Europe*. On the 12th of *May*, 1706, he attacked the *French* at *Ramillies*. In the space of two hours, the whole army was put to flight. The vigour and conduct, with which he improved this success, were equal to those, with which he gained it. *Louvain*, *Brussels*, *Malines*, *Liere*, *Ghent*, *Oudenard*, *Antwerp*, *Danme*, *Bruges*, *Courtray* surrendered. *Ostend*, *Menin*, *Dendermond*, *Ath* were taken. *Brabant* and *Flanders* were recovered. Places which had resisted the greatest Generals for months, for years; Provinces, disputed for ages, were the conquests of a summer. Nor was the Duke content to triumph alone. Solicitous for the general interest, his care extended to the remotest scenes of the war. He chose to lessen his own army, that he might enable the Leaders of other armies to conquer. To this it must be ascribed that *Turin* was relieved, the Duke of *Savoy* re-inflated, the *French* driven with confusion out of *Italy*.

These victories gave the Confederates an opportunity of carrying the war, on every side, into the Dominions of *France*. But she continued to enjoy a kind of peaceful Neutrality in *Germany*. From *Italy* she was once alarmed, and had no more to fear. The entire reduction of this power, whose ambition had caused, whose strength supported the war, seemed reserved for him alone, who had so triumphantly begun the glorious work.

The barrier of *France*, on the side of the *Low-Countries*, had been forming for more than half a century. What art, power, expence could do, had been done to render it impenetrable. Yet here she was most exposed; for here the Duke of MARLBOROUGH threatened to attack her.

To cover what they had gained by surprise, or had been yielded to them by treachery, the *French* marched to the banks of the *Schelde*. At their head were the Princes of the blood, and their most fortunate General, the Duke of *Vendosme*. Thus commanded, thus posted, they hoped to check the Victor in his course. Vain were their hopes. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH

passed the river in their sight. He defeated their whole army. The approach of night concealed, the proximity of *Ghent* favoured their flight. They neglected nothing to repair their loss; to defend their frontier. New Generals, new Armies, appeared in the *Netherlands*. All contributed to enhance the glory, none were able to retard the progress of the Confederate arms.

Lisle, the bulwark of this barrier, was besieged. A numerous Garrison and a Marshal of *France* defended the place. Prince *Eugene of Savoy* commanded, the Duke of MARLBOROUGH covered and sustained the siege. The rivers were seized, and the communication with *Holland* interrupted. The Duke opened new communications with great labour and much greater art. Through countries, over-run by the enemy, the necessary convoys arrived in safety. One alone was attacked. The troops, which attacked it, were beat. The defence of *Lisle* was animated by assurances of relief.

The *French* assembled all their force. They marched towards the town. The Duke of MARLBOROUGH offered them battle, without suspending the siege. They abandoned the enterprise. They came to save the town. They were spectators of its fall.

From this conquest the Duke hastened to others. The posts taken by the enemy on the *Schelde* were surprized. That river was passed the second time; and notwithstanding the great preparations made to prevent it, without opposition.

Brussels, besieged by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was relieved. *Ghent* surrendered to the Duke in the middle of a winter remarkably severe. An army, little inferior to his own, marched out of the place.

As soon as the season of the year permitted him to open another campaign, the Duke besieged and took *Tourney*. He invested *Mons*. Near this City the *French* army, covered by thick woods, defended by treble intrenchments, waited to molest, nor presumed to offer battle. Even this was not attempted by them with impunity. On the last day of *August* 1709, the Duke attacked them in their camp. All was employed, nothing availed against the resolution of such a General; against the fury of such troops. The battle was bloody. The event decisive. The woods were pierced. The fortifications trampled down. The enemy fled. The town was taken. *Denay*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St Venant*, *Bouchain* underwent the same fate in two succeeding years. Their vigorous resistance could not save them. The army of *France* durst not attempt to relieve them. It seemed preserved to defend the capital of the Monarchy.

The prospect of this extrem distress was neither distant, nor dubious. The *French* acknowledged their Conqueror, and sued for peace.

These are the Actions of the Duke of MARLBOROUGH.

Perform'd in the Compass of few Years,
Sufficient to adorn the Annals of Ages.

The Admiration of other Nations
Will be conveyed to latest Posterity,
In the Histories even of the enemies of BRITAIN.

The Sense, which the BRITISH Nation had
Of his transcendent Merit,
Was expressed
In the most solemn, most effectual, most durable manner.

The ACTS of PARLIAMENT, inscribed on this Pillar,
Shall stand
As long as the BRITISH Name and Language last,
Illustrious Monuments
Of MARLBOROUGH's Glory
And
Of BRITAIN's Gratitude.

(1) About

1722. were carried on with great zeal on both sides; but the majority of the elected was clearly in favour of the Court; as was likewise that of the sixteen *Scots* Peers, who were the Dukes of *Montrose* and *Roxburgh*, the Marquis of *Tweeddale*, the Earls of *Sutherland*, *Roths*, *London*, *Haddington*, *Buchan*, *Selkirk*, *Orkney*, *Stair*, *Deloraine*, *Ilay*, *Heptoun*, *Bute*, and *Aberdeen* (1).

A plot discovered. It was King George's lot to meet with continual disturbances. The affair of the *South-Sea*, and the favour shewn to the Managers of that scheme, had raised great discontents. It was natural for the enemies of his Person and Government to improve such a juncture: Accordingly they did so, and, though without hope of any foreign assistance, they imagined it possible to succeed in their designs, unless prevented by a discovery. The King had some suspicion of a plot, which he had intimated in his speech to both Houses, but presently after his suspicions were turned into certainty. In the beginning of May he had full information of a conspiracy formed against him, the first notice of which came from the Duke of *Orleans*.

Precautions against the plot. Upon this information, a camp was marked out in *Hyde-Park*, to which the troops of the King's Household marched the next day. Orders were issued to all military Officers immediately to repair to their respective commands. Lieutenant-General *Maccartney* was dispatched to *Ireland*, to bring over some troops from thence into the West of England. Messengers were sent to *Scotland* to secure some suspected persons; and Mr *Horace Walpole*, who, some days before, went over to *Holland*, was instructed to desire the *States*, to keep in readiness the guarantee troops, in order to be sent into *England* in case of necessity. On the other hand, Colonel *Churchill* was sent to the Court of *France*, with a private Commission, probably to see how far the assurances from thence were to be depended upon. By these precautions the public tranquillity was preserved in *Great-Britain*. However, the apprehensions of the plot did not a little affect public credit; for, on May the 7th, *South-Sea* stock fell from 90 to 77; and the timorous or disaffected began a run upon the Bank. But, a few days after, the funds gradually rose to their former value.

A letter to the Lord-Mayor about it. To authorize these precautions, and sound the temper of the people, the Lord *Townshend* writ the following letter to the Lord-Mayor of *London*:

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 8, 1722.

His Majesty having nothing more at heart than the peace and safety of his good City of *London*, the protection of its inhabitants, and the support of public credit, has commanded me to acquaint your Lordship, that he has received repeated and unquestionable advices, that several of his subjects, forgetting the allegiance they owe to his Majesty, as well as the natural love they ought to bear to their Country, have entered into a wicked Conspiracy, in concert

with Traitors abroad, for raising a Rebellion in this Kingdom in favour of a Popish Pretender, with a traiterous design to overthrow our excellent Constitution both in Church and State, and to subject a Protestant free people to tyranny and superstition; but I am persuaded, that it will be a great satisfaction to your Lordship and the City to find, that, at the same time I am ordered to inform you of this design, I am likewise commanded by his Majesty to let you know, that he is firmly assured, that the Authors of it neither are, nor will be supported, nor even countenanced by any foreign power. And as his Majesty has had timely notice of their wicked machinations, and has made the proper dispositions for defeating them, he has no reason to doubt, but by the continuance of the blessing of Almighty God, and the ready assistance of his faithful subjects, this effort of the malice of his enemies will be turned to their own confusion.

His Majesty makes no doubt, but your Lordship, pursuant to the trust reposed in you, will, in conjunction with the other Magistrates of his good City of *London*, exert, with the utmost care and vigilance, your authority at so important a conjuncture, for the preservation of the public Peace, and the security of the City.

I am, &c.

TOWNSHEND.

The reception this letter met with was very acceptable to the Court. An address was presented by the Court of Aldermen, thanking the King for his indulgent regard to the City of *London*, by informing them of the wicked designs of his enemies at home and abroad, and congratulating him upon the happy success of his Negotiations, which had procured assurances, that these traiterous purposes would not be supported by any foreign power:

When we reflect (continues the address) on the many blessings, which *Britons* enjoy, under the protection of a Prince, who makes the laws of this land his rule for the Government of his people, when we consider that neither the civil, or religious rights of your Majesty's subjects, have met with the least instance of violation, since your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne of these Realms, when we recollect your Majesty's Royal clemency and benevolence, (since the last Rebellion) to numbers of those who had offended, in the highest degree, against their King, and the laws of their Country, we cannot but express the utmost abhorrence of those vile and detestable persons, who shall again conspire and attempt to bring a free and happy people under the yoke and tyranny of superstition, and to involve this Nation in a state of blood, misery, and utmost confusion.

And as these must be the unavoidable consequences attending any enterprize to alter our present happy Establishment, and to introduce a Popish one;

As *Englishmen* that value our liberties; as honest

(1) About this time *David Graham*, eldest son of the Duke of *Montrose*, was created Earl *Graham* of *Belford* in *Northumberland*; and *Robert Ker*, only son of the Duke of *Roxburgh*, Earl *Ker* of *Wakefield*

in *Yorkshire*. *John Lest*, Earl of *Roths*, dying soon after his election, *James Ogilvy*, Earl of *Finlater* and *Seafeld* was elected in his room.

1722. best men that have sworn Allegiance to your Majesty, and who have abjured and renounced the Pretender; and as real friends to our excellent Constitution in Church and State (with a Protestant Prince at the head of it) we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to declare to your Majesty, that, as we are bound in gratitude, we will exert ourselves in our several stations, with the utmost care and vigilance, for the preservation of the public peace and tranquillity, and for the restoring of public credit; and that we will use our sincere and hearty endeavours for the firm support of your Majesty upon the Throne, and for the making your Reign easy and happy.

The example of *London* was followed by many other Cities and Boroughs, who all expressed the same zeal and devotion. But, notwithstanding these assurances, the King's journey to *Hanover* was laid aside, though the Regency had been settled, in which the Prince of *Wales* had no part. The Court, however, went to *Kensington*, and the Prince and Princess retired to *Richmond*.

Several
persons
up.

Various were the reports about the nature and discovery of the Conspiracy, as the Government did not as yet think fit to publish the particulars. However, to remove all suspicions of its reality, several persons were taken up. On the 21st of *May*, Mr *George Kelly*, who went under the name of *Johnson*, an *Irish* Clergyman, was seized at his lodgings in *Bury-Street*, by three Messengers, for treasonable correspondences; and, having delivered his sword and papers to them, they placed them in a window, and went in search of other things. Their negligence gave him an opportunity of recovering his sword, which he drew, and swore he would run the first man through the body, that disturbed him in what he was doing, which was burning his papers in a candle with his left hand, whilst he held the drawn sword in the other. When the papers were burnt, he surrendered himself.

On the 4th of *August*, Mr *Robert Cotton*, of *Huntingtonshire*, one of the Gentlemen concerned in the late Rebellion, and cleared by the act of Grace, was seized at his lodgings over against *Somerset-House*, as were also his Footman and Landlady. Two days after, Mr *Cochran* and Mr *Smith* were brought prisoners from *Edinburgh*, and *Cochran* was committed to the *Tower*. One *John Sample*, formerly a servant to Sir *Robert Sutton*, while he resided as Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of *France*, having been taken up for High-treason, and being in custody of a Messenger, found means, on the 5th of *August*, to make his escape; upon which a proclamation was issued out, with a reward of 1000*l.* for apprehending him. And, on the 13th, another proclamation, with the like reward, was published for apprehending Mr *Thomas Carte*, a Nonjuring Clergyman, against whom a warrant had been issued by one of the Secretaries of State.

On the 24th of *August*, Dr *Francis Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rockester*, and Dean of *Westminster*, was apprehended by some of the King's Messengers, who, having searched his house, and secured some of his papers, carried him before a Committee of the Privy-Council, who, having examined him, committed him to the *Tower* for High-treason. The next day, Mr *Thomas Moore*, Vicar of *St Botolph Aldersgate*, formerly Secre-

tary to the Bishop of *Rockester*, was likewise taken up, and afterwards examined, but soon after discharged.

About the middle of *September*, Mr *Bingley*, Mr *Neynoe*, a young *Irish* Priest, and two other persons, were seized at *Deal*, and brought up prisoners to *London*. About the same time Mr *Christopher Layer*, a young Counsellor of the *Temple*, being also apprehended, he endeavoured, the next day, to make his escape; and succeeded so far in his design, that he found means to get out at a back-window two story high, and having reached the river-side, he gave a Sculler some guineas to carry him over the water to *Southwark* with all possible expedition. But, being discovered, upon his going off, by a servant-maid, he was immediately pursued, and, a hue and cry being raised after him, he was taken, and brought back, and the next morning committed to the *Tower*. On the 21st of *September*, he was brought under a strong guard to the *Cock-pit* at *Whitehall*, and, having been some hours under examination, before a Committee of the Privy-Council, was remanded to his confinement. The day before, Mr *Sayer*, of the *Temple*, was taken into custody; as was also, the next day, Mr *Stewart*, Clerk to Mr *Layer*, while his Master was under examination. The same day, *John Plunket*, Serjeant to a Company of Invalids at *Plsmouth*, was seized at *Chelsea*, upon suspicion of being concerned with Mr *Layer*, and, after examination, committed to the custody of a Messenger. On the 24th, Mr *Shippen's* house in *Norfolk-street* was searched for papers, that might give light into some suspicions. Warrants were likewise issued out for apprehending the Lord *Norib* and *Grey*, who was gone as far as the *Isle of Wight*, and had put himself on board a Smuggler's sloop, having been some time at Mr *Holmes's* house in that Island. Colonel *Morgan*, the Deputy-Governor, being informed of his being on board the sloop, sent to a Captain of one of the King's frigates, to have an eye upon the sloop, and, when going to fail, to send his long-boat aboard, and secure all the passengers on suspicion; which being done, the Lord *Norib* and *Grey* at first pretended to be another person; but, finding that did him no service, he confessed who he was; and he and the rest of the passengers were carried before the Governor, who told them, he must secure them till he could write to Court; and, upon an answer from thence, he had orders to send them up in custody. The Lord *Norib* and *Grey's* house, in *Great Queen-Street*, being also searched for papers, the Messenger found there Mr *Swathfigger*, Secretary to the Earl of *Orrery*, who was seized and committed to custody; and, the next morning, *Septemb. 27*, the Earl himself was brought to town from his seat at *Brittel* in *Buckinghamshire*, and, having been examined at the *Cock-pit*, was ordered to be confined that night at his own house in *Glas-House-Street*, under a guard of thirty soldiers; and, the next day, in the evening, was again examined by a Committee of the Privy-Council, and committed prisoner to the *Tower*; as was also the Lord *Norib* and *Grey*, being brought up from *Plsmouth* by Lieutenant-General *Maccartney*, Colonel *Gordon*, and a Messenger.

On the 26th of *September* Mr *Fleetwood* was taken

1722. taken into custody, and Mrs *Laver*, ignorant of her husband's fate, and coming over from *France*, was about the same time seized at *Dover*.

Two days after Mr *Stephen Neynoe*, the *Irish* Priest, seized at *Deal*, being closely confined in the house of Mr *Constantine Phipps* presented a petition to the Court at the *Sessions-House* in the *Old Bailey*, in the name of Mrs *Morrice*, the Bishop's daughter, praying that, in consideration of the Bishop's ill state of health, he might be either brought to a speedy trial, or bailed, or discharged: But it was over-ruled, as were also the petitions of two other prisoners for the plot, *Cochran* and *Dennis Killy*.

The commitment of the Bishop of *Rochester* made a great noise through the whole Kingdom, and gave occasion to the disaffected to heighten jealousies and discontents. They pretended his confinement was injurious to the Church of *England*, and the Episcopal order, and went so far as to offer up public prayers for him (under pretence of his being afflicted with the Gout) in most Churches and Chapels in *London* and *Westminster*, on *Sunday* the 16th of *September*. On the other hand, endeavours were used to remove the prejudices of the Clergy against the Ministry, and Dr *Gibson*, Bishop of *Lincoln* (now of *London*) wrote a circular letter, wherein he sets forth the indulgence wherewith the Bishop was treated: The great respect the order of Bishops met with from the King, who in the disposal of his preferments was directed by their advice: The improbability of so unpopular an act, without a just and even necessary foundation: And lastly the safety of the Nation, which requires that all delinquents should be censured as such, without any regard to the office, or title, or honour they bear.

Whilst the Public was employed in condemning or acquitting the imprisoned Bishop, the King thought proper to shew himself to the people. He set out the latter end of *August* for his *Western* progress, accompanied by the Prince of *Wales*. He came to *Hackwood*, a seat of the Duke of *Bolton*, near *Basingstoke* in *Hampshire*, on the 28th of *August*, lay there that night, and the next day arrived at *Salisbury*, being received every where with demonstrations of the greatest affection and joy. On the 30th he went to the camp near that City, and reviewed *Londonderry's* and *Wade's* Regiments of horse, and *Evans's* and *Gore's* Regiments of dragoons; and *Will's*, *Cadogan's*, *Poock's*, *Stanwix's*, *Groves's*, *Montague's*, and *Clayton's* Regiments of foot. The King returned by the way of *Winchester*, visited *Portsmouth*, lay at *Stanstead*, the seat of the Earl of *Scarborough*, and arrived at *Kensington* the first of *September*.

The noise made by the Conspiracy seemed to require the meeting of the Parliament as soon as the season would permit. Accordingly, on the 9th of *October*, the King came to the House of

Lords, and opened the Session with a speech very proper to remove any doubts which might have been entertained of the plot:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM concerned to find myself obliged, at the opening of this Parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous Conspiracy has been for some time formed, and is still carrying on, against my Person and Government, in favour of a Popish Pretender.

The discoveries I have made here, the informations I have received from my Ministers abroad, and the intelligences I have had from the powers in alliance with me, and indeed from most parts of *Europe*, have given me most ample and concurrent proofs of this wicked design.

The Conspirators have, by their Emissaries, made the strongest instances for assistance from foreign powers, but were disappointed in their expectations. However, confiding in their numbers, and not discouraged by their former ill success, they resolved once more upon their own strength, to attempt the subversion of my Government.

To this end they provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of Officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and thought themselves in such readiness, that, had not the Conspiracy been timely discovered, we should, without doubt, before now, have seen the whole Nation, and particularly the City of *London*, involved in blood and confusion.

The care I have taken has, by the blessing of God, hitherto prevented the execution of their traitorous projects. The troops have been encamped all this summer: Six Regiments (though very necessary for the security of that Kingdom) have been brought over from *Ireland*: The *States-General* have given me assurances, that they would keep a considerable body of forces in readiness to embark on the first notice of their being wanted here, which was all I desired of them, being determined not to put my people to any more expence than what was absolutely necessary for their peace and security.

Some of the Conspirators have been taken up, and secured, and endeavours are used for the apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having thus in general laid before you the state of the present Conspiracy, I must leave to your consideration what is proper and necessary to be done for the quiet and safety of the Kingdom. I cannot but believe the hopes and expectations of our enemies are very ill-grounded, in flattering themselves that the late discontents, occasioned by private losses and misfortunes, however indolently and maliciously fomented, are turned into disaffection, and a spirit of Rebellion.

Had I, since my Accession to the Throne, ever attempted any innovation in our established Religion; had I, in any one instance, invaded the liberty and property of my subjects, I should less wonder at any endeavours

The King takes a progress.

First Session of the second Parliament.

1722.

to alienate the affections of my people, and draw them into measures, that can end in nothing but their own destruction.

But to hope to persuade a free people, in full enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange freedom for slavery, the Protestant Religion for Popery, and to sacrifice at once the price of so much blood and treasure, as have been spent in defence of our present Establishment, seems an insatiation not to be accounted for. But, however vain and unsuccessful these desperate projects may prove in the end, they have at present so far the desired effect, as to create uneasiness and diffidence in the minds of my people; which our enemies labour to improve to their own advantage. By forming plots they depreciate all property, that is vested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit. They make an increase of the national expences necessary, and then clamour at the burthen of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my Government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities, which they alone create and occasion.

I wish for nothing more, than to see the public expences lessened, and the great national debt put in a method of being gradually reduced and discharged, with a strict regard to parliamentary faith; and a more favourable opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the state of profound peace, which we now enjoy with all our neighbours. But public credit will always languish under daily alarms and apprehensions of public danger. And, as the enemies of our peace have been able to bring this immediate mischief upon us, nothing can prevent them from continuing to subject the Nation to new and constant difficulties and distresses, but the wisdom, zeal, and vigorous resolutions of this Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the accounts to be made up, and laid before you, of the extraordinary charge, that has been incurred this summer, for the defence and safety of the Kingdom; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct any expence to be made greater or sooner than was of absolute necessity.

I have likewise ordered estimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the service of the year ensuing; and I hope the further provisions, which the treasonable practices of our enemies have made necessary for our common safety, may be ordered with such frugality, as very little to exceed the Supplies of the last year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I need not tell you of what infinite concern it is to the peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom, that this Parliament should, upon this occasion, exert themselves with a more than ordinary zeal and vigour. An entire union among all, that sincerely wish well to the present Establishment, is now become absolutely necessary. Our enemies have too long taken advantage from your differences and dissensions. Let it be known, that the spirit of

Popery, which breathes nothing but confusion to the civil and religious rights of a Protestant Church and Kingdom, however abandoned some few may be, in despite of all obligations divine and human, has not so far possessed my people, as to make them ripe for such a fatal change. Let the world see, that the general disposition of the Nation is no invitation to foreign powers to invade us, nor encouragement to domestic enemies to kindle a civil war in the bowels of the Kingdom. Your own interest and welfare call upon you to defend yourselves. I shall wholly rely upon the Divine Protection, the support of my Parliament, and the affections of my people, which I shall endeavour to preserve, by steadily adhering to the Constitution in Church and State, and continuing to make the laws of the Realm the rule and measure of all my actions.

1722.

The addresses of thanks were full of the sentiments which so strong and pathetic a speech naturally produced. The detestation and abhorrence, as well as the indignation conceived by both Houses, at the hearing of these traitorous and dangerous designs against his Majesty in favour of a Popish Pretender were unspeakable. The Commons especially expressed themselves in a very affecting manner: 'We cannot express too great an abhorrence of such unnatural practices, nor too great an indignation against those who would have made the Capital of this flourishing Kingdom a scene of blood and desolation. Wicked men! whilst they have the malice to revile your Government, and attempt to overturn it, at the same time have the insolence to depend upon the clemency of it for their security: While they are endeavouring to destroy all liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them are, for the public safety, confined: Whilst they are attempting to destroy all property, they are murmuring at the necessary taxes given to your Majesty for the security of it: And, whilst they act against all law themselves, they trust, and are confident, that, even in their own cases, the laws of the Realm will be the rule and measure of your actions.' To this were added assurances of not only making good all the extraordinary expences already incurred, but of cheerfully granting whatever should be necessary for the safety of the Kingdom, as they were entirely convinced, that they could by no other means restore public credit, and attempt the gradual reduction of the great national debt, than by doing every thing in their power for the support of his Majesty's Government, and happy establishment in his Royal Family.

The expressions of doing every thing in their power were objected against by some Members as too general, and it was moved to add the words, *with due regard to the liberty of the Subject, the Constitution in Church and State, and the Laws now in force.* But the motion was rejected, upon Mr Pulteney's representing, that such a clause would be injurious to the King, since it would look like making a condition or bargain with the King, and tacitly imply, either that the laws had already been infringed, or that the Commons were jealous, lest his Majesty should, for the future, break in upon the Constitution.

As

1722. As the discovery of the plot made the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act necessary, a bill was brought in for that purpose the very first day of the Session, by the Duke of Grafton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who represented the necessity of strengthening the hands of the King's Ministers, in order to a full detection and entire suppression of the traitorous designs and practices against the Government, by empowering his Majesty to secure all suspected persons. Accordingly, it was proposed that the *Habeas Corpus* act should be suspended till the 24th of October 1723.

This was opposed chiefly by the Earls of Anglesea, Cowper, Strafford, and Coningsby, and the Lords Trevor, Batburs, and Bingley, who represented, that, the *Habeas Corpus* act being, on all hands, admitted to be the greatest and strongest bulwark of English liberty, it did not conflict with the wisdom of Parliament to suspend it, without an absolute necessity. That, indeed, in cases of actual Rebellion, or intended Invasion, that act had been, at times before, suspended; but yet this was done sparingly, by degrees, and never for above the term of six months. That this consideration put them under a very melancholy apprehension for the very being or effect of that excellent law, since the suspension of it for a year might be as good a precedent for the suspending it, on another occasion, for the term of two years, as any former precedent was now for the present suspension. That, the horrid and detestable Conspiracy, which occasioned this suspension, having been discovered and notified to the City of London above five months before, and divers of the Conspirators imprisoned for it a considerable time past, it was very unreasonable to suppose, that the danger of this plot, in the hands of an able, faithful, and diligent Ministry, would continue for a year or more yet to come; and that in so high a degree, as to require a suspension of the liberty of the subject; for so they took the *Habeas Corpus* act to be. That, indeed, their just apprehensions would, in a great measure, be removed, if they could flatter themselves with the hopes, that his Majesty, on whose known equity, goodness, and clemency, they entirely depended, would remain among us, during the whole time of this suspension: But that his Majesty, not having visited his Dominions abroad these two last years, would, very probably, leave the Kingdom the next spring to that end. That, in his Majesty's absence, this great power of suspecting and imprisoning the subjects at will, and detaining them in prison till the 24th of October 1723, and for as much longer time, as till they can, after that, take the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act (if they could then do it at all) would be lodged in the hands of our fellow-subjects, who could not be supposed to be above all prejudices and partialities, as their Lordships were sure his Majesty was; and who, besides, might have private piques and resentments to gratify. That this bill did, in effect, vest the Ministers with an authority almost as arbitrary and extensive as that of a Roman Dictator, since they might inflict, even on innocent persons (who should have the misfortune to displease them) a punishment of above a year's imprisonment, which comes little short of death, and which oftentimes occasions it. That the Dictatorial power among the Romans was always ended

ed or laid down immediately after the occasion, for which it was given, was over; and it was remarkable, that it was never continued much longer, till a little before the Roman Commonwealth (from which all other States draw so many maxims of Government) lost its liberty. That so long a suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act weakens the provision made in the bill for the Members of either House of Parliament, *that they shall not be committed or detained, sitting the Parliament, until the matter be first communicated, and the consent obtained of the Houses respectively*, since it is very probable, the Parliament will not be sitting the greatest part of the time, for which this bill was enacted, and would continue a law. That such is the weakness of human nature, that the apprehension of what might befall a Member of Parliament, while the Parliament is not sitting, might have some influence on the freedom of Parliament. And, upon the whole matter, since so long a suspension was liable to so many inconveniences, they thought it advisable and consistent with the usual prudence of that August Assembly, to reduce it to the term of six months; at the end of which, if there appeared to be a necessity for it, it might be continued six months longer, as was done before in this very Reign, during the late Rebellion.

These objections to the bill itself, or continuance of it for a year, were answered by the Lords Townshend, Harcourt, Carteret, the Dukes of Argyle, Wharton, and Newcastle, and some others. They represented, 'That the *Habeas Corpus* act had been suspended upon much less important occasions, upon bare intimations of a plot; whereas the King had now laid before the Parliament the particulars of a Conspiracy to introduce a Popish Prince: That it was necessary the suspension should continue a whole year, since the Conspirators (who probably would lie still all the winter) would exert themselves in the summer when the Parliament was up; and might flatter themselves with the hopes of foreign assistance.' After these debates, the suspension, being put to the vote, was carried without a division, and the bill was sent down to the Commons.

The debates (which ran chiefly upon the continuance of it) were much the same as in the House of Lords. Mr Spencer Cowper said, 'That he and all his family had come as early and readily into the Revolution, and, on all occasions, had appeared as zealous for the present happy Establishment, as any one: But yet he could not be of opinion to trust the liberties of the people in the hands of any Ministry, for so long a time as above a year. That neither in King William's nor Queen Anne's Reigns, nor since his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, even in times of open and actual Rebellion, the *Habeas Corpus* act had ever been suspended for above six months; and therefore he moved, that the present suspension might be limited to that term.' Sir Joseph Jekyll added, 'That, if, at the end of those six months, there appeared to be a necessity for a farther suspension, he should, and he doubted not but the whole House would readily come into it.' At last, Mr Robert Walpole rose up, and laid before the Assembly some particulars of the dangerous Conspiracy, which for some time had been, and was still carrying on, for the utter subversion of the

1722. the present happy Settlement. He said, 'That this wicked design was formed about *Christmas* last: That the Conspirators had at first made application to some Potentates abroad, for an assistance of five thousand men: That being denied, they afterwards (about the month of *April*) made farther application and earnest instances for three thousand men: Being again disappointed in their expectations from foreign assistance, they resolved desperately to go on, confiding in their own strength, and fondly depending on the disaffection in *England*: That their first attempt was to have been the seizing of the *Bank*, the *Exchequer*, and such other places, where the public money was lodged: That the Government had undoubted informations of this plot ever since *May* last; but, nevertheless, thought fit not to take up any body, because, there being then two terms coming on together, the Conspirators would have had the benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* act; and so the apprehending them was put off till the long vacation.' He added, 'That the traitorous designs against his Majesty's Person and Government had been carrying on ever since the death of the late Queen; and it could be proved, that there had been a meeting of some considerable persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been proposed to proclaim the Pretender at the *Royal Exchange*: That an exact account of this detestable Conspiracy would, in due time, be laid before the Parliament: And, as to the business now before them, though it was true, that the *Habeas Corpus* act had never before been suspended for above six months; yet, considering the Lords had made this suspension for a whole year, if the Commons should go about to alter it, the same might occasion a difference between the two Houses, which, at this time of jealousy and danger, might sound ill in foreign Courts.' After this speech, the bill passed the House as sent down by the Lords, and, on the 17th of *October*, received the Royal assent.

Pursuant to a clause in the act, that no Member of either House should be imprisoned during their sitting, till the matter be first communicated to the House, and their consent obtained, the King by the Lord *Carteret* desired the consent of the Lords to detain prisoners the Bishop of *Rockester*, the Lord *North* and *Grey*, and the Earl of *Orrery*, which was readily given.

Soon after passing the bill, the Duke of *Norfolk* was taken into custody at the *Bath*, and brought up to *London*. He was examined by the Council, and afterwards committed to the *Tower* on suspicion of High-Treason.

When the Lord *Townshend* acquainted the Peers with this affair, those that opposed the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act were against consenting to the Duke's commitment. They represented, that the cause and ground of his being suspected of High-Treason should be communicated to the House, and that a general suspicion was not sufficient: That this would subject every Peer, even while the Parliament was sitting, to unwarrantable imprisonments, and might produce very ill effects. But their reasons were not heard, and after a long debate the House consented to the Duke's being detained prisoner in the *Tower*.

As a farther proof of the Plot, the King, on

the 16th of *November*, sent the following message to the House of Peers: 1722.

'His Majesty having been informed, that many scandalous declarations in print have been by several foreign posts transmitted into this Kingdom, in order to be dispersed among his good and faithful subjects, to poison their minds, and seduce them from their allegiance; several of those declarations have, by his Majesty's order, ever since his Majesty received from both Houses of Parliament the last most solemn and acceptable assurances of their fidelity, been intercepted; and amongst them an original in writing, signed, as his Majesty has good reason to believe by the Pretender himself. This, together with one of the printed copies, his Majesty has ordered to be laid before you, as a matter not unworthy of your consideration.'

This declaration (dated *September* 20, 1722, *Substance of the declaration.* at *Lucca*) was directed by *James III.* King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to all his loving subjects of the three Nations, and to all foreign Princes and States, to serve as a foundation for a lasting peace in *Europe*, and signed *James Rex*. The Pretender begins with shewing how fond he is of his subjects; that, though the obligation he owes to his own honour be great, yet the obligation to the safety and tranquillity of his native Country is above all ties the dearest to him and the tenderest. He then talks of the late violations to the freedom of elections: Of Conspiracies invented on purpose to give pretence for new oppressions: Of infamous informers: And a state of proscription in which he concludes every honest well-meaning man to be. These considerations have engaged him to enter seriously into himself, and examine his heart, what sacrifice to make on his own part for the public peace, especially of these Kingdoms, of which he is the natural and undoubted father. Then he proposes, that, if King *George* will quietly deliver to him the possession of his Throne, he will in return bestow upon him the title of King in his native Dominions, and invite all other States to confirm it, with a promise to leave to him his succession to the *British* Dominions secure, whenever in due course his natural right shall take place. As motives to this resignation, he says that in King *George's* native Dominions an uncontested right will free him from the crime and reproach of tyranny, and represents the difference between a calm undisturbed reign over a willing people, and a restless possession in a strange land, where authority, forcing the inclinations of the people, can only be supported by blood and violence, eternally subject to fears and alarms, even when no danger appears. He concludes with saying, King *George's* settlement here is frail and uncertain, because his title shall, whilst the Pretender has health or any descendants in being, be for ever disputed, conjuring him, instead of advising with an imperious Ministry, as much his tyrants as the Nation's, to consult his reason, to ask his conscience, and to examine his interest and glory, and then his very ambition will admonish him to descend from a Throne, which must be always shaking, to mount another, where his seat will be firm and secure.

When this declaration was read in the House of Lords, it was unanimously resolved, that it was a false, insolent, and traitorous libel, the

1722. highest indignity to the King, full of presumption and arrogance, in supposing the Pretender in a condition to offer terms to his Majesty, and injurious to the honour of the *British* Nation, in imagining that a free Protestant people, happy under the Government of the best of Princes, could be so infatuated, as, without the utmost contempt and indignation, to hear of any terms from a Popish bigotted Pretender. Then they ordered the declaration to be burnt at the *Royal Exchange*. The King's message, the declaration, and the Lords resolution being communicated to the Commons, they agreed with the Lords, only adding, that the Sheriffs should attend in person at the burning of the declaration. An address was presented by both Houses, expressing their utmost astonishment and indignation at the surprizing insolence of the Pretender, and assuring, they were determined to support the King's title to the Crown, with their lives and fortunes (1).

A tax upon Papists. The Commons proceeding to consider of the ways and means to raise the Supplies, a motion was made, that, towards defraying the expences occasioned by the late rebellion and disorders, the sum of 100,000*l.* should be raised (in lieu of all forfeitures and profits of the two thirds of their registered estates) upon the real and personal estates of all Papists or persons educated in the Popish Religion. This was opposed by Sir *Wilfrid Lawson* and Dr. *Friend*, who said, that such an extraordinary tax would carry the face of persecution, which was inconsistent with the principles and temper of the Protestant Religion: Adding, some of those, who had their education in foreign Seminaries, proved some of the best friends to the present Government. To this Mr. *Tonge* answered, That he knew very little of foreign education, but he doubted very much, that loyalty to King *George* was taught by Priests and Jesuits in *Romish* Seminaries. The Lord *Gage*, who was bred a *Roman* Catholic, and had several relations of that Religion, said, That he believed most of them to be very loyal subjects, though, by their principles, they cannot take

the oath of Supremacy; and therefore he proposed, that a new oath of Allegiance might be framed for them. Mr. *William Thompson* spoke on the same side, and declared his abhorrence of persecuting any body on account of their opinions in Religion. This was answered by Recorder *Thompson*, who stated the true notion of persecution, which, in his opinion, was only when any one is punished for his particular opinion in Religion, and for serving God according to that opinion, and the dictates of his conscience. But that (said he) was not the case here, for the extraordinary tax, now intended to be raised upon the Papists, was not a punishment for their being *Roman* Catholics, but on account of penalties they had at divers times incurred for being enemies to the Civil Government, raising rebellions, and contriving plots against the State. At last, Mr. *Walpole* represented 'the great dangers this Nation had been in, ever since the Reformation, from the constant endeavours of Popery to subvert our happy Constitution and the Protestant Religion, by the most cruel, violent, and unjustifiable methods: That he would not take upon him to charge any particular person among them with being concerned in the present horrid Conspiracy: But that it was notorious to the whole world, that many of them had been engaged in the *Preston* Rebellion, and some were executed for it; and the present Plot was contrived at *Rome*, and countenanced in Popish Countries: That many of the Papists were not only well-wishers to it, but had contributed large sums of money towards carrying it on; and therefore he thought it very reasonable, since they made such savings of the incomes of their estates, that the same should go towards the great expence they and the Pretender's friends had put the Nation to.' In the course of the bill, which was ordered to be brought in, the friends of the *Roman* Catholics, when they saw it was like to pass, took the opportunity of a thin House, to clog it with a clause for including the Papists and Nonjurors of *Scotland*,

(1) The address was as follows:

'We your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, being deeply affected with the sense of those many blessings, which we have constantly enjoyed, and hope long to enjoy, under your Majesty's most just and gracious Government; and being thoroughly convinced, that our religious and civil rights, as well as the very being of the *British* Name and Constitution, do, under God, interely depend upon the preservation of your Majesty's sacred Person, and of the Protestant Succession, as settled by law in your Royal line, are filled with the utmost astonishment and indignation at the unexampled presumption and arrogance of the Pretender to your Dominions, in daring to offer such an indignity to your Majesty and the *British* Nation, as to declare to your subjects, and to all foreign Princes and States, that he finds himself in a condition to offer terms to your Majesty, and even to capitulate with you for the absolute surrender of the Religion and Liberties of a free Nation.

However great the infatuation of his Advisers may be, we are sensible, nothing could have raised his or their hopes to so extravagant a degree of presumption, but repeated encouragements and assurances from the Conspirators at home, founded on the most injurious and gross misrepresentations of the inclinations and

affections of your Majesty's subjects; and a rash conclusion, that because some, from whom it ought least to have been expected, had broke through the solemn restraint of reiterated oaths, in order to raise themselves on the ruin of their Country; therefore the whole body of the Nation was ripe for the same fatal defection, and ready to exchange the mild and legal Government of a most indulgent Prince, for the boundless rage of an attainted Fugitive, bred up in the maxims of tyranny and superstition.

But we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, resolve, by a steady and constant adherence to your Government, to wipe off this stain and imputation from the name of *Britons*, and to convince the world, that those wicked designs, formed against your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, which the insolence of this declaration proves to be most real, while it affects to treat them as imaginary, and impracticable against a Prince relying on, and supported by the vigour and duty of a *British* Parliament, and the affections of his people.

And we beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure your Majesty, that neither the impotent menaces of foreign assistance, nor the utmost efforts of domestic traitors, shall ever deter us from standing by your Majesty with our lives and fortunes, and supporting your Majesty's most just title to the Crown of these Realms, against the Pretender, and all his open and secret Abettors, both at home and abroad.

1722. *Scotland*, which was carried by five voices only in the Committee. But, when this amendment came to be considered by the House, Mr. *Walpole* represented, That, the names and real estates of the *Scots* Papists and Nonjurors not being registered, it was impossible to ascertain their proportion of this tax. Upon which the clause was rejected, and the bill, having passed, was sent up to the Lords, where it was also agreed to with another bill from the Commons, to oblige all persons, being Papists, in *Scotland*, and all persons in *Great-Britain* refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the King's Person and Government, to register their names and real estates. Both these bills received the Royal assent.

Trial of
Laver.

Mr. *Laver* was brought to his trial on the 21st of *November*, at the King's Bench. His indictment set forth, 'That he had been employed in forming a most traitorous and horrid Plot and Conspiracy against his Majesty and his Government, by lifting men in *Essex* for the Pretender's service, in order to stir up a Rebellion; and also, that he had held correspondence with the Pretender, by carrying letters and treasonable papers to him beyond seas, and from him to his Majesty's disaffected subjects in this Kingdom.' The first evidence proved, that the Earl of *Cadogan* was to be seized, and the Tower at the same time; afterwards the Bank of *England*, and then his Majesty and the Prince of *Wales*. The instigating men for the Pretender was proved by several persons, to whom Mr. *Laver* had given money; and, after a trial of about eighteen hours, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but, being reprieved from time to time, the House of Commons appointed a Committee to examine him in relation to the Conspiracy, consisting of *Spencer Compton*, the Speaker; *Robert Walpole*, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Master of the Rolls; *Paul Melbourn*, Comptroller of the Household; *William Pulteney*; *John Smith*, Teller of the Exchequer; *Richard Hampden*, Lieutenant General *Wills*, and Sir *Robert Sutton*. They chose *Stephen Poyntz* to be their Secretary. Mr. *Laver's* reprieve was prolonged on this occasion, and, his trial not being published, the Earl of *Anglesey*, in the House of Lords, took notice, 'That, at the opening of this Session, his Majesty, in his speech from the Throne, had been pleased to acquaint both Houses with the discovery of a dangerous Conspiracy, which for some time had been formed, and was still carrying on against his Person and Government: That some of the Conspirators had been taken up and secured; and that endeavours were used for the apprehending others. That, one of the principal Plotters having since that time been tried and condemned, it was somewhat strange, that no particulars relating to the Conspiracy had yet been communicated to that House, the rather, because several of their Members had been apprehended, and were still confined, on suspicion of being concerned in it.' And therefore he moved, 'That the Judges of the King's Bench be ordered to cause the trial of *Christopher Laver* to be forthwith printed and published, being first perused by the King's Council.' This motion was supported by the Earls *Cowper*, *Strafford*, and *Aylesford*, the Lords *Trevor*, *Ratburj*, *Lechmere*, and some others. To this it was answered by the Lord *Carteret*, 'That

the order moved for was altogether unnecessary, directions having been long before given by the Judges for the printing and publishing of the trial with all convenient speed: That the trial being of a very large extent, and several parts of it, that were taken down in short-hand, requiring a great deal of time to be revised and rectified by the Judges and the Council on both sides, had occasioned the delay complained of; but that, the printing of the trial being now in great forwardness, the same would be published in a few days.' Upon this a motion for an order to the Judges was rejected, and about a week after the trial was published. However, sixteen Lords entered their protests.

These debates probably hastened the publishing of the trial; and, though *Laver* was still reprieved from time to time, in hopes that he would make a full discovery of the plot, he waved it; and therefore he was at last executed at *Tyburn*, his head being carried to *Newgate*, and the next day fixed up at *Temple-Bar*; but his quarters were delivered to those, who came for them. He was attended at his death by Mr. *George Hawkins* and Mr. *John Berryman*, two Clergymen. His speech was very short; but in it he justified himself in what he had done, and recommended the interest of the Pretender. He delivered a paper to Mr. *Price*, the Under-Sheriff, and another to a friend.

The report of the Committee appointed to examine Mr. *Laver*, and others, having been delivered to the House on the 1st of *March*, by Mr. *Pulteney*, the Chairman, it appeared from thence, that a design had been long carrying on by persons of figure and distinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the Pretender on the Throne of these Kingdoms. That various methods had been attempted, and various times fixed for putting this design in execution. That the first intention was to have procured a regular body of foreign forces to invade these Kingdoms at the time of the late elections; but that the Conspirators, being disappointed in their expectation, next resolved to make an attempt at the time, that it was generally believed the King intended to go to *Hanover*, by the help of such Officers and Soldiers, as could pass into *England* unobserved from abroad, under the command of the late Duke of *Ormond*, who was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in *Spain* for that purpose, at which time the Tower was likewise to have been made a place of arms. But this design being also disappointed by the discoveries made in *England*, and the King's putting off his journey; by the incampment of his forces at home, as well as the sending for those from *Ireland*, and by the readiness of his Allies the *States-General*, to assist him in case of need; by the orders given in *Spain*, that the late Duke of *Ormond* should not be suffered to pass through that Kingdom, the Conspirators found themselves under a necessity of deferring their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp: During that interval they were labouring by their agents and emissaries to corrupt and seduce the Officers and Soldiers of the army, and depended so much on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the Pretender on the Throne, tho' they should obtain no assistance from abroad, which nevertheless they still continued to solicit for.

1722-23. The truth and reality of these designs were confirmed by the concurrent advices from almost all parts of *Europe*, sent by persons who appeared to have had no communication with each other. These advices were also verified by several discoveries made at home by the informations and confessions of the parties concerned, as well as by a long series of correspondence which the Conspirators furnished the Government against themselves.

From several letters and circumstances it appeared, that the first design was to have been executed with the assistance of foreign forces, at the time of the elections; that the Pretender, the late Duke of *Ormond*, Lord *Orrery*, and the Bishop of *Rochester*, were of this opinion; that memorials were drawn up here, to be presented to the Regent for this purpose, and that those memorials were actually presented, or, at least, application made to the Regent in consequence of them, by directions from persons in *England*; and that such dispositions had been made for this enterprize at that time, as broke out into riots at some of the elections; which must have been allowed to have been no unfavourable juncture for such an attempt, considering the discontents occasioned by the late *South-Sea* scheme, which the Conspirators have all along flattered themselves they should be able to improve into a spirit of Rebellion, and the liberties usually taken at such a season, when all the Freeholders of *England* are necessarily assembled together, and when the whole Nation is too apt to be in a ferment, even in the quietest times.

This design failing, on account (as it is reasonable to believe) of the Conspirators not being able to obtain the forces they solicited from abroad, and of their being themselves divided in opinion as to the time and manner of execution, their next endeavour was to attempt an insurrection at the time, when they supposed his Majesty would be going to *Hanover*. For it appeared by several particulars, that the Duke of *Ormond* was to have landed in *England* with officers and arms about that time. The reason of *Ormond's* not coming proceeded from the orders issued at *Madrid* and in *France* to prevent him, and by the King's not going abroad. In a letter to one of the Secretaries of State from *Rome*, notice was taken, that a person of great distinction at that place had declared it as his opinion, that the grand project formed in a Conclave, for placing the Pretender on the Throne of *Britain*, was going to be put in execution; but that the same person afterwards assigned four reasons for its having miscarried, which were, the want of money, the suspected faith of the Regent, the want of skill in those who were to conduct it, and the pusillanimity of the Pretender, who, to avoid hazarding his own person, proposed to send his child.

The Report farther observed, that the Leaders, in order (as it is natural to believe) to save themselves from the danger of legal conviction, chose to manage their correspondences by the intervention of persons of a meaner rank and figure, and of desperate fortunes, who, they hoped, might escape the observation of the Government; being no otherwise considerable, than as the trust reposed in them made them so. Of these inferior Agents, *Laver* appears to have been principally intrusted by Lord *North* and *Grey*, and Lord *Orrery*; and *Plunket*, who travelled

with *Laver* to *Rome*, and whose treasonable practices and correspondences are closely connected with those of *Laver*, writes of himself as transacting part of his treasons with Lord *Orrery's* Clerk, and sends frequent accounts to the Pretender's Agents abroad, of matters relating to the said Lord.

George Kelly, a Nonjuring Clergyman, appears to have been the person principally entrusted by the Bishop of *Rochester*, and to have been employed in writing for him, and conveying letters to him, until the time that he, *Kelly*, was first taken into custody; after which, it appears to the Committee, that *Thomas Carte*, another Nonjuring Clergyman, was entrusted and employed by the Bishop in the same manner; and the Committee observed, that *George Kelly's* Correspondence has a close connexion with that of *Dennis Kelly*, and likewise that he appears to have been privy to *Plunket's* and *Neynne's* transactions.

The person employed by the Duke of *Norfolk*, in conveying letters between him, and *George Fernegan*, an Agent of the Pretender's in *Flanders*, they find to be Mrs. *Spelman*, alias *Tallop*, who has likewise owned her conveying letters in the same manner between Mr. *Harvey* of *Comb*, and one *Moore* of *Brownlow-Street*, and the said *Fernegan*; the Committee observe, that *John Sample* acted under the direction of Mr. *Sempil* (commonly called Lord *Sempil*) and his son at *Paris*; and that he wrote letters to the late Duke of *Ormond* and the Pretender.

After the reading the report, it was moved, by Mr. *Pulteney*, that this question might be put, 'That upon consideration of the report, and the several papers and examinations relating to the Conspiracy, it appears to this House, that a detestable and horrid Conspiracy has been formed and carried on by persons of figure and distinction, and their agents and instruments, in conjunction with Traitors abroad, for invading these Kingdoms with foreign forces, for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at home, for seizing the *Tower*, and the City of *London*, for laying violent hands upon the Persons of his most sacred Majesty and the Prince of *Wales*, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.' This question, after a short debate, was carried without dividing; and then Mr. *Pelham* moved, 'That it appears to this House, that *Christopher Laver*, in his several examinations before the Lords of the Council, and the Committee of this House, has grossly prevaricated, suppressed the truth, contradicted himself, and endeavoured, as far as in him lies, to disguise and conceal the horrid and detestable Conspiracy.' Which was also carried in the same manner. After this, the Attorney-General moved, 'That it appears to this House, that *John Plunket* has been a principal Agent and Instrument in the Conspiracy, and has carried on several treasonable correspondences to procure a foreign force to invade these Kingdoms, to raise Insurrections and a Rebellion at home, and was engaged with others in the villanous and execrable design, of laying violent hands upon his Majesty's most sacred Person.' This question being carried with very little opposition, the Attorney-General moved again, for a bill to inflict certain pains and penalties on *John Plunket*. Though this motion was warmly opposed, yet,

1722-23.

1722-23. yet, after a long debate, it was carried by a majority of 289 against 130, and the bill, being brought in, passed both Houses: But thirty-one Lords entered their protests against it. A few days after, the Solicitor-General made the like motion in the case of *George Kelly*, and a bill was also passed against him, which was attended with the same protests.

By these acts *Plunket* and *Kelly* were to be kept in close custody during his Majesty's pleasure, his Heirs and Successors, in any prison in Great-Britain; and, in case they should break prison, they and their assistants were to suffer death.

Against
Bishop
Atterbury.

The same day Mr. *Tonge* in a long speech took notice, how deeply Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, had been concerned in this detestable Conspiracy; aggravating his crime from his holy function, and high station in the Church of England, a Church ever conspicuous for its loyalty; from the solemn oaths he had, on so many occasions, taken to the Government, and by which he had abjured the Pretender; when at the same time he was traitorously conspiring to bring him in, upon the ruin of his Country, and of all that was dear and valuable to us as Freemen and Christians: Concluding, that as he was a disgrace to his Order, and a dishonour to the Church, so he might apply to him on this occasion these words of the 1st of *Acts*, Verse 20, *Let his habitation be desolate, and let no man dwell therein, and his Bishopric let another take.* And therefore he moved, 'That it appears to this House, that *Francis Lord Bishop of Rocheſter* was principally concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on the wicked and detestable Conspiracy, for invading these Kingdoms with a foreign force, and for raising Insurrections and Rebellions at home, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.' Sir *William Wyndham* said, he saw no cause to proceed against the Bishop in so severe a manner, there being little or indeed no evidence besides conjectures and hearsays. However, Mr. *Tonge's* motion was agreed to, and a bill was ordered to be brought in to inflict certain pains and penalties on *Francis Bishop of Rocheſter*.

When the bill came to be read a second time, the Bishop sent a letter to the Speaker, which he desired might be communicated to the House, and in which he said, that, though conscious of his own innocence, he should decline giving the House any trouble that day, and contented himself with the opportunity (if the bill went on) of making his defence before another, of which he had the honour to be a Member. However, the Commons proceeded in that affair, and, the Council for the bill being called in, and the bill read, the Council opened the evidence, and pro-

duced a scheme, taken amongst Mr. *Laver's* 1723. papers, which was read, as were also several copies of letters stopped at the Post-Office. Then the Council examined several witnesses to make good the allegations of the bill; produced several papers taken at his houses at *Westminster* and *Branley*; as also a packet taken on one of his servants at the *Tower of London*; and examined two witnesses, one to prove, that a letter and paper contained in the packet were his handwriting; and the other to prove, that a letter directed to Mr. *Dubois*, taken amongst his papers at the Deanry at *Westminster*, was sealed with the same seal, with which the letter taken on his servant at the *Tower* was sealed. Then the Council summed up the evidence, and, being withdrawn, the Speaker opened the bill, which was committed to a Grand Committee, on the 6th of April, when the leading men amongst the Tories chose to go out of the House, so that only Mr. *Lawson*, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and two or three more, staid to speak in the Bishop's behalf. When they came to the filling up the blank for pains and penalties, it was moved, that he should be deprived of his office and benefice, banished the Kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it should not be in the King's power to pardon him without consent of Parliament; but without forfeiture of goods and chattels. Mr. *Lawson* represented, that, the evidence against the Bishop being all either hearsay or conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no punishment at all. Mr. *Oglethorpe* was of the same opinion, but gave it another turn. He said, 'It was plain, the Pretender had none but a company of silly fellows about him; and it was to be feared, that, if the Bishop, who was allowed to be a man of great parts, should be banished, he might be solicited and tempted to go to Rome, and there be in a capacity to do more mischief by his advice, than if he was suffered to stay in England under the watchful eye of those in power.' But the bill passed and was sent up to the Lords; before whom the Bishop was brought to his trial on the 9th of May; and, himself and his Council having been heard, the Lords in a Grand Committee went through the bill against him; and on the 15th the bill was read the third time; after which a motion being made for passing it, there arose a very long and warm debate (1).

Earl *Powlet*, who opened the debate, spoke to the nature of this bill, shewed the danger of such an extraordinary proceeding, and urged, that the swerving from the fixed rules of evidence, and consequently from justice, must inevitably be attended with the most fatal consequences to our excellent Constitution. Dr. *Wilkes*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, in answer to that, alledged,

(1) The Speakers for and against the bill were as follow:

Against the bill.

1. Earl *Powlet*,
3. Lord Bishop of *Chester*,
5. Duke of *Wharton*,
6. Lord *Bathurst*,
7. Earl of *Stratford*,
8. Lord *Trevor*,
11. Lord *Gower*,
13. Earl *Cowper*.

For the bill.

2. Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*,
4. Lord Bishop of *London*,
9. Earl of *Findlater* and *Seafield*,
10. Duke of *Argyle*,
12. Lord *Lechmere*,
14. Earl of *Peterborough*,
15. Earl of *Chesham*.

1723. ledged, that as extraordinary diseases require extraordinary remedies; so in cases of extreme danger and necessity, when the very being of the State lies at stake, if the common law cannot reach offenders, the Legislature ought to exert itself. He was replied to by Dr. *Gastrell*, Bishop of *Chester*, who owned, that extraordinary proceedings may indeed be resorted to upon extraordinary occasions, and when they are evidently necessary for the preservation of the State; but that was very far from the present case, since the Conspiracy, in which the Bishop of *Rocheſter* was charged to have had a share, had been discovered and disappointed long before. The Duke of *Wharton*, in a long speech, summed up the whole evidence, which had been produced against the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and endeavoured to shew the insufficiency of it to prove the charge; concluding, 'That, let the consequences be what they would, he would not have such a hellish stain fully the lustre and glory of that illustrious House, as to condemn a man without the least evidence;' and therefore was for rejecting the bill. He was strongly supported by Lord *Bathurst*, who, in the first place, took notice of the ungracious distinctions that were fixed upon the Members of that noble and illustrious Assembly, who differed in opinion from those who happened to have the majority. That, for his own part, as he had nothing in view but truth and justice, the good of his Country, the honour of that House, and the discharging of his own conscience, he would freely speak his thoughts, notwithstanding all discouragements: That he would not complain of the sinister arts that had been used of late to render some persons obnoxious, and, under pretence of their being so, to open their letters about their minutest domestic affairs. For these small grievances he could easily bear, but when he saw things go so far, as to condemn a person of the highest dignity in the Church, in such an unprecedented manner, and without any legal evidence, he thought it his duty to oppose a proceeding so unjust and unwarrantable in itself, and so dangerous and dismal in its consequences. To this purpose he begged leave to tell their Lordships a story he had from several Officers of undoubted credit, who had served in *Flanders* in the late war. A *Frenchman*, it seems, had invented a machine, which would not only kill more men at once than any yet in use, but also disable for ever any man who should be wounded by it. Big with hopes of a great reward, he applied himself to one of the Ministers, who laid the project before the late *French King*; but that Monarch considering, that so destructive an engine might soon be turned against his own men, did not think proper to encourage it: Whereupon the Inventor came over into *England*, and offered his service to some of our Generals, who likewise rejected the proposal with indignation. The use and application of this story is very obvious; for, if this way of proceeding be admitted, it will certainly prove a very dangerous engine. No man's life, liberty or property will be safe. And if those, who were in the Administration some years ago, and who had as great a share in the affections of the people, as any that came after them, had made use of such a political machine, some of those noble persons, who now appear so zealous promoters of this bill, would not be in a capacity to serve his Majesty

No. 100. VOL. IV.

at this time. He added, that, if such extraordinary proceedings went on, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their Country Houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families, since the least correspondence, the least intercepted letter, might be made criminal. To this purpose he quoted a passage out of Cardinal *de Retz's* memoirs, relating to that wicked politician, Cardinal *Mazarine*, who boasted, that, if he had but two lines of any man's writing, with a few circumstances attested by witnesses, he could cut off his head when he pleased. He likewise animadverted on the majority of the venerable bench, towards which turning himself, he said, he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the learned and ingenious Bishop of *Rocheſter*, unless it was, that they were intoxicated with the insatiation of some of the wild *Indians*, who fondly believe they inherit not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any great enemy they kill.' The Earl of *Stratford* spoke on the same side, as did also the Lord *Trevor*, who, among other arguments against the bill, urged, that, if men were in this unprecedented manner proceeded against without legal proof, in a short time men would be tried as they were liked by Ministers: That, for his own part, he believed he stood but indifferently in the opinion and liking of some persons, and therefore he had reason to think himself more in danger, because at present they wanted the protection of the law (meaning the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act;) and, as in a short time they were like to be so unhappy, as to be deprived of his Majesty's personal protection, and were still liable to be confined upon suspicion, which he took to be no more than will and pleasure, they were consequently at the will and pleasure of the Ministers. That however no apprehension of what he might suffer should deter him from doing what he thought his duty: That, consonant to that principle, he had all along, and still opposed these extraordinary proceedings, which tended to lodge an exorbitant power in their fellow-subjects. That, if he were to lose his liberty, he had rather give it up to one single tyrant, than to many; for a tyrant, if a man of common understanding, would, for his own sake, be tender of the lives of his subjects; whereas many tyrants would endeavour to destroy one another, to get one another's preferments. The Lord *Trevor* having done speaking, the Earl of *Seafield* endeavoured to shew, that the evidence which had been produced before them, being sufficient to convince any reasonable man, that there had been a detectable Conspiracy, and that the Bishop of *Rocheſter* had a great share in it, was likewise sufficient to justify this extraordinary proceeding against him, especially since they inflicted on him so light a punishment, considering the heinousness of the crime. The Duke of *Argyle* pursued the same argument; run through and confuted the most essential parts of the Bishop's defence; and aggravated his offence, by which he had debased his holy function and character, and acted contrary to the solemn repeated oaths he had taken. The Lord *Gower* spoke afterwards against the bill; but what surprized most people, the Lord *Lechmere*, who, on several occasions, had expressed his dislike of these extraordinary proceedings, declared it as his opi-

8 G

nion,

1723. nion, that there was sufficient evidence to support the charge. He was answered by Earl Cowper in a long speech, importing in substance, That the strongest argument which had been urged for this bill, was necessity; but that, for his part, he saw no necessity that could justify so unprecedented and so dangerous a proceeding. That, as already had been suggested, the Conspiracy had above a twelvemonth before been happily discovered, and the effects of it consequently prevented. That, besides the intrinsic weight and strength of the Government, by numerous offices and employments, civil and military, and the wealth and interest of the well-affected to his Majesty's Person and the present happy Establishment, the hands of those at the helm had still been fortified by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and the additional troops; so that, in his opinion, there could be no danger to the Government, if *Plunket* and *Kelly* were not prisoners for life, nor the Bishop of *Rochester* sent into banishment. That, on the contrary, if that Prelate's talent and genius lay in contriving and carrying on state intrigues, he thought him less dangerous at home than abroad: That the other reasons alledged to support this extraordinary proceeding had no more weight in them than the first: That the known rules of evidence, as laid down at first, and established by the law of the land, were the birth-right of every subject of this Nation, and ought to be constantly observed, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but also in both Houses of Parliament, till altered by the Legislature: That much had been said of the power of Parliaments, which he owned was very great; but that, in his opinion, their absolute power consisted only in making and repealing laws, and, till such time as a law was repealed, every subject had a right to it. That the admitting of the precarious and uncertain evidence of the Clerks of the Post-Office was a very dangerous precedent: That in former times it was thought very grievous, that, in capital cases, a man should be affected by similitude of hands: But here the case was much worse, since it was allowed, that the Clerks of the Post-Office could carry the similitude of hands four months in their minds. That these men might be honest, and swear to the best of their knowledge; but he was sure, they were at least very willing and forward evidence: For as he asked one of them, how he knew such a paper to be Mr. *Kelly's* hand? He readily answered, 'He had seen the same four months before, and he was sure it could be no other.' Whereas any man, who has never so little been conversant in the world, knows, that hands may be so well counterfeited, as not to be distinguished. After this, he commended the Bishop of *Rochester's* noble and brave carriage in not answering before the House of Commons, whose proceeding

in this unprecedented manner against a Lord of Parliament was such an encroachment on the prerogative of the Peerage, that, if submitted to by passing this bill, they might well be said to be the last of Lords. '*Ultimus Romanorum*, my Lords (said he in the conclusion) was a character of honour and praise: But to be the last of British Peers, by giving up our ancient privileges, will never, I doubt, admit of such construction; and therefore I am for rejecting this bill.' Little was said of any great weight after this speech; and, about half an hour past nine the question being put, it was resolved in the affirmative, that the bill should pass, by a majority of 83 voices against 43; upon which several Lords entered their protest.

By this act the Bishop, from the 1st day of June 1723, was to be deprived of all offices, dignities, promotions, and benefices Ecclesiastical, and incapable of holding any for the future. He was also banished the Realm, and, in case he returned, he was to suffer death, as well as all persons that corresponded with him.

When the report and the other papers were communicated to the Lords by the Commons, *Burford's Club*, the Earls of *Scarfdale*, *Strafford* and *Cowper*, the Lords *Craven*, *Gower*, *Bathurst* and *Bingley* complained, that, in the examinations, it is set forth, that *John Plunket* told *Loyer*, that they were of a club or meeting, called, in *Plunket's* letters, *Burford's Club* (1). These Lords severally declared the same to be false and groundless: And Earl *Cowper* in particular made a long speech, complaining of being mentioned in the Report, on the bare hearsay of an infamous person, which was enough to give an air of fiction to the whole Conspiracy; and then moved, that *Plunket* should be sent for and examined. The Lord *Townshend* answered, 'That he was much surprized to find that a noble Peer, whose abilities and merits had justly so great weight in that illustrious Assembly, should, upon a trivial circumstance, ridicule, as a fiction, a horrid execrable Conspiracy, supported by so many concurring proofs, and from a false trifling particular infer, that no part of it was true.' As the debate was like to grow warm, some Members called for the question, and Earl *Cowper's* motion was rejected by 81 against 26. The Earl and Mr. *Hutchinson* published declarations against the false information of their being of the club, wherein they strongly asserted their innocence.

The Lords had also chosen by ballot a Committee of nine, to whom the report and original papers were referred to prepare what might be fit to be offered to the Commons, by way of answer to what was delivered, at a Conference relating to the papers. When the Duke of *Dorset's* Report from the Lords Committees was taken into consideration, it was resolved, That a detestable Conspiracy had been formed for

(1) *Loyer* being asked, If *Plunket* ever explained to him who were meant by *Burford's Club*? *Plunket* told him, It was an appellation made use of by the Pretender and his Agents, to denote a club of Tory Lords and others, of which club Lord *Orrery* was Chairman, and consisted of the following Members:

Lord *Strafford*,
Sir *Henry Goring*,
Lord *Cowper*,

Mr. *Hutchinson*,
Bishop of *Rochester*,
Sir *Constantine Phipps*,

General *Hobbs*,
Lord *Bingley*,
Mr. *Dawkins*,
Lord *Craven*,

Mr. *Shippin*,
Lord *Scarfdale*,
Lord *Bathurst*,
Lord *Gower*.

The Committee thought it justice due to several of the persons named by *Loyer*, to observe, that the matters, asserted of *Burford's Club* in *Plunket's* letters to *Dillon*, seemed utterly inconsistent with the known characters of some of those persons. See *Report*.

1723. for raising a Rebellion, and laying violent hands on the King and Prince: After which, the Committee was thanked by the Lord-Chancellor, for having discharged their trust with great exactness, fidelity, and candor.

Dr. *Friend* the Physician, who had exerted himself very zealously for the Bishop of *Rockester*, was soon after taken into custody; for, on the 15th of *March*, Mr. *Walpole* acquainted the Commons, 'That his Majesty, having had just reason to apprehend Dr. *John Friend* (a Member of this House) for High-treason, desired the consent of the House to his being committed and detained; and then he moved for an address to that purpose. This motion was opposed by Mr. *Shippin* and Mr. *Bromley*, who said, they could not see any reason for that House giving leave for detaining any Member, unless the species of treason was declared, and that the information was upon oath. Sir *Joseph Jekyll* and Mr. *Walpole* replied, That, by the late act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus*, the King was empowered to take up any person he had reason to suspect: That therefore the Government was not obliged to say, whether the information was upon oath or not. But Mr. *Walpole* added, he did not doubt but Dr. *Friend* was charged upon oath; and privately declared to several Members, that they had a positive oath of his being guilty of the blackest and basest treason. Mr. *Shippin* then suggesting, that the Doctor's having spoke so warmly the *Monday* before in Mr. *Kelly* and the Bishop of *Rockester*'s behalf, was, in his opinion, the reason of his being taken up the next day himself, and at that rate there was an end of the liberty of speech, which every Member of that House had a right to. Mr. *Walpole* replied, He wondered any Gentleman could think any Ministry capable of so base a thing, as to take up any Gentleman for what he said in that House, without any other cause, when they knew themselves to be accountable as well as others for their actions: Adding, that they, who made such insinuations, might more easily be proved to be Jacobites, than they could make out such an allegation against the Ministry. Mr. *Pulteney* spoke on the same side; and, in relation to Dr. *Friend*'s having spoken in *Kelly*'s behalf, observed, that it was usual, in all Conspiracies, for one Traitor to endeavour to excuse another. Mr. *Shippin* animadverted with some warmth upon this reflection, saying, It was not to be endured, to have a Member of that House called a Traitor, before he was convicted as such. But, Mr. *Pulteney* having explained himself, that matter ended, and then the motion for an address was carried without a division.

The affair which occasioned the most talk, next to the plot, was the *Harburgh* lottery, which was brought before the Parliament this Session. The lottery took its name from the place where it was to be drawn, the town and port of *Harburgh* on the river *Elbe*, within the King's *German* Dominions, where the Projector was to settle a trade for the woollen manufacture between *England* and *Germany*. The House of Commons having appointed a Committee to inquire into this and other lotteries, then carrying on in *London*, it was represented in their report, 'That the scheme proposed, that 1,500,000 *l.* sterling, or 16,500,000 guilders, should be subscribed; and that it was to be drawn at *Harburgh* in five classes, 100,000 tickets to be drawn

in each class at 3 *l.* per ticket; and that every person subscribing was to pay 12 *s.* or six guineers for each ticket, before the drawing each class of the lottery. That 200,000 *l.* of 300,000 *l.* in each class was to be divided into lots, to the fortunate Adventurers, which amounts to 1,000,000 *l.* to be deducted out of the whole sum, which was to be paid the fortunate Adventurers. That a sum of 1,000,000 *l.* was subscribed for, to carry on a trade between *Great-Britain* and his Majesty's *German* Dominions; and that 2 per cent. was only paid in upon the stock so subscribed; of which a sum of 13,000 *l.* or more was actually paid in money, and 7000 *l.* or more was secured by notes; 400,000 *l.* whereof was subscribed. At first, 100,000 *l.* stock was sold at 15 *l.* 3 *s.* per cent. of which 2 per cent. was only paid into the Company, and the rest disposed of as follows; 13 *l.* 3 *s.* per cent. which amounted to 13,150 *l.* 10,000 *l.* of which was given to Mr. *Nicolas*; and 3,150 *l.* to Mr. *Benjamin Joules*, for their services: And as to 13,000 *l.* paid in money, and 7,000 *l.* in notes, the Committee could get no account what was become of it, not being able to see their books; nor could the Committee learn what number of tickets had been delivered out, or what money thereupon had been received, or what was become of what they had received. That with regard to the disposition of the other 500,000 *l.* 5 per cent. upon 1,500,000 *l.* which amounts to 75,000 *l.* was to be deducted for management; which being taken out of the said 500,000 *l.* leaves 425,000 *l.* which sum was to be incorporated into the stock of the first Company, and to make a part of a capital of 1,500,000 *l.* as the Committee apprehended, of which they could get no positive information. But whether the former capital was intended to be so great, or only to consist of this 425,000 *l.* and the 1,000,000 *l.* which was before subscribed, it appeared to the Committee, that a plain fraud was intended in joining this real sum with an imaginary subscription; of which 2 per cent. only was paid in or secured, and that probably embezzled.' The Trustees of this lottery were twenty; some of whom were in *Germany*; the rest, who were in *England*, were the Lord *Barrington*, Sir *John Hartop*, Charles *Frederick Krenbergh*, John *London*, Piennes *Harrison*, Peter *Hartop*, William *Squire*, Edward *Richier*, John *Caswal*, William *Sterling*, Benjamin *Smith*, Benjamin *Burroughs*, John *Thompson*, Henry *Bendish*, — *Foster*, Benjamin *Joules*, and John *Manley*. But several of them resigned their trust immediately, being dissatisfied with the scheme; for, when Sir *Thomas Webster*, Sir *Charles Wager*, and Lord *Barrington* waited upon Lord *Townshend*, Lord *Carteret*, and Mr. *Walpole*, they were told, that an *English* charter for the advantage of the lottery could not be granted, because it was illegal and impracticable. Upon reading the report, the House came to the following resolutions:

1. That the project, called the *Harburgh* lottery, carried on in the City of *London*, is an infamous fraudulent undertaking, whereby several unwary persons have been drawn in to their great loss; and that the manner of carrying the same on hath been a manifest violation of the laws of this Kingdom.

2. That it appears to this House, that the Managers of, and Agents of the said lottery, did frequently,

1723. frequently, without any authority for so doing, make use of his Majesty's Royal Name, thereby to give countenance to the infamous project, and induce his Majesty's subjects to engage, or be concerned therein. After which a bill was ordered to be brought in to suppress the lottery, and to prevent any foreign lotteries from being carried on in this Kingdom; and to oblige the persons concerned, in the management of the *Harburgh* lottery, to make restitution and satisfaction for the money they have received from the Contributors. And it was also resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it appeared to this House, that *John* Lord Viscount *Barrington*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, a Member of this House, has been notoriously guilty of promoting, abetting, and carrying on the fraudulent undertaking, called the *Harburgh* lottery; and for that offence he be expelled the House.

In December 1722, the Emperor of Germany granted a patent for establishing an *East-India* Company in the *Austrian Netherlands*, the substance of which was, that they were empowered to open books of subscription, wherein the subjects of any Nation were admitted to subscribe. The Company was to be called the *Imperial Company of Commerce established in Flanders*. The fund consisted of eight millions of florins, and Directors to be chosen annually. The Nobility had the privilege of entering into this Company, without derogation in the least from their Nobility: Those of any Nation, who subscribed 20,000 florins, were to be naturalized from that subscription: And any person had the privilege to subscribe what sum he pleased above 1000 florins, but nothing less, to prevent confusion in their accounts. The settlement of this Company was said to be chiefly owing to Mr. *Colebrooke*, an *English* Merchant.

Notwithstanding the opposition they met with from the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch*, they opened their books, and had a full subscription in a very few days, owing chiefly to the clandestine Negotiations of their Agents in *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, where great numbers of Merchants subscribed to that stock, and Masters of *East-India* ships and Supercargoes went to *Offend*, to enter into their service, and put them in a way to establish and carry on their trade, which they did effectually, to the great damage of the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* Companies. Monsieur de *Fouca*, the Emperor's Minister at *Paris*, signified to the Duke of *Orleans*, then at the head of affairs there, that the Emperor was much surprized at the most Christian King's forbidding his subjects to be any ways concerned in the *Offend* Company. He was answered, 'That representations had been made to the Emperor, that he was engaged by treaty not to encourage any such commerce; that, nevertheless, his Imperial Majesty, without any regard to the said representations, had thought fit to grant a Charter in favour thereof. That the most Christian King was Master of his own Kingdom, and not obliged to give an account of his actions, and therefore the Emperor could not take amiss the prohibition to his subjects, not to have any concern in the Company set up at *Offend*.'

A memorial of the *Dutch East-India* Company (which had been delivered to the *States in March*) having been presented to the Commons this Session, together with an extract of another memorial sent by the *States* to the Court of

Vienna, concerning the *Offend* Company, Sir *Nathaniel Gould* represented to the House the great damage the *East-India* Company had already received, and was like farther to receive by the *Offend* Company; it was unanimously resolved, 'That for the subjects of this Kingdom to subscribe, or be concerned in encouraging any subscription, to promote an *East-India* Company, now erecting in the *Austrian Netherlands*, is a High-Crime and Misdemeanor.' Accordingly a bill passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent, to prevent the King's subjects from subscribing or being concerned in the *Offend East-India* Company.

There had been several General Courts held South-Sea by the *South-Sea* Company about transferring two millions of their stock to the Bank of *England*, which was at last agreed on by the two Companies. A petition had likewise been presented to the Commons for the reviving the two millions that had been annihilated. Accordingly an act passed this Session, whereby it was enacted, that the two millions should be revived, and added to the capital stock, and divided among the Proprietors.* By the same act, the whole capital, computed at 33,802,483 l. 14 s. was to be divided into two equal parts, one of which amounting to 16,901,241 l. 17 s. was to be called the joint stock of *South-Sea* annuities, attended with annuities payable out of the *South-Sea* Company's funds in lieu of all dividends, viz. at 5 l. per cent. till June 27, 1727, and from thence at 4 l. per cent. till redeemed. The other moiety was to remain in the Company as a joint-stock, attended with the residue of the yearly funds, payable at the *Exchequer*, till redemption, and also attended with the several sums for charges of management, and with all benefits of trade, &c. And, as concerning the moiety so converted into *South-Sea* annuities, every Proprietor should be intitled to annuities at 5 l. per cent. till June 24, 1727, and from thence at 4 l. per cent. and the Company should receive at the *Exchequer*, out of the duties charged with their whole annuities yearly, the interest of the same moiety, till redemption, in trust for the Proprietors: And all powers in-force were to be continued for securing the joint stock of *South-Sea* annuities, and the yearly funds to attend the same. The annuities were payable half-yearly, at *Lady-Day* and *Michaelmas*.

An act passed this Session for the more effectual execution of justice, in a pretended privileged place in the parish of *St. George*, commonly called the *Mint*, where great numbers of Debtors had taken sanctuary.

On the 27th of May, the King put an end to the Session with the following speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I AM persuaded, notwithstanding the unusual length of this Session, you will not think your time has been misemployed in consulting the necessary means for preserving the peace and quiet of the Kingdom; and bringing to justice some of the chief promoters of that confusion, which lately threatened the Nation. The prudent measures you have taken for our common security, and your enabling me to defend my Kingdoms against any designs or attempts of our enemies, are the most convincing testimonies of your fidelity and

East India
Company
at Offend.

* See p.
645.

The Mint
priv. place.

1723. "affection to me, and of your concern for the liberties of my people. Be assured, the confidence you have reposed in me shall never be made use of but for their safety and defence.

"The papers, which have been laid before you, for your information, and have been since published for the satisfaction of the world, evidently shew, that the Conspirators had brought their wicked arts and practices to such perfection, that they confidently carried on their traitorous projects in defiance of the law, from an assurance of their being able to elude it. The respect and reverence due to the law had been lost, and the tranquillity of my people endangered, had not you interposed. This made it necessary for the Legislature to exert itself, in punishing such offenders, whose guilt is too certain to leave the least room for doubt, and whose crimes are too heinous to admit of any aggravation.

"And yet it is with pleasure I reflect, that the justice of Parliament has been so tempered with mercy, that even those who are resolved to be dissatisfied, must acknowledge the lenity of your proceedings, and will be at a loss for any pretence to complain, so few examples having been made, and the penalties inflicted by bill falling so much short of the punishments due for the same crimes, by the common course of law.

"The firmness you have shewn, must convince all the world, how much they were mistaken, whose chief hopes were founded on the dissipation of my people. It gave me great satisfaction to see as general a concurrence in full Parliament upon this occasion, as has been known on any former: And it is to be hoped, our enemies will cease to flatter themselves with the vain imagination of being able to subvert our Religion and present Establishment."

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I must acknowledge, in a particular manner, the great readiness you have shewn in raising the necessary Supplies for the ensuing year. It is an unexpected felicity, that you have been able so far to disappoint the hopes of our enemies, as to avoid laying any new burthen upon my people; and that so soon after that great shock and convulsion in all the public funds, and in the midst of intestine alarms and disturbances, the credit of the Nation should so far revive and flourish, that not only the Supplies of the year should be raised at a much lower interest, than was ever known in the most quiet times, but part of the national debt should be reduced from an interest of 5 to 3 per cent. and put in a course of being soon discharged.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I return you my most sincere thanks for the indefatigable pains you have taken in the service of the Public. I earnestly recommend it to you, in your several stations and countries, to persevere in your endeavours for preserving the peace of the Kingdom; by justice and resolution to subdue the restless spirit of faction and sedition; and by prudence and temper to reconcile the misled.

"Some extraordinary affairs calling me abroad this summer, I doubt not but that the wisdom and vigilance of my good subjects will prevent our enemies from taking any advantage of my absence. To gain the hearts and affections of my people shall always be my first and principal care. On their duty and loyalty I will entirely depend. They may as surely depend on my protection, in the full enjoyment of their Religion, Liberty, and Property."

The King, whom the Conspiracy had detained in England the last year, had no sooner put an end to the Session, but he set out for his German Dominions. He embarked for Holland the 3d of June, and, after staying two days with his brother the Bishop of Osnabrug, arrived the 11th at Herenhausen. He appointed Lords

Justices in his absence as usual, the Prince being still excluded, who was now in his forty-first year. The Lord Harcourt, formerly so strictly united with the Earl of Oxford and Queen Anne's other Ministers, and who had defended them with so much zeal, was one of the Lords Justices. Mr. Walpole was likewise of the number, and acted as Secretary of State, in the absence of the Lords Townshend and Carteret, who were with the King. It was intended to advance him to the Peerage, but he chose rather to have that honour conferred on his son, who was made Baron Walpole of Walpole in the County of Norfolk (1). About the same time Mr. Pulteney, Chairman of the late Committee of Secrecy, was made Cofferer of the Household; and Philip, Lord Stanhope, Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard; Dr. Gibson was translated from Lincoln to London, Dr. Reynolds from Bangor to Lincoln, and Dr. Bradford from Carlisle to Rochester; Dr. Waugh was promoted to Carlisle, and Dr. Willis, on the death of Dr. Trimnell, to Winchester; Dr. Hoadley was translated from Hereford to Salisbury; Dr. Green, on the death of Dr. Fleetwood, from Norwich to Ely; Dr. Leng was made Bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Egerton, brother to the Duke of Bridgewater, of Hereford.

The King, before his departure, shewed the King's clemency to those who had been taken up on account

(1) The Lord Townshend's eldest son was called up to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Townshend of Lynn-Regis, and made one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, in the room of the Lord Tynham, who some days before shot himself, and died an hour after.

The preamble to the Lord Walpole began thus:

Our most beloved and most faithful Counsellor Robert Walpole, first Commissioner of the Treasury, with the assistance of other select persons, and Chancellor, 100. VOL. IV.

cellor of our Exchequer, having highly recommended himself to our Royal favour by his many services to Us, to our House, and to his own Country, we did not think him unworthy to be advanced to the rank of the Peers of our Realm. But, though he rather chuses to merit the highest titles than to wear them, we have however thought fit, in order to enoble his family, to confer on the son the honour due to the father, and to raise to the Peerage Robert Walpole, Junior, Esq; &c.

1723.

count of the Plot. The Earl of Orrery was released from his confinement, and admitted to bail; as were also the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord North and Grey, Dennis Kelly, Thomas Cochran, and Swathfegger, the Earl of Orrery's Secretary. On the 20th of June, Dr. Friend was admitted to bail; and, two days after, Dr. Aterbury embarked on board the *Aldborough*, a small man of war, which had orders to land him in France. He was put on shore at Calais, accompanied with his daughter Mrs. Morrice, and her husband, who was High-Bailiff of *Westminster*. At Calais he was told, that the late Lord Bolingbroke, having obtained his pardon, was just arrived there in his way to England: Upon which the Bishop merrily said, *Then I am exchanged*. The King had granted the Lord Bolingbroke a pardon the day after the Parliament broke up, of which one of his friends instantly set out for France to bring him word. He immediately returned to England to plead his pardon, in expectation that a new Parliament would repeal his Attainder. The Lord Harcourt had prevailed with the King to shew him this favour; though Mr. Walpole had opposed it at the Council-board with unanswerable arguments: He was against loosening the hands of one, who (as he said) he foresaw, from his former conduct and ambition, and the natural restlessness of his temper, would go any lengths to poison the minds of the subjects, in order to disturb the national tranquillity, that he himself might the easier arrive at power. But, notwithstanding his disapprobation, he was forced to give way (1).

Before the King left England, it was agreed in Council, that the troops should be incamped as they had been the last summer, and that the Horse-guards should be quartered round *Hyde-Park*, in order to be ready to assemble, if there should be occasion.

These measures kept all things quiet in Great-Britain, during the King's seven months absence. The same reasons which had required his presence abroad, detained him perhaps longer than he intended. He was received in his Dominions in the most agreeable manner, and was complimented by at least twelve foreign Ministers. The King and Queen of Prussia waited likewise upon him, by which means his Court was as splendid, and as much the scene of affairs, as ever the Court of Great-Britain had been.

Affairs were then at a sort of crisis: The usefulness of the Congress of *Cambray* and of *Brunswick*, where little had been done, having worn out the patience of the Princes whose interests were to be determined there, they entered into separate Negotiations, and sought the means of coming to an agreement. The Czar and King of Sweden were going to conclude a treaty favourable to the Duke of *Holstein's* pretensions to *Sleswick*, of which King George had guaranteed the possession to the King of *Denmark*:

(1) Mr. Walpole's conduct with regard to this transaction, and many more, was not unlike the Lord *Clarendon's*, who says of himself, 'That he had often, as believing himself obliged in duty, argued in the Senate in favour of many points, which he had strenuously opposed at the Council-Table.' The reasons, on which Ministers found their conduct on such occasions, are obvious to every man of common penetration.

It was to be feared, that this treaty might affect even *Bremen* and *Verden*, lately annexed to the Electorate of *Hanover*.

On the other hand, France and Spain seemed to be sincerely reconciled, and willing to unite against the Emperor. The Regent had projected a marriage between the King of France and the Infanta of Spain, then three years old, and had married his second daughter *Mademoiselle de Montpensier* to the Prince of Asturias, and, a year after, another daughter to Don Carlos, eldest son of Philip V. by his second wife. These two powers endeavoured to draw the Czar to their side; they offered new treaties to England, more advantageous than the former, in regard to trade, but strongly insisted upon the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*; and it was wished, that Court would not be concerned in the affairs of Italy, and would declare openly against the *Osmond* Company.

This situation of so opposite interests was full of difficulties. The Emperor, pressed too much, might declare for the Czar and the Swede: Poland, confined between these three powers, could not help taking part with them: Almost all Italy exclaimed against the treaty of London: The Pope had protested against any decisions at *Cambray* to the prejudice of his right: The King of *Sardinia*, the Dukes of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Madena*, had presented memorials equivalent to so many protestations: France and Spain were inclined to support them: War was every where on the point of breaking out: England, engaged by so many treaties, and her own interests, must have been concerned: For King George to declare against the Emperor was exposing his German Dominions, and helping to strengthen two powers already very formidable to the rest of Europe: To take part with the Emperor was supporting the new establishment at *Osmond*, and arming against himself France, Spain, and perhaps Russia and Sweden.

King George overcame all these difficulties, or at least suspended their ill consequences. He entered into stricter Alliances with the Kings of Prussia and Denmark: He used his endeavours to prevail with the Emperor to be more ready to end his differences with Spain, and to desist from the affair of *Osmond*, against which his Subjects in particular, and his faithful Allies the *States-General*, were extremely incensed. In England, as hath been related, the Commons had voted against it.

One of the King's principal designs, when he came to *Hanover*, was to persuade the Court of Vienna to desist from erecting the *Osmond* India Company: He laboured constantly at it, but the success did not answer his good intentions: That Court promised, in general, not to do any thing contrary to treaties, and the rights of others, but avoided to enter into any discussion, and disregarded the representations that were made from all parts.

It

It is observed from the Lord Bolingbroke's pardon, that Mr. Walpole held not then the first rank, either in power or confidence, but that the direction of affairs, particularly the foreign, after the death of the Earls Stanhope and Sunderland, was chiefly conducted by the Lord Townshend and Baron Baltham.

1723. It was the same with respect to the Czar. So that the King's journey proved fruitless, and the Negotiations might have been as well carried on at London as at Hanover. Something was also done for the Protestants, whose complaints continued, because they were still oppressed, and new grievances were added to the old. The King of Prussia readily entered into the design to procure them ease and tranquillity.

This union put a stop at least to greater calamities; and appeared to be very cordial. King George spent four or five days at Berlin, where he was received and treated with great respect and magnificence. The two Secretaries of State, the Lords Townshend and Carteret, who attended him, had frequent Conferences with the King of Prussia's Ministers, in order to conclude some Alliance to prevent the Czar's designs, in favour of the Duke of Holstein: The proposals were neither rejected nor received, and assurance was given that no engagement should be made contrary to what had been agreed.

Election of Sheriffs at London. All was quiet in England: However there appeared now and then some sparks of division, which shewed the parties still subsisted, and had not altered their sentiments. At the election of the Sheriffs this year the rabble was spirited up at London, by the opposition which the new Sheriffs, Sir Richard Hopkins and Mr. Feast, met with from the old ones, Mr. Humphrey Parsons and Mr. Child, who endeavoured to have the election fall upon Sir John Williams and Mr. Lockwood. Hopkins and Feast were declared duly elected by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen; notwithstanding Parsons and Child had made a contrary declaration in favour of Williams and Lockwood, but, the Lord Mayor having dissolved the Common-Hall, after the Court had declared Hopkins and Feast duly chosen, the old Sheriffs could not meet them after the last adjournment, as they intended to have done, but were prevented by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen's prior declaration. Feast opposed Williams in the election of an Alderman for Cripple-gate-Ward, which, being also contested, was decided by the Court of Aldermen in favour of Williams, upon which the rabble broke the windows of the well-affected in that Ward, and committed several outrages, for which some of the ring-leaders were taken, and committed to Newgate.

Pursuant to an act of Parliament lately past, requiring all persons to take the oaths before the 25th of December, or to register their estates, the Sessions, held by the Justices of the Peace over all the Kingdom, were crowded with persons of all sexes and conditions for that purpose.

Wood's half-pence. The King, having been informed that his subjects in Ireland were in want of small money, made a contract with William Wood to furnish that Kingdom with copper half-pence and farthings. The copper was to be of such fineness, and the money of such a weight, as agreed upon in the patent granted for that purpose. When this money came to be circulated in Ireland, great clamour was raised against it, and the Parliament, which met on the 5th of September, came to these resolutions:

That the importing and uttering of copper half-pence and farthings, by virtue of Wood's patent, would be prejudicial to the revenue, destructive of trade, and of dangerous consequence to the rights of the subject: That the State of

the Nation had been misrepresented to the King, in order to obtain the patent: That the half-pence wanted weight; and, though the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a loss to the Nation of 150 l. per cent. That it had been always highly prejudicial to the Kingdom to grant the power of coinage to private persons, and would at all times be of dangerous consequence.

Addresses from both Houses, agreeable to these resolutions, were transmitted to the King, who, in answer to the Commons, said, 'He was very much concerned, that his granting the patent for coining of half-pence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his Royal Predecessors, had given so much uneasiness to the House of Commons; and, if there had been any abuses committed by the Patentee, his Majesty would give the necessary orders for inquiring into, and punishing those abuses, and do every thing, that was in his power, for the satisfaction of his people.' Pursuant to this answer (for which the Commons returned an address of thanks) the affair was referred to the Lords of the Privy-Council in England, by whom a report of it was drawn up in July the next year. In this report they justified the conduct of the Patentee, and observed, that, his Majesty having ordered, that an assay should be made of the fineness, value, and weight of Mr. Wood's copper money, and the goodness thereof, compared with the former coinages of copper money for Ireland, and the copper money coined in his Mint in England, it had been accordingly referred to Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scroope, to make the assay and trial; and it appeared, 'That the Pix of the copper-mones coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the trial pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the time of coining, was opened at his Majesty's Mint at the Tower: That the Comptroller's account of the quantities of half pence and farthings coined agreed with Mr. Wood's account, amounting to 59 tons, 3 hundred, 1 quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 ounces: That by the specimens of this coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the several parcels coined, and sealed up in papers, and put into the Pix, 60 half-pence weighed 14 ounces Troy, and 18 penny-weights, which is about a quarter of an ounce above one pound weight Averdupois; and 30 farthings weighed 3 ounces and 3 quarters of an ounce Troy, and 46 grains; which is also above the weight required by the patent: That both half-pence and farthings, when heated red hot, spread thin under the hammer, without cracking: That the copper, of which Mr. Wood's coinage is made, is of the same goodness and value with the copper, of which the copper money is coined in his Majesty's Mint for England, and worth, in the market, about 13 pence per pound weight Averdupois: That a pound of copper wrought into bars and fillets, and made fit for coinage, before brought into the Mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18 pence per pound, and always costs as much, and is coined into 23 pence of copper money by tale for England. That the half-pence and farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the copper money coined for Ireland in the Reigns of King Charles II, King James II, and King William and Queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in goodness, fineness, and value of the copper, none of them bearing

1723. bearing the fire so well, not being malleable, waiting very much in the fire, and great part of them burning into a cinder of little or no value at all.' The fact being thus proved to be on the side of Mr. Wood, the Lords Committee shew, that his Majesty's Royal Predecessors always exercised the undoubted prerogative of granting patents for copper coinage in Ireland to private persons, none of which patents were equally beneficial to that Kingdom, nor so well guarded with proper covenants and conditions for the due execution of the powers thereby granted, as this of Mr. Wood, though the validity of these patents, and a due compliance with them, was never in any one instance till this time disputed or controverted. They then prove, that Mr. Wood's patent was not, as had been suggested in Ireland, obtained clandestinely, in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the Attorney and Solicitor-General, and after Sir Isaac Newton had been consulted in all the steps of settling it. In the last place they made it plainly appear by a cloud of witnesses, that there was a real want of small money in Ireland, to make small payments. But, Mr. Wood having, in compliance with the clamour industriously raised a gainst his coinage, proposed to reduce his coinage from 100,000 *l.* to 40,000 *l.* value, it was thought fit to accept of it; and to send directions to Ireland accordingly (1).

The Parliament of Ireland passed several acts, and particularly one for accepting the Quakers affirmation instead of an oath; and granted

340,000 *l.* Supply toward paying off the debt of the Nation, which was about 660,000 *l.* and for the support of the Establishment for two years. 1723.

On the 10th of October died Earl Cowper, eminent for his integrity in the discharge of the office of Lord Chancellor, which he had twice filled. There may have been Chancellors of more extensive learning, but none of more knowledge in the laws of England. His judgment was quick, and yet solid. His eloquence manly, but flowing. His manner graceful and noble (2).

The King was still at Hanover when he heard of the Duke of Orleans's death, who, under the title of Prime Minister, governed France as absolutely as he had done during the minority of Lewis XV. King George was much concerned at the news: The mutual esteem they had for each other, their circumstances and interests which were not unlike, begot a firm friendship between them, whereof they gave on all occasions the most effectual proofs. The Duke died of an apoplexy in the 50th year of his age, and according to his desire, before his decease, the Duke of Bourbon was nominated Prime Minister.

As the death of the Duke of Orleans might occasion great alterations, and as it was uncertain whether the new Minister would enter into the views of his Predecessor, the King hastened his return to England. Being detained by contrary winds some days in Holland, he received there assurances, from the part of France, of the good

(1) Notwithstanding this decision of the Privy-Council of England, Dean Swift, in his paper, called *The Draper* of Dublin, represented this affair in the blackest colours, and is supposed to be author of a lampoon upon it, beginning with these words:

*Now, altho' to draw water is not very good,
Yet we all should rejoice to be hewers of Wood.*

(2) In September this year, four English Gentlemen were barbarously murdered in France. Mr. Seabright and Mr. Monpeffon, accompanied by Mr. Davis, passing over to Calais in their way to Paris, set out from thence for that City the 12th of September, Mr. Seabright and Mr. Davis in one chaise, Mr. Monpeffon and Richard Spindelaw, Mr. Seabright's man, in another, and Mr. Monpeffon's servant on horse back. About seven miles from Calais they were attacked by fix ruffians well mounted, who stopped the postillions, came up to the chaises, and demanded their money, which the Gentlemen readily surrendered, they having no firearms to make resistance, and even their swords were taken from them. The robbers then, taking them out of the chaises, commanded them to lie down upon their faces, and the postillions to do the same. After which the villains rifled their pockets, and searched them very narrowly; which done, they ordered Spindelaw to get up and open the portmanteau, which as he was doing, he saw one of the rogues pull the dead body of Mr. Locke out of a chaise in which he had been killed in his return from Paris, at some small distance from that Place; Mr. Locke's servant, a Swiss, was spared, but made to lie on his face. When they had done with Mr. Seabright's portmanteau, they ordered Mr. Monpeffon to open his, and he desired Mr. Seabright to tell them in French, his servant was gone before, and had the key with him. This man they had shot in the back, but, not being dead, he was commanded to lie down on his face, and now they fetched him to open his master's portmanteau; when they had finished their search, they cried *Tuez, Kill;* they first

shot Mr. Seabright through the heart, Mr. Davis was shot and stabbed in several places, and his skull cleft; they stabbed Spindelaw in five places in his body, and let him for dead, Mr. Monpeffon at the same time received a shot which had laid him sprawling on the ground. A peasant of the neighbourhood, who was going to Calais for a licence to marry, unfortunately passing that way, was also murdered, and Mr. Monpeffon, who had lain as if he had been dead, lifting up his head before the murderers were gone, one of them came back to him and cut his throat; but he and Spindelaw made a shift with the help of some of the Country people to get back to Calais, where Mr. Monpeffon died 36 hours after, and Spindelaw, recovering of his wounds, returned to England. The dead bodies of the four English Gentlemen were brought to England, and landed at Tower Wharf, four days after, where they were received by their friends, who gave them decent interment; and George Turville, Esq; of the Middle Temple, who happened to pass by the place where these Gentlemen were murdered, a few hours after the said murder was committed, while the dead bodies, stripped naked by the Country people, yet lay on the high road, gave orders for erecting a monument of black marble, in form of a pyramid, on the spot where the murder happened, by permission of the Duke de Humiers, Gouverneur of the *Boulognois*, and the Bishop of *Belgine*. These robbers and assassins robbed the *Lisfe* stage coach, seven miles from *Peronne*, two months afterwards, and killed *Paulart* and *Humelet*, two persons that accompanied the coach; two of the rogues *Joseph Bizeau*, a jeweller of *Liege*, and *Peter le Febvre*, another jeweller, being taken, were tried and condemned at *Paris* in July following, by this most dreadful sentence: *To be put to the rack, to have their arms, legs, and thighs broken on a scaffold, and to have their bodies put upon wheels, there to remain with their faces towards the sky as long as they had life, and Bizeau's dead body to be carried and remain exposed on a wheel upon the high road to Calais, and le Febvre's on the high road to Peronne, which sentence was executed to the full.*

1723. good disposition of that Court, to cultivate, and even improve, the union established by the late Duke of Orleans, between the two States.

1723-24. The King came to London the 19th of December, and on the 9th of January the Parliament met, and was opened by the following speech, delivered as usual by the Lord Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot open this Session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the Kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people, are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions. It is to be hoped, that the few examples, which were made of some notorious offenders, will be sufficient to deter the most disaffected from engaging in the like desperate and wicked practices. The augmentation you thought fit to make to our National forces, by sea and land, has not only secured the general quiet of the Kingdom against any sudden attempts or insurrections, but has also given me such weight and credit in all foreign Negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the preservation of the peace of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I will order the proper Officers to lay before you the estimates for the service of the current year. I desire such Supplies only, as you shall find absolutely necessary for preserving the peace of the Kingdom, and for the security of my people; and those, I hope, may be raised without laying any additional charge or burden on my subjects.

"I must, in a particular manner, recommend to your care the public debts of the Kingdom, as the most national concern you can possibly take into your consideration. I am persuaded, it must be a very great satisfaction to all my faithful subjects, to see the sinking fund improved and augmented, and the debt of the Nation thereby put into a method of being so much the sooner gradually reduced and paid off. It would be a work truly worthy of a British Parliament to begin this commendable undertaking, and to make such a progress therein, as, with a strict regard to public faith and private property, may pave the way to this great and desirable end.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"In the present happy situation of our affairs, I have nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would make use of the opportunity, which your own good conduct has put into your hands, in considering of such farther laws, as may be wanting for the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, for the employment of the poor, and for the exciting and encouraging a spirit of industry in the Nation.

"I am fully satisfied, that the trade and wealth of my people are the happy effects of the liberties they enjoy; and that the gran-

No. 100. Vol. IV.

1723-24. "deur of the Crown consists in their prosperity: And I am as fully persuaded, that all who wish well to their Country, must agree with me, that it is the vainest of all delusions to imagine, that the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom can ever be secured, but by supporting the present Establishment, and maintaining the Succession in the Protestant Line. Let us therefore heartily join in every thing, that may tend to promote our mutual happiness, and to extinguish the hopes of those, who long have been, and are still restless in their endeavours to subvert this Nation to the whole train of miseries, that are inseparable from Popery and Arbitrary Power."

This speech drew from both Houses addresses of thanks, with assurances of maintaining the present happy Establishment, and the Succession in his Majesty's Family, as the only solid foundation of quietly enjoying their Religion, Laws, and Liberties.

The Commons, according to custom, proceeded to raise the Supplies, which were granted according to the estimate laid before them by the Court. Ten thousand seamen at 4*l.* a month each, were voted for the sea-service, and the army was continued on the same foot as last year. The affair of the army occasioned a warm debate, chiefly about the four thousand additional troops raised the year before, which the Opposers insisted to have disbanded; but it was carried against them, and resolved that the number of effective men, for the year 1724 (including 1815 invalids) should be 18264. A land-tax of two shillings in the pound, with the malt-tax, was granted towards defraying the expences of the ensuing year.

As the King had particularly recommended to their care the public debts of the Nation, the Commons took the same into consideration, and came to the following resolutions:

That, towards lessening the public debt, the annuities of 5*l.* per cent. charged on the general fund, by a clause in the act of the 5th of his Majesty's Reign, except such as had been subscribed into the South-Sea, should be paid off at Lady-Day 1724, as also the unsubscribed blanks of the lottery of 1714. That all these should be discharged, with the money arising from the sinking fund, as well as the two annuities, which by the act, entitled, *An act for redeeming certain annuities, payable by the Cashier of the Bank at 5*l.* per cent. were enacted to be redeemed at Lady-Day, 1724.* Pursuant to these resolutions, a bill was brought in, which, passing both Houses, received the Royal assent.

Protections from foreign Ministers, Peers, and Members of Parliament, having long been the subject of complaint, a list of the names of the persons protected by written certificates was laid before the Commons, and it was resolved, "That all protections and written certificates of the Members of this House be declared void in law, and be forthwith withdrawn and called in; and that none be granted for the future; and that, if any shall be granted by any Member, such Member shall make satisfaction to the party injured, and shall be liable to the censure of the House." This order was to be printed and set up in the Courts of Justice, and distributed by the Sheriffs in their several Counties. The same grievance

1723-24. grievance being taken into consideration by the Lords, after some debate, the following declaration was made, 'That all the written protections are null and void; and all other protections, which shall be at any time hereafter given, shall be taken to be null and void.' But this order is not to extend to menial servants, nor those employed necessarily and properly about the estates of Peers, or any who are really their servants.

In this Session, the inland duty was laid on coffee, tea, and chocolate, which has been a considerable increase to the public revenue.

*Army bill
passed in
the House
of Lords.*

The affair of the army caused the greatest debate in the House of Lords. There had been the last year an addition of four thousand men on account of the Conspiracy, which was now proposed to be continued. The Commons had agreed to it, and passed the bill; but the continuance of these additional troops met with great opposition in the House of Lords. The two most remarkable speeches were the Lord *Trevor's* against it, and the Lord *Townshend's* for it (1). It was observed, that the Lord *North* and *Grey*, the Earl of *Orrery*, the Lord *Bathurst*, and others of that party, appeared very zealous for the reduction of the army, which caused the Duke of *Argyle* to say in his speech, 'That, if he saw the Nation unanimous in opinion, that our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion, entirely depend on the present happy Settlement, and on the Protestant Succession in his Majesty's Royal Family, he would readily give his vote for reducing the army. But he was very much afraid, that some people so strenuously insisted on the disbanding of the ad-

ditional troops, with no other design than to weaken the Government, and thereby have an opportunity of involving their native Country in new troubles. And therefore these noble Lords, who had spoke for the reduction of the army, would do well, when they went down into their several Countries, to assure the people, with whom, no doubt, their reasons would not fail of having great weight, that their liberties and properties were entirely safe under his Majesty's Government.' After a long debate, the motion against the additional troops was rejected, and the bill passed, as sent up by the Commons.

The business of the Session being over, the King came to the House of Peers the 24th of April, and, passing the bills, delivered the following speech by the mouth of the Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"THE unanimity, cheerfulness, and dispatch with which you have now finished every thing I recommended to you, at the opening of this Session, are fresh instances of your affection to my Person and Government, and cannot fail of contributing, with the blessings of God on our endeavours, towards the establishment of that happy tranquillity we now enjoy both at home and abroad.

"Your continuing the like national force by sea and land this year, as was judged necessary by Parliament for the service of the last, gives me great satisfaction. You have hereby wisely provided against the mischiefs from any

"fuklen

(1) As these speeches contain the chief arguments on both sides, they are here inserted at large:

The Lord *Trevor* said, 'That, the Conspiracy mentioned in the King's speech at the opening of the last Session of Parliament, which was the occasion of this augmentation of the land forces, being now happily extinguished, and thereby the cause of raising that additional number being perfectly removed, there was not the least reason or pretence for continuing that number. That the keeping on foot a greater army in time of peace, than was absolutely necessary for the security of the King's Person and Government, was very dangerous to our happy Constitution: And, considering the great tranquillity we enjoy both at home and abroad, he could not but apprehend, the number of regular forces allowed by this bill to be much greater than was necessary for that end. That, if so great an army was allowed to be continued in our present happy circumstances, a standing army would thereby become an essential part of our Constitution, since the reasons for keeping it up in perpetuity would grow stronger every year, and in every succeeding Reign. For on the one hand it cannot, with any probability, be foreseen or expected, that in any future time there will be less reason to be given, than at present, for justifying the necessity of keeping up so great an army, there being now as little danger to our present happy Establishment to be feared either from insurrections at home, or by any disturbance or invasions from abroad, as the nature and infallibility of human affairs will allow of. And on the other hand, if so numerous an army be at present allowed of in Parliament, no argument can hereafter be urged for the reducing the number in any future Reign, but what will seem to carry with it too great a distrust of the Prince then on the Throne, and will be construed to imply, that the same confidence is not to be reposed in him, as in his Predecessors.' His Lordship added, 'That it was not out of any distrust he entertained either of his Majesty or his Ministers,

that he was for reducing part of the army. That, on the contrary, he was fully convinced, his Majesty will never make an ill use of his power, of which they had a sure earnest in the equity and moderation, with which his Majesty had governed hitherto: But, that as they could not promise themselves, nor expect, that so good and so just a King should always fill the Throne, it was prudence early to prevent the inconveniences and dangers, to which our excellent Constitution and Liberties would be exposed, in case, in any succeeding Reign, an ambitious Prince and ill Ministers should have so great a number of troops at their disposal. That it was notorious, that all the States of Europe, that have lost their liberties, have been inflamed by their own armies, whose Officers and Commanders, growing every day in power, do, at last, turn it against those, from whom they had at first their commissions; of which we had a fatal example in England still fresh in our memories in the person of *Oliver Cromwell*. That, besides the four thousand additional men, the regular forces were double the number of those kept on foot after the peace of *Ryswick*, in the Reign of King *William* of glorious memory; and more numerous by one third than in the late Queen's Reign, after the peace of *Utrecht*: That therefore they are more than sufficient to secure the Government against any sudden intestine commotion, which is the less to be apprehended, by reason of the general affection, which the people had lately shewn in taking the oaths, though many of them that took them, were not required to do it, by the act passed the last Session; and he was confident, that, except a few persons of desperate principles and fortunes, who might hope to fish in troubled waters, there was no body in England, that had any thing to lose, who wished for a Revolution. That, if we looked abroad, it appeared, that by the happy influence of his Majesty's wife Counsel, and the good Alliances that had been entered into and concerted, all Europe enjoyed a profound peace, which,

1724.

“ sudden shocks to the public credit ; you have
 “ provided for the safety of the Kingdom, and
 “ have enabled this Nation to hold, among the
 “ powers of *Europe*, the rank and figure due to
 “ her honour and dignity. Nothing could have
 “ been more acceptable to me, than your hav-
 “ ing been able to make that provision, with-
 “ out laying any new or additional burthens on
 “ my people.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you my thanks for the care and
 “ pains you have taken towards augmenting the
 “ sinking fund, and improving the public re-
 “ venues, by putting them under a stricter
 “ management. I make no doubt, but that the
 “ happy beginning you have made will be at-
 “ tended with such immediate good conse-
 “ quences, as will encourage you to pursue the
 “ way you have now opened for a gradual re-
 “ duction of the debt, and for putting the
 “ trade and navigation of *Great-Britain* on such
 “ a foot, as may not only in some measure dif-
 “ courage the unjustifiable incroachments they
 “ labour under from some of our neighbours,
 “ but at the same time extend her exportations
 “ beyond what has been known in former
 “ ages.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ As the early recess, which your diligence
 “ and unanimity has procured you, affords you
 “ the opportunity of a longer retirement into the
 “ Country, than the business of former Sessions

“ has usually allowed of, I assure myself, that
 “ you will carry with you thither the same zeal
 “ for the public good, with which you have
 “ been animated in Parliament ; and that you
 “ will make it your business to discountenance
 “ any remains there may be yet left of sedition
 “ and disaffection, and to promote that perfect
 “ harmony and confidence between me and my
 “ people, which I most earnestly desire, and
 “ on which our mutual happiness entirely de-
 “ pends.”

1724.

A little before the end of the Session, the King had appointed the Duke of *Newcastle* to be Secretary of State in the room of the Lord *Carteret*, who was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The Duke of *Grafton* was appointed Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Falmouth* and Mr. *Edgewcombe* Vice-Treasurers of *Ireland*, Mr. *Yonge* Commissioner of the Treasury, and Mr. *Peibam* Secretary at war. Sir *Robert Raymond* being made a Judge of the King's Bench, Sir *Philip York* succeeded him as Attorney-General. And Sir *Clement Wearg* was made Solicitor-General. About the middle of May, *Horatio Walpole* was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary at the Court of *France*.

On the 16th of May the King sent the following circular letter to the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* : ‘ We being greatly desirous to favour and encourage those ancient and laudable nurseries of piety and learning, and to enable them more effectually to answer the end of their institution, by sending forth constant Supplies of learned and able men, to serve the public both in Church and State ; and having observed, that

in all probability, would be lasting : But that, in case of a rupture with any neighbouring Prince, our fleet, which was certainly the most numerous, and the best in all *Christendom*, would defend us against any foreign invasion or insult. That the pay of the four thousand additional men amounted to a good sum of money. That indeed, at another juncture, that expence might easily be borne ; but that in the present circumstances, when the Nation is involved in so great a debt, and groans under the load of heavy taxes, this additional charge is very considerable. That, his Majesty, in his gracious speech at the opening of this Session of Parliament, having, in a particular manner, recommended to the House of Commons the putting the national debt in a method of being gradually reduced and paid, it was with the greatest satisfaction he took notice, that some progress had already been made in that great and important undertaking ; and that, in order to improve that good beginning, not only the pay of these additional forces, but also all other needless expences ought, in his opinion, to be applied to the increase of the sinking fund.’ His Lordship concluded, as he had began, with the most earnest professions of his sincere and entire affection for his Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and for his Royal Family, on whose prosperity, under God, absolutely depend both our present felicity, and the preservation of our laws, liberties, properties, and holy religion.

The Lord *Townshend* answered the Lord *Trevor*, and said, ‘ That he agreed with that noble Lord in some parts of his speech, but was sorry he differed from him in others. That he was thoroughly persuaded of his entire affection to his Majesty's Person, and the present happy Settlement ; nor did he in the least doubt, but he saw with pleasure the progress, that had been already made towards reducing the national debt : But that, at the same time, they ought to consider, that, as the happy tranquillity, we at present enjoy, is in some

measure owing to the strength of the Government, so it was prudence not to weaken that strength, because the same might affect public credit, which being founded on the security of the Government, if that security was rendered precarious, they would soon see the funds and stocks fall 10 or 12 per Cent. which would render the reduction of the national debt altogether impracticable, since it was impossible to reduce that debt, otherwise than by public credit. That it was notorious, that, before the last augmentation of regular forces, the Government could not form and march a body of three or four thousand men against any sudden attempt, either at home, or from abroad, without leaving the King's Person, the Royal Family, the Capital of the Kingdom, and the fortified Places exposed ; and therefore the said augmentation was become absolutely necessary to prevent these dangers and inconveniences. That the number of the troops now on foot was not so great as to afford any just ground of jealousy, since the present forces are much inferior to those the Crown had formerly. That, by the ancient and Gothic constitution of the Government, the King had at his disposal the Militia of the Realm, which chiefly consisted in archers, who were kept in constant discipline and exercise, the memory of which is still preserved, there being almost in every village a place called *But-Lane*. That the invention of fire-arms had made a great alteration in the ancient Constitution ; and, instead of archers, the Crown raised as many regular troops, as were thought necessary upon any emergency. That Queen *Elizabeth*, who had many enemies both at home and abroad, constantly kept a considerable body of troops in the *Netherlands*, without any contradiction from her Parliaments, and thereby maintained herself on the Throne, and overcame all her enemies. That, if King *Charles I.* had steered the same course, he might in all probability have preserved both his Crown and his Life, since he lost both only for want of a sufficient force to sup-
 press

1724. that no encouragement or provision has hitherto been made in either of the Universities, for the study of *modern history*, or *modern languages*, the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards compleatly qualifying the youth committed to their care for several stations both in Church and State, to which they may be called; and having seriously weighed the prejudice, that has accrued to the Universities from this defect, persons of foreign Nations being often employed in the education and tuition of youth, both at home and in their travels, and great numbers of the young Nobility and Gentry being either sent directly abroad from schools, or taken away from the Universities before the course of their studies can be there compleated, and opportunities frequently lost to the Crown, of employing and encouraging Members of the two Universities, by conferring on them such employments both at home and abroad, as necessarily require a competent skill in writing and speaking the modern languages; in order therefore to remedy these and the like inconveniencies, we have determined to appoint two persons of sober conversation and prudent conduct, of the degree of Master of Arts, or Bachelor of Laws, or of some higher degree, in one of the Universities, skilled in modern history, and in the knowledge of modern languages, to be nominated by us to be our Professors of modern history, one for the University of *Cambridge*, and the other for that of *Oxford*, who shall be obliged to read lectures in the public schools, at such times as shall hereafter be appointed. And we have further determined, that each of the Professors shall have a stipend of four hundred pounds *per annum*, and out of the stipend shall be obliged to maintain with sufficient salaries, in the University where he shall be established, two persons at least, well qualified to teach and instruct in writing and speaking the languages,

which Teachers shall be under the direction of the Professors respectively, and shall be obliged to learn two at least of the languages; both the Professors and Teachers taking especial care, that the times and hours for the instructing and teaching the Scholars be so ordered, as not to interfere with those appointed for their academical studies; which Professors and Teachers shall be obliged, once every year, to transmit an attested account of the progress made by each Scholar committed to their care, to our principal Secretaries of State, to be laid before us, that we may encourage the diligence and application of such amongst them as shall have qualified themselves for our service, by giving them suitable employments either at home or abroad, as occasion shall offer.

The two first Professors were Mr. *Gregory*, of *Christ-Church, Oxford*; and Mr. *Samuel Harris*, Fellow of *Peter-House, Cambridge*.

For a farther encouragement to the Universities, the King ordered that his Almoner should chuse out of the Members of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, twenty-four Preachers to officiate alternately in the Chapel at *White-Hall*, with a salary of thirty pounds a year each.

The inoculation of the small-pox had now begun to be practised in *England*, and succeeded very well with the two Princesses, *Amelia* and *Carolina*, and had the same good effect on Prince *Frederick*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Lady *Mary Russell*, his sister. But others are said to suffer under it, particularly the Earl of *Sunderland's* son, who died in the operation, upon which Dr. *Jurin*, Secretary to the Royal Society, published a treatise in favour of inoculating.

The 21st of *May* died *Robert Harley*, Earl of *Oxford*, and Earl *Mortimer*, whose life and character is given at large, by the Author of the * *Political State* (1).

* *May*,
1724

On

prejudice, which was the principal source of all the calamities and enormities, in which the Nation was afterwards involved. That upon the Restoration of King *Charles II.* they, who at that time had the management of affairs, did not think it proper to keep up a great number of regular troops, and therefore chose to restore to the Crown its ancient power over the Militia of the Kingdom; but that there was a secret in that. That King *James II.* not trusting to the Militia, had an army of 20,000 men, which would have secured him the Crown, had he not given a general disgust to his people, by violating the fundamental laws, and endeavouring to subvert the Constitution in Church and State. That in the Reign of King *William* of glorious memory, when some leading men in the Parliament thought fit to disband the army, after the peace of *Ryswick*, they fell upon a project to secure the Government, which was to raise and discipline the Militia; but that they soon after perceived the unprofitableness of that scheme, the Militia proving a great burthen to the People, and of no service to the Government. That the reduction of the army had then a double ill effect; for, on the one hand, it obliged King *William*, and his Ministers, to enter into a treaty of partition; and, on the other hand, it very probably encouraged *France* to break that treaty, which occasioned a second war, and was the source of two thirds of that heavy debt, under which the Nation labours at this day. That the disbanding of the army had almost the same ill effect in the Reign of the late Queen, having encouraged *Louis XIV.* to furnish the Pretender with a land-force and a fleet to invade these Kingdoms. That, if at present they weakened the hands of

the Government, we should be exposed to the like insults and attempts. That, if our enemies may be credited in an affair, in which it is their interest to speak truth, they seemed confidently assured of success in their design of overturning the Government, provided they had only an assistance of three or four thousand men from abroad; and that, considering the method now practised in embarkations, how good, and how strong soever our fleet may be, it was impossible to hinder a foreign Prince, who should have a mind to undertake it, to throw such a number of men upon *England*. His Lordship concluded, 'That the constant tenour of his Majesty's Administration, since his happy accession to the Throne, ought to convince every body, that, by the continuing the number of regular forces now on foot, his Majesty and Ministers have nothing in view but the public safety and security, and thereby to give the People an opportunity to improve trade, and encourage industry, as the only means to retrieve their former losses.'

(1) The most material particulars, besides what relates to his family and circumstances, are as follow:

By his strict conjunction with the *Whigs* and *Whigingtons*, his relations and their friends, he gained at last such an extensive interest, as to be chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. When the Queen thought fit to lay aside the Earl of *Nottingham*, Principal Secretary of State, Mr. *Robert Harley* was pitched upon to succeed him as her Favourite and Prime Minister, supposing he would be most agreeable to the *Whigs*, from his education among the Dissenters. The Duke of *Marborough* and the Earl of *Godolphin's* main design, in advancing him, was to secure his interest in the House

1724. On the 15th of June died Dr. Henry Sacheverel. Though he had taken the oaths to the Government, his will shewed he persevered to the end in the same sentiments; for, amongst his legacies, he left five hundred pounds to the late Bishop of Rochester. It does not appear, that he was any way concerned in the plot.

As to foreign affairs, one of the most remarkable events this year, was the abdication of Philip V. King of Spain. Having taken the resolution to renounce his Crown, and retire with the Queen to the Monastery of St. Ildefonso, he sent from thence, the 15th of January 1723-4, the Marquis de Grimaldo, Principal Secretary of State, with a packet for the Prince of Asturias, his Son, who the day before returned from St. Ildefonso to the Escurial. The Marquis being arrived there, and having acquainted the Prince with his message, his Highness sent for the Infantes to come to his apartment; and also ordered the Count de Altamira, the Marquis de Valero, the Duke de San Pedro, the Count de Salazar, the Marquis de Magney, the Count de Salsati, and the Prior of San Lorenzo, to attend there, and be witnesses of what should pass; who being all present, the Marquis delivered the packet to the Prince of Asturias, who returned it to him opened, that he might read what was in it, which was the instrument of his Father's renunciation of the Crown, accompanied with a letter of advice to direct the new King's conduct. The Renunciation was also sent to the President of the Council of Castile, and ordered to be published throughout the Kingdom (1).

Upon this it was resolved in the Council of Castile, that King Lewis might immediately take the Government upon him without assembling the Cortes, as having been already sworn to and acknowledged Prince of Spain. The pension, which their Catholic Majesties referred to themselves, was about 100,000 pistoles, and they likewise referred about 25,000 for each of the Infantes.

The King of France, at the persuasion of the Bishop of Frejus, and contrary to the sentiments of the Duke of Bourbon, published a severe edict this year against his Protestant subjects: Whoever performed any exercise of the Reformed Religion, if a man, was to be sent to the galleys; if a woman, to be shaved, and confined where the Judges thought fit: The Protestant Preachers to be put to death; and those who had any communication directly or indirectly with such Ministers, condemned to the galleys: To give their children foreign education, to be punished with a fine of 6000 livres: The memory of those who died in the profession of the Protestant Religion, to be proscribed: All concealed Protestants, who dissuaded sick persons from dying Catholics, to be sent to the galleys, if men, and if women, as before: To consent that children should marry abroad without licence, to be punished with the galleys; and Baptism and Schooling were forbidden to Protestants, under the like pains and penalties. To put a stop to these severities, Mr. Horace Walpole had orders to solicit the French Court in behalf of the Protestants; but he could obtain no

House of Commons, and they fondly imagined, that, as to the grand affairs, either he would not intermeddle, or would blindly follow their directions; but they soon after found, that a person of his ambitious spirit would not be contented to act an under part.

They who extol his liberality and munificence to learned men, are no more to be depended upon, than when they tell us, that he discharged the office of Secretary to King William with great address; for, as it is certain on the one hand, that he never served King William in that capacity, it is no less true on the other hand, that the only person on whom he bestowed any public mark of favour, was Dr. Jonathan Swift, the famous Author of the *Tale of a Tub*, whom he employed, with some other obscure Writers, to banter and ridicule all that opposed his measures. He was the reverse of his predecessor in the Treasury, the Earl of Godolphin, who never kept suitors unprofitably in suspense, nor promised any thing that he was not resolved to perform. The Earl of Oxford, on the contrary, kept them, who had any pretensions, in perpetual dependence, by seeding them with hopes. This maxim he practised in a most barbarous manner with Mr. Roue, Author of the tragedy of *Tamerlane*; the story is too well known to be repeated. They who commend him for being a kind friend, and generous enemy, have forgot with what an unrelenting fury he pursued his Benefactor, the immortal Duke of Marlborough, and Mr. Stephens, the Minister, whom he caused to be prosecuted to the pillory, and that ignominious punishment was not remitted, till he was brought to the place of execution. His prodigious rise and greatness was more owing to his cunning in finding out the weaknesses of those he had to deal with, than to his own bright parts. For he neither was master of eloquence in speech, nor of stile in writing, but in both puzzled and intricate: His constant design being to discover other people's thoughts, and conceal his own. But he had at last the fate, which all ambidexters deserve, to be distrusted and disregarded by all parties; of which he was so sensible, that, for several years before his death, he seldom

came to Parliament, but lived in a Country retirement, endeavouring to drown his melancholy thoughts in wine, which at last dozed his spirits, and certainly abridged his life.

(1) The renunciation was as follows:

Having these four years considered with due reflection, and maturely, the miseries of this life, through the infirmities, wars, and troubles, with which God has been pleased to visit me during the twenty-three years of my Reign; and having likewise considered, that my eldest Son Don Lewis, sworn Prince of Spain, is of sufficient age, is married, and has capacity, judgment, and the qualities fit for ruling and governing justly and happily this Monarchy; I have determined absolutely to quit the possession and administration of it, renouncing the same, with all its Dominions, Kingdoms, and Lordships, in favour of the said Prince Don Lewis, my eldest Son; and to retire with the Queen, in whom I have found a ready disposition and voluntary inclination, to accompany me to this place and seat of St. Ildefonso, here to serve God, disengaged from all other cares, to meditate on death, and to seek my salvation. This I communicate to the Council for their information, to be notified to the proper persons, that my resolution may be made known to all.

His letter to his Son was remarkable neither for stile nor sentiments: Amongst his instructions, he says: 'Preserve ever a great devotion to the most Holy Virgin, and put yourself, as well as your Kingdoms, under her protection, seeing you cannot, by any other means, better obtain what may be needful for you, and for them. Be always, as you ought, obedient to the Holy See, and to the Pope, as the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Protect and defend ever the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition, which may be called the bulwark of the faith, and to which it owes its preservation in all its purity in the Dominions of Spain; so that the heresies which have afflicted the other parts of Christendom, and produced such horrid and deplorable ravages in them, could never be able to get footing here.'

1724. no other answer, than that the King's edicts must be obeyed.

However, the Court of France declared, that the edict against the Protestants should not affect the inhabitants of Alsatia, their religious rights being founded on treaties of peace. This was done to prevent the Alsatians, terrified with this edict, from putting themselves under the protection of Germany.

and at Thorn. The Protestants at Thorn, in Royal Prussia, belonging to Poland, were likewise treated with great cruelty, on account of a pretended riot in July, which was really begun by a Student of the Jesuits College, and for which the President and Vice-President of that City, with thirteen others, were condemned to be beheaded, and others quartered and burnt, and the Protestant Councillors at Thorn to be removed from the Magistracy, and Papists put in their places; and the Church of St. Mary to be taken from the Protestants, and given to the Franciscan Friars. Mr. Finch, the British Minister at Dresden, had orders to go to Poland, and insist upon satisfaction for the Protestants of Thorn, and other places in that Kingdom, oppressed by the Papists; but the Poles could not be prevailed upon to do the Protestants justice (1).

Commotions in Scotland. A set of enthusiastical Levellers rose in the West of Scotland, who, under pretence of establishing equality among Christians, pulled down inclosures, and committed great ravages and depredations. But the Royal regiment of Scots Fusiliers being ordered to march against them, about the latter end of June, and three other regiments of foot landing at Galloway at the same time, they soon suppressed those disorders.

The third Session of the second Parliament of King George. The Parliament met again the 12th of November, when his Majesty made the following speech to both Houses by the mouth of the Lord Chancellor.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM persuaded you share with me in the satisfaction I feel at the prosperous situation of affairs: Peace with all powers abroad; at home perfect tranquillity, plenty, and an uninterrupted enjoyment of all civil and religious rights, are most distinguishing marks of the favour and protection of the Divine Providence: And these, with all their happy consequences, will, I doubt not, by the blessing of God upon our joint endeavours, be long continued to my people.

" The same provision by sea and land, for the defence and safety of the Nation, will continue to make us respected abroad, and consequently secure at home. The same attention to the improvement of the public revenues, and to the ease and encouragement of trade and navigation, will establish credit upon the strongest basis, and raise such a spirit of industry, as will not only enable us gradually to discharge the national debt, but will likewise greatly increase the wealth, power, and influence of this Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered the proper Officers to prepare and lay before you estimates of the expences for the service of the ensuing year; and, as they do not exceed what has been found by experience to be absolutely necessary for the security of the Kingdom, I make no question, but I shall have your ready concurrence in raising the Supplies in such manner, as shall be most easy to my people.

" There is one thing, that I cannot but mention to you, as deserving your particular consideration.

(1) The affair of Thorn was thus: On the 16th of July, the ordinary procession at Thorn being arrived at St. James's Church-yard, a great number of the Citizens children resorted thither to see it, with their hats under their arms, according to custom; but a Student of the Jesuits College, not satisfied with that mark of civility and respect, would needs have them kneel down, and gave them bad language and blows. About two hours after the procession was over, this same Student, with some of his comrades, insulted several young people, without the least provocation on their part; but, in the end, this troublesome young fellow was seized by the soldiers of the garrison, and brought to the guard, after he had wounded several Citizens with stones. Next day the Jesuits Students got together again, and meeting one of the Citizens, whom they had abused the day before, they would oblige him to get their comrade set at liberty; but the Citizen had the good fortune to get out of their hands, and ran to his own house for safety, whither they pursued him sword in hand. In the mean time the President of the City had given order for setting him at liberty, at the request of the Rector of the Jesuits College; but another Student being likewise carried to the guard-room, his comrades would oblige the President to set him at liberty also, which he refused to do, till he had spoke to the Rector. Upon this the Jesuits Students ran furiously to the guard-room to rescue their comrade, but, being repulsed, they thought to revenge themselves upon a townsman, whom they pursued with drawn swords to the Burgrave's house, where he took shelter. They then attacked a Lutheran Student, who was in his night-gown at the door of his lodgings. They

dragged him by the hair as far as their own College, threw him into the canal, and beat him unmercifully; which being done, they sallied again into the City, and wounded several people with their sabres, who were coming to the assistance of the Lutheran Student. But the President having sent thither the town-guard, they were obliged to betake themselves to their College, where they kept the Lutheran Student, till the Jesuits Student was first set at liberty. While this exchange was making, some of the trained-bands of the town were ordered to post themselves before the Jesuits College, to protect them from the enraged populace. But the Students throwing stones at them, and firing upon them, it was not possible to restrain the people, who forced open the gate, and were doing what they could to revenge the cruelty of the Jesuits Students, when, in that very instant, the Town-Clerk, who had got the Lutheran released, came and obliged them to retire. The riot was then thought to be over, but the guards that were posted before the College were scarce marched off, when the Jesuits Students from within fired again, and threw stones at the people, who again forced open the gate, plundered the College, and committed great disorders, till a detachment of the garrison and trained-bands came to the Jesuits assistance, and dispersed the people.

The bloody decree (notwithstanding the interposition of several Protestant Princes and States) was put in execution, only the Vice-President was reprieved. As many were exorbitantly fined, with the money arising from thence, a stone pillar with the Virgin Mary's statue was erected where her picture was burnt.

1724.

"sideration. It is too manifest, that the funds established for the finishing the works at *Greenwich Hospital*, and providing for a competent number of seamen there, cannot, in time of peace, be sufficient to answer the expences of this great and necessary work. It is therefore very much to be wished, that some method could be found out to make a farther provision for a comfortable support to our seamen, worn out in the service of their Country, and labouring under old age and infirmities.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You must all be sensible how much our present happiness is owing to your union and steady conduct. It is therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to you unanimity and dispatch in all your deliberations. The zeal and abilities you have on all occasions shewn in supporting the interest of your Country, even under the greatest difficulties, leave me no room to doubt of my having your entire effectual concurrence in every thing, that can tend to the service of the public, and to the good of my people."

*Debate on
the army.*

After the addresses of thanks from both Houses, the Commons proceeded upon the Supplies for the next year. This brought on a debate about the land-forces, particularly the additional four thousand men; but at length it was voted, that the number should be as the last year 18,264 effective men, and the sum of 654,488 l. 17 s. 8 d. was granted for their maintenance. For raising this and the other Supplies, two shillings in the pound on land and the malt-tax were voted.

*Affair of
the Masters
in Chan-
cery.*

Great part of this Session was taken up in the trial of the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and the repeal of the late Lord *Bolingbroke's* attainder. There had been for some time a murmuring against the insufficiency of the Masters in *Chancery* to answer the great sums lodged in their hands by the Suitors in that Court; and it was suspected, that the large sums which they paid for admission into their places, made their way more easy than it ought to have been, and very much lessened the inquiry into their qualifications. This abuse had indeed been long growing up to this degree; and there was scarce any thing bought and sold more freely and openly than a Master in *Chancery's* place. The Suitors money, for which the Masters paid no interest, brought them in great interest from the funds; and the profits of the place being consequently doubled or trebled to what they had been before, there was such an opportunity to enrich themselves by the advantages they made of the money they had in their hands, that it is not surprizing, that the Lord-Keepers and Lord-Chancellor doubled and trebled the prices, which the Masters were to pay for admittance. But the complaints against this practice growing strong and public, and the Lord-Chancellor *Macclesfield* finding it impracticable for him to put a stop to those complaints, or keep the Great Seal under them, he resigned it the beginning of *January, 1724-5*; and it was committed to the custody of Sir *Joseph Jekyll*, Master of the *Rolls*, Sir *Jeffery Gilbert*, and Sir *Robert Raymond*, who having in Council taken the oath as Lords Commission-

ers of the Great Seal, the King said to them as follows:

"I have had such experience of your integrity and ability, that it is with pleasure I now put the Great Seal into your hands. You are fully informed of the state of the accounts of the Masters in *Chancery*. I earnestly recommend to you the taking effectual care, that entire satisfaction be made to the Suitors of the Court; and that they be not exposed to any dangers for the future; and I have such confidence in the faithful discharge of the trust I now repose in you, that I am persuaded you will look narrowly to the behaviour of all the Officers under your jurisdiction, and will see that they act with the strictest regard to justice, and to the ease of my subjects."

On the 9th of *February*, Mr. Comptroller delivered the following message to the House of Commons:

George R.

"His Majesty having reason to apprehend, that the Suitors of the Court of *Chancery* were in danger of losing a considerable sum of money from the insufficiency of some of the Masters, thought himself obliged, in justice and compassion to the said Suitors, to take the most speedy and proper method the law would allow, for inquiring into the state of the Masters accounts, and securing their effects for the benefit of the Suitors: And his Majesty having had several reports laid before him in pursuance of the directions he had given, has ordered the reports to be communicated to the House, that they may have as full and as perfect a view of this important affair, as the shortness of the time, and the circumstances and nature of the proceedings, would admit of."

These reports, and the papers referred to in them, being taken into consideration by the Commons, Sir *George Oxenden* rose up, and said, "That it manifestly appeared by these reports, which after the strictest inquiry, and upon the maturest deliberation, had been drawn up by persons of the greatest weight and authority for their abilities, experience, high stations, and integrity, that enormous abuses had crept into the High-Court of *Chancery*, chiefly occasioned by the Magistrate, who was at the head of that Court, and whose duty consequently it was to prevent the same. That the crimes and misdemeanors of the late Lord-Chancellor were many, and of various natures, but might be reduced to these three heads: 1. That he had taken into his own hands the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics, and either had disposed of part of them arbitrarily to his own profit, or connived at the Officers under him, making advantage of the same. 2. That he had raised to an exorbitant price the offices and places of the Masters in *Chancery*, and in order to enable them to pay to him those high prices and gratuities for their admission, had trusted in their hands large sums of money belonging to Suitors in *Chancery*. 3. That in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. So that, in his opinion, that first Magistrate in the Kingdom was fallen from the height of the dignities and honours, to which he had been raised by the King's Royal bounty and favour, to the depth of infamy and disgrace. And therefore he moved,

1724-25, that *Thomas Earl of Macclesfield* be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. This motion was seconded by *Mr. Strickland*, and supported by *Mr. Doddington*, one of the Lords of the Treasury, who failed not to aggravate the Earl's misdemeanors, which, they said, were of the greatest and most dangerous consequence, since most of the estates in England, once in thirty years, pass through the Court of *Chancery*. *Mr. Pulteney*, who spoke next, said, 'That it was far from his thoughts to endeavour to abate the just resentment, which the Gentlemen, who spoke last, shewed against the great abuses that had been committed in the Court of *Chancery*: But that, in his opinion, they went a little too fast in so weighty and important an affair, by which means they might lose the very end they aimed at, the effectual punishing the person, by whose neglect at least those abuses had been committed. That whatever deference they ought to pay, on this occasion, to the capacity, experience, integrity and authority of the persons, who had drawn up the reports that had been laid before them; yet it little became the dignity, and was even derogatory to the prerogative of that House, which is the grand inquest of the Nation, to found an impeachment upon those reports, without a previous inquiry and examination into the proofs that were to support it. And therefore he moved, that this affair might be referred to the consideration of a select Committee.' *Sir William Wyndham* urged, 'That, by proceeding by way of impeachment upon reports laid before them from above, the Commons would make a dangerous precedent, and seem to give up the most valuable of their privileges, the inquest after State-criminals.' These reasons had great weight with several Members, particularly on *Sir Wilfred Lawson* and *Sir Thomas Pengelly*, who supported *Mr. Pulteney's* motion. But *Mr. Tonge* and *Sir Clement Wearg* having answered those objections, the question was put, and it was carried by a majority of 273 against 164, That *Thomas Earl of Macclesfield* should be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and *Sir George Oxenden* was ordered to go up to the Lords, and at their bar to impeach him in the name of the House of Commons. This being done, a Committee was appointed to draw up the articles. Then a bill was ordered to be brought in, to indemnify the Masters in *Chancery* from the penalties of the act of the 5th and 6th years of *King Edward the Sixth* (against buying and selling of offices) upon their discovering what consideration, price, or gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the purchase of, or for their admission to their respective offices; which bill passed both Houses, and had the Royal Assent.

The Earl of *Macclesfield's* trial lasted twenty days. The eight first articles against him were, for taking large sums of the Masters in *Chan-*

cery for admission or purchase. By the other articles, he was accused of admitting persons of small substance, and of suffering an unjust and fraudulent practice to continue, of paying for their places out of the Suits money, by means of which great deficiencies happened: Of neglecting to secure *Fleetwood Dormer's* person or effects, who, by disposing Suits money to his own use, had caused a deficiency of 24,000 *l.*: Of neglecting to prevent the like abuses for the future, by not taking security upon admission: Of borrowing money of the Masters out of the Suits cash, and making use of the same so long as he pleased. Upon these and other accounts, sentence was passed upon him by the mouth of *Sir Peter King*, Speaker of the House of Lords: That he should be fined 30,000 *l.* and imprisoned in the Tower till the sum was paid.

After the trial, it was moved that the Earl should be for ever rendered incapable of any office in the State; but the motion was rejected, as well as another for his not sitting in Parliament, or coming within the verge of the Court. The Earl was carried to the Tower, and confined in the same apartment as was formerly the Earl of *Oxford's*; and, three days after, the King in Council ordered his name to be struck out of the list of Privy-Counsellors. The Earl paid his fine about six weeks after, and was discharged from his confinement. *Sir Peter King*, being created Baron of *Oakham* in *Surry*, succeeded him in the Chancellorship (1).

The debts of the civil list being increased to above 500,000 *l.* the King, on the 8th of the civil April, sent by *Mr. Walpole* the following message to the Commons:

'The necessities of his Majesty's Government having rendered it impracticable for his Majesty to make any considerable retrenchments in the expences of his civil list; and having engaged his Majesty in some extraordinary expences, which he is persuaded his loyal Commons will believe have been employed, not only for the honour and dignity of the Crown, but for the interest and prosperity of his People, his Majesty hopes, from the known zeal and affection of his Parliament to his Person and Government, that he may be enabled to make use of the funds, lately settled for the payment of the civil list annuities, and for replacing the same to his Majesty in the most advantageous manner, and, upon the credit thereof, to raise a sum of money sufficient to redeem those annuities, and to discharge the present debts contracted in his civil Government.' *Mr. Pulteney*, Cofferer of the Household, who about this time began to be dissatisfied, moved for an address, that an account should be laid before the House of all monies paid for secret service, pensions, bounties, &c. from the 25th of *March*, 1721, to the 25th of *March*, 1725. This address being voted, a motion was made for

(1) The great Lawyer was destined by his father to follow his own trade, that of a Silter, or Greeter, in the City of *Exeter*; and did actually serve several years, as such in the nature of an apprentice to it, but his genius to literature, breaking through the disadvantages of education, discovered itself in two or three very learned treatises of the Ecclesiastical Constitution, of the Creed, and Primitive Constitutions, which he wrote even while he was breeding up in the trade of

his father; who, being related to the famous Philosopher *Mr. Locke*, did, doubtless, by the advice of that great man, enter his son in the Temple, where he soon distinguished himself in the study and practice of the law. His father was a native of *Glastonbury* in *Somersetshire*; and when the charter of that ancient Corporation was revived, in the year 1705, *Sir Peter King* was appointed their Recorder by it, and continued so to his death.

1725. for the House to go into a Grand Committee, to consider of the King's message; but Mr. *Pulteney* represented, 'That, the House having ordered an address for several papers relating to the Civil Lists and other expences, they ought, in his opinion, to put off the consideration of the message, till those papers were laid before the House; it being natural to enquire into the causes of a disease before one applies remedies to it.' This being opposed by Mr. *Walpole*, Mr. *Pulteney* replied, 'That he wondered how so great a debt could be contracted in three years time, but was not surprized some persons were so eager to have the deficiencies of the Civil List made good, since they and their friends had so great a share in it; and desired to know, whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another reckoning?' To this it was answered in general, 'That there was indeed a heavy debt on the Civil List, and a great many pensions; but that most of these had been granted in King *William's* and Queen *Anne's* Reigns, some by King *Charles the Second*, and very few by his present Majesty. That, since the Civil List was first settled for his Majesty, an expence of above 90,000*l.* per ann. had happened, which could not then be foreseen, and therefore was left unprovided for. That, upon examination of the account of the Civil List debts, it would appear, that most of those expences were either for the necessary support of the dignity of the Crown and Government, or for the publick good. That there was indeed a pension of 5,000*l.* of another nature, upon the account of the Cofferer's place, but which could not well be avoided; for both Lord *Godolphin*, who was in that office, and his father, had so well deserved of the Government, that they could not handsomely remove him without a gratuity, and therefore they gave him a pension of 5,000*l.* to make room for the worthy Gentleman, who now enjoys the post.' Then the Commons, in a Grand Committee, took the message into consideration, and a motion was made, 'That, for the redeeming the annuities of 25,000*l.* per ann. charged on the Civil List revenues by an act of Parliament of the 7th year of his Majesty, and for discharging the debts and arrears due from his Majesty to his servants, tradesmen, and others, his Majesty be enabled to raise any sum not exceeding one million, by *Exchequer* bills, loans, or otherwise, on the credit of the deductions of six-pence per pound, directed by that act, and of the Civil List revenues, at an interest not exceeding 3*l.* per cent. till repayment of the principal.' This motion, after some farther debate, being carried by a majority of 239 against 119, a bill passed for that purpose, and received the Royal Assent the 20th of April.

The same day a petition was presented to the House of Commons in behalf of *Henry St. John*, late Viscount *Bolingbroke*, attainted for High-Treason. The purport of the petition was to suspend the execution of the law, with respect to his forfeitures, as a pardon suspended it, with respect to his life. After the petition had been offered to the House by the Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Walpole* * acquainted the House, that he had received his Majesty's commands to inform them, that the Petitioner had seven years since made his humble application and submission to the King, with assurances of duty, allegiance, and fidelity, which his Majesty so

far accepted, as to give him encouragement to hope for some future marks of his grace and goodness; and that his Majesty is satisfied, that the Petitioner's behaviour has been such, as convinces him, that he is an object of his mercy; and his Majesty consents, that this petition be presented to this House. Then the petition was read, setting forth, that the Petitioner is truly concerned for his offence, in not having surrendered himself, pursuant to the act (whereby the Petitioner was attainted of High-Treason, and forfeited all his real and personal estate) and, by reason thereof, hath suffered very great losses. That upon the Petitioner's marriage in 1700, Sir *Walter St. John*, Bart. and the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *St. John* (the Petitioner's grandfather and father) together with the Petitioner, made a settlement of the family-estates in the Counties of *Wills*, *Surry* and *Middlesex*, all which premises (except a very small part thereof) are now in the possession of the Petitioner's father, and the Petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his life, until after his father's decease: That the Petitioner hath, in a most humble and dutiful manner, made his submission to his Majesty, and given him the strongest assurances of his inviolable fidelity, and of his zeal for his service, and for the support of the present happy establishment, which his Majesty hath been most graciously pleased to accept; and praying, that leave may be given to bring in a bill for enabling the Petitioner, and the Heiress-male of his body (notwithstanding his Attainder) to take and enjoy the settled estate, according to the limitations of the settlement, or other assurances therein mentioned, and for enabling the Petitioner to hold and enjoy any personal estate or effects, whereof he now is, or hereafter shall be possessed, and to invest the same in the purchase of any real or personal estate within this Kingdom. After the reading of this petition, the Lord *Finch* moved for a bill, which was seconded by Mr. *Walpole*, who, having repeated part of what he had before laid before the House by the King's command, added, 'He was fully satisfied, that the Petitioner had sufficiently atoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the favour of that House, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family-inheritance, that was settled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the best Lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his Majesty's pardon, without an act of Parliament.' This was confirmed by the Attorney and Solicitor-General. But after a short dispute among the Lawyers about the validity of such a pardon in the present case, Mr. *Misbuen*, Comptroller of the Household, strenuously opposed the Lord *Finch's* motion, and said, 'That, as he had the honour to be one of the King's immediate servants, it might perhaps by some be thought unbecoming his station to appear against a petition, to the presenting of which his Majesty, in his Royal clemency and goodness, hath graciously been pleased to give his consent. But that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes, for which this Petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and whatever he might have done to deserve his Majesty's private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national

1725.

1725. favour.^b Then he went through the late Lord *Bolingbroke's* conduct, while he had a share in the Administration of affairs in *Queen Anne's* Reign; * how he was the principal adviser of, and actor in the wicked measures, that were then pursued; his clandestine Negotiation of peace, without the privity of the *Queen's* Allies, contrary to the express tenor of the *Grand Alliance*; his intolerant behaviour towards all the Confederates in general, and the *Dutch* in particular; his sacrificing the interest of the whole Confederacy, and the honour of his own Country, particularly in the base abandoning of the poor and brave *Catalans*; a transaction, with which he had an opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to serve the Nation as the *Queen's* Minister in *Portugal*: And, to sum up all his crimes in one, his traitorous design of defeating the Protestant Succession, the foundation of both our present and future happiness; and of advancing a Popish Pretender to the Throne, which would have involved his native Country in endless misery.^c Though this speech made a great impression on the assembly, and several other eminent Members spoke to the same purpose, particularly Mr. *Onslow* and Lord *William Paulet*, the motion for a bill was carried by 231 against 113. When the bill was brought in, it was moved, that a clause should be inserted, to disable him to sit in Parliament, or enjoy any place under the King; but, upon Mr. *Walpole's* opposing it, the clause was rejected, and the bill passed both Houses, and received the Royal assent.

Bill passed
in his fa-
vour,
May 31.

Act passed
this Session.

The most material acts passed this Session, besides what have been mentioned, were these, An act for disarming the *Highlands*, and securing the peace of *Scotland*. A protest was entered against this act in the House of Lords, alleging, That the disorders in the preamble were not proved: Too great power was given to the Lord-Lieutenants and Justices of the peace, and that the behaviour of the *Highlanders* had of late been inoffensive.

Another act passed for regulating elections within the City of *London*, and for preserving the peace, good order, and government of the City. This law, which is now the rule for all elections in the City, raised so great a ferment in *London*, that a printed summons was dispersed inviting the Citizens to assemble at *Guild-Hall* to consider of it. This attempt being repented by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the gates of *Guild-Hall* were ordered to be shut, and the Government was acquainted with what had passed. Upon this the guards were doubled at *St. James's*, *Leicester-House*, and *Somerset-House*, and such precautions taken as kept all things quiet. This spirit was supposed to have been raised by that majority of the Common-Council, who had voted thanks to Mr. *Francis Child* and Mr. *John Barnard*, for strenuously opposing the bill. By a clause of this act, the right of election of Aldermen and Common-council-men belongs to Free-men, being householders, paying scot and lot to the amount of 30 s. provided they have been in houses of 10 l. a year, twelve Kalendar months.

This, and some other particulars, occasioned a petition from the Freemen of *London* against the bill, whilst it was depending.

A motion was made in the House of Commons for inserting a clause in a bill about the 50 new Churches, to disable bodies corporate to purchase advowsons or other ecclesiastical preferments. This motion made by Mr. *Arthur Onslow* was chiefly intended to restrain the Universities from purchasing advowsons, but it was rejected.

Thomas Guy, formerly a Bookfeller in *London*, and afterwards Member of Parliament for *Tamworth*, dying in the 80th year of his age, left a benefaction of 200,000 l. to an Hospital for incurables erected by himself, and near finished in his life-time, besides many other charities. In order to the better management and disposition of his charities, an act passed the 24th of *March*, for incorporating the Executors of the last will and testament of Mr. *Thomas Guy*.

Two acts likewise passed to dissolve the marriages of *William Tonge* with *Mary Heatbottle*, and of *Francis Annesly* with *Elizabeth Sutton*.

The Princess of *Wales* was delivered on the 5th of *December* of a Princess at *Leicester-House*, the Prince who was afterwards christened by the name of *Louisa*. and is now married to the Prince of *Denmark*.

The King put an end to the Session with the following speech:

The end of
the third
Session,
May.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I AM come to put an end to this Session of Parliament, which, though it has been extended to an unexpected length, has been so well employed for the service and interest of the Public, that I assure myself it will be to the general satisfaction of the Nation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The prudent use you have made of the present flourishing state of credit, by a certain reduction of more than three millions seven hundred thousand pounds to an interest of four per cent. and by a wise provision for the redemption thereof by Parliament, without further notice, on payment of such sums, as the circumstances of the Government will from time to time admit, has secured a considerable addition to the sinking fund, not subject to hazard of future events (1).

" You have not only raised the Supply for the service of the current year at the lowest rate of interest, that has been ever known, but, without laying any new burden on my people, you have enabled me to discharge the debts of my Civil Government; debts contracted by necessary and unavoidable expences, and in support of such measures of Government, as have greatly increased the happiness of my people. You have thereby shewn your just regard to my honour, and the dignity of the Crown.

My

(1) An act passed this Session, for continuing to the Bank the several annuities of 80,751 l. 7 s. 10 d. 1, and of 100,000 l. until *Midsummer* 1727, and from

thence for reducing the same to 71,001 l. 2 s. 3 d. 1, and 80,000 l. red-embled by Parliament (that is, from 5 l. per cent. to 4 l. per cent.)

(1) Lords

1725.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"As all our public blessings are the happy effects of the general tranquillity we now enjoy, I cannot but express my satisfaction in the provision you have made for suppressing and preventing disturbances and commotions in those parts, where the peace of the Kingdom might have been most endangered.

"Nothing more remains necessary, than to tell you, that I intirely depend on the faithful discharge of your duties in your several stations, and on your constant care, in your respective Countries, to preserve the peace and quiet of the Public. But I know not how to part with you without first returning you my very hearty thanks for the many repeated instances you have, in this Session, given me of your duty and affection. All such returns may be expected from me, as can be made by the most indulgent Prince to an affectionate and loyal people."

*Knights of
the Bath
revived.*

Presently after the end of the Session, the King revived the order of Knights of the Bath, of whom Prince William was the first, and the Duke of Montague was appointed Grand-Master. Among the Knights were Sir Robert Walpole, and his son the Lord Walpole. The whole number was 38, including the Sovereign. Several promotions were likewise made. Mr. Metbuen was appointed Treasurer of the Household, and the Earl of Lincoln, Cofferer in the room of Mr. Pulteney. William Bateman was created Baron of Calmore, in Ireland, and Viscount Bateman. Soon after Sir Robert Walpole was made Knight of the Garter (1).

The King having settled his affairs in England, and appointed the Lords Justices, set out for Hanover the 3d of June, and arrived the 14th at Herenhausen.

*Riots in
Scotland.*

The Scots, ever since the Union, had very unwillingly paid any of the taxes that had been laid on the united Kingdom; and had behaved on all such occasions, as if they thought themselves injured, when they were obliged to contribute any thing towards the public expence. The enemies to the Government failed not to feed this ill humour, and, under colour of zeal for the old Constitution, to set the people against that, which was now established. The malt-tax was most clamoured against; and it was foreseen, that it would not be collected without peril to the Officers. At Edinburgh indeed, the Excisemen were suffered to take an account of the Maltster's stock in hand; but those at Glasgow were obliged to apply to the Commissioners of the Excise at Edinburgh for protection and assistance, their lives being threatned, if they offered to visit the malt-houses. The Commissioners applied to Major-General Wade, Com-

mander in Chief of the forces in Scotland, who, on the 23d of June, sent Captain Busbel, with two companies of soldiers to Glasgow, where they arrived the next day in the evening. At their entrance into the town, they found a great mob of men, women, and boys, who gave them abusive language, and threw stones at them, as they marched along the streets, crying aloud, *No malt-tax*. The Officer desired them to forbear, for he meant them no harm. The Provost gave him billets for quartering his men, but told him, he could not put him in possession of the guard-room, because the rabble had locked it up, and carried away the key, as soon as they heard the soldiers were coming. The Officer, unwilling to exasperate them, by forcing open the door, ordered the guard to be kept in a public house, which they hired for that purpose. About eleven o'clock that night, several thousand of the mob got together about the house of Mr. Daniel Campbell, Representative in Parliament for Glasgow, threatning to plunder it. Upon which Captain Busbel sent an Officer to the Provost, letting him know the mischief they designed to commit; and that he was ready with his men to assist him in preventing it. But his answer was, He thought the number of his soldiers too few, and therefore he would make no use of them. Thus the rabble, finding no opposition, nor even the appearance of a Magistrate to restrain their fury, with hatchets and other instruments forced into the house, and turned out two or three of Mr. Campbell's servants (he, with his wife, having the day before retired to his Country-house) and fell to plundering every thing they could carry away, and destroying what was not portable. This riot continued till nine the next morning, when several of the mob were lying drunk in the house, with the wine and liquors they found in the cellars, but the Magistrates did not get any of them secured. The Officers of the Excise hid themselves as well as they could: Some of them fell into the hands of the mob, and with great difficulty escaped with their lives, after having been unmercifully beaten. The rabble were then pretty quiet, till about four in the afternoon, when they began to meet again; women, or men in women's cloaths, beating drums about the streets to call them together. Captain Busbel, not knowing what their designs might be, ordered the soldiers to be near the guard-room, which the Provost had now caused to be opened: But the mob did not long keep their secret; for they advanced towards the guard, crying, *Drive the dogs out of town: We will cut them to pieces*. The Officer said again, *We mean you no hurt, but, if you continue to provoke the soldiers, we shall not be able to restrain them from firing at you*. The rabble answered, *You dare not fire with ball*; and continued throwing stones in such quantities, and so large, that they

1725.

(1) Lords of the Treasury.

Sir Robert Walpole,
Sir Charles Turner,
Sir William Yonge,
George Doddington, Esq;
Sir William Sirickland.

Lords of the Admiralty.

James Earl of Berkeley,
Sir John Jennings,
John Cockburn, Esq;
William Chetwynd, Esq;
Sir John Norris,
Sir Charles Wager,
Sir George Oxenden.

1725.

they broke some of the locks of the soldiers' pieces, and their bayonets, and wounded several men. Upon which they were ordered to fire over the heads of the mob to frighten them; but they advanced still upon the soldiers, and, throwing stones in greater quantities, the soldiers at last fired on them, and killed or wounded three or four, which made them retire to some distance. In this short interval, the Provost sent to Captain *Busbel*, desiring him to save himself and his men, by retreating out of the town; for the Rioters were collecting all the arms they could; and, if he did not march away, there would be more blood shed. The Captain, taking his advice, marched immediately for *Dunbarton*, being followed by great numbers of the mob, and that so closely, that he was forced to fire now and then to secure his retreat out of the town. Three or four hundred of them followed him six miles, but they durst not come up with him. He sent an Officer from *Dunbarton* to *Edinburgh*, to give General *Wade* an account of what had happened; and, on the 8th of *July*, the General, accompanied by *Duncan Forbes*, Lord Advocate, set out from *Edinburgh*, and at noon the next day joined a body of forces, that had been ordered to draw together on a moor within two miles of *Glasgow*, consisting of four troops of horse, and a detachment of Colonel *Campbell's* Dragoons; eight companies of the Earl of *Deloraine's* regiment of foot; the Earl of *Stair's* regiment, and one of the new-raised Highland companies. The General wrote a letter to the Magistrates to let them know he was coming; and the next day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, entered the town; the troops advancing with silence and good order; and they were distributed into quarters without any disturbance. The two following days the Excise-men were set to take an account of the Maltsters stock in hand, and had quiet admittance. The Rioters having endeavoured by circular letters to every town of any note to excite tumults, the mob rose *July* the 9th, at *Elgin*, attacked in the night-time three soldiers, who were posted sentinels at a shop, wherein was lodged a quantity of brandy, that had been seized by the Custom-House Officers, and obliged the soldiers to fire in their own defence, by which one of the rabble was killed. The soldiers being overpowered were put in prison by the Magistrates; and the mob immediately carried off the brandy. The Maltsters at *Glasgow* complied with the terms of the act of Parliament. Many of the Rioters were seized; most of them mean persons. Near an hundred witnesses were examined, but little or nothing was found against any of them: It was all laid on those, who fled, and on strangers. The General and the Lord Advocate, having staid a week at *Glasgow*, returned to *Edinburgh*. The Lord Advocate committed seventeen men and boys, and four women, to prison. The Provost, Bailiffs, Dean of Guild, and Deacon Conveener, were also apprehended, and the next day, under a strong guard of dragoons, sent to *Edinburgh*. When they came near the City, there was a vast concourse of people at such an unusual and unexpected sight, besides a great many Merchants and men of note on horseback, who went out to meet them, and accompanied them to the prison-doors, the *Glasgow* Magistrates being in coaches. They did

not continue long under confinement; for, this affair being brought before the Lords Justiciary, they were unanimous in their opinions, that they were innocent; upon which they were immediately set at liberty. It was reported, that the whole Royal Boroughs of *Scotland* had come to a resolution to stand out against payment of the malt-tax. But they were so far from doing it, that, the Convention being assembled at *Edinburgh* on the 7th of *July*, they resolved to write a circular letter to each of the Royal Boroughs, to be sent by express, testifying the falshood of that report, and their abhorrence of the thought of resisting or not paying due obedience to the law, which has enacted the levying of that tax, exhorting the Magistrates and Governors of each Royal Borough, to concur vigorously with the Officers of the Revenue, in the execution of the laws relating thereto, and in suppressing of all mobs, riots, and tumultuous assemblies; and requiring them every where to use all diligence for the discovery of the Authors of such malicious reports and seditious practices; and to acquaint the annual Committee of the Convention therewith, that the Offenders might be prosecuted, and brought to deserved punishment at the suit of the Convention, as disturbers of the public peace. The Rioters at *Glasgow* were brought to their trial before the Court of Justiciary, of which the Earl of *Illy* was chief; and, *Walter Buchanan*, *William Hamilton*, *George Macfarlane*, *Patrick Mitchell*, and *Janet Balleny* being found guilty of the riot, the four men were, the next day, sentenced to be transported, after they had been scourged at *Glasgow* by the common hangman; and *Balleny*, the woman, was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory there; so that no capital punishment was inflicted on any of these Offenders.

General *Wade* did likewise another very important service to the Public, by disarming, pursuant to the act of Parliament, the *Highlanders*, *Mackenzies*, *Macdonals*, *Grants of Glenmoriston*, *Macleods*, *Clisbolms*, *Stewarts*, *Camerons*, *Macphersons*, *Mackintoshes*, *Macgregors*, *Gordons*, *Farquharsons*, *Macfarlans*, and other Clans, their Tribes and Followers; as also the Inhabitants of the Isles of *Sky* and *Mull*; the arms amounting to between two and three thousand. The Companies of the soldiers left in the *Highlands* were so posted, that they possessed all the considerable passes, and thereby prevented the stealing of cattle.

As to foreign affairs, there were great alterations abroad this year. Mention has been made of the marriage of *Lewis*, Prince of *Asturias* with the Duke of *Orleans's* second daughter, and of King *Philip's* resignation of the Crown to his Son. It has been also related, how *Lewis XV* of *France* was married to the Infanta of *Spain*; and *Mademoiselle de Beaujolois*, another of the Duke of *Orleans's* daughters, to *Don Carlos*, Infant of *Spain* by King *Philip's* second wife. The first marriage was consummated, but soon after dissolved by the death of *Lewis King of Spain*. Upon his decease, his Father, King *Philip*, resumed the Crown. In the beginning of *March* 1724-5, the French King, who could never gain upon himself to be tolerably civil to the young Infanta, declared his resolution to send her back into *Spain*.

1725.

Foreign
affair.

1725. *Spain* (1). This was so highly resented by the Court of *Spain*, particularly by the Queen, that it was resolved to send back to *France* *Mademoiselle de Beaujolois*, whose marriage with *Don Carlos* was yet unconsummated; which was accordingly done, and at the same time the Infanta was sent to *Madrid*, the *Spanish* Ministers, the *Marquis de Monteleone*, and *Patrick Lawless* (the Pretender's agent in *England* in *Queen Anne's* Reign) returning with her.

The sole mediation at *Cambray* refused by *King George*.

The Queen of *Spain's* resentment did not end here. She resolved the *French* should meddle no more in the *Spanish* affairs, and offered to adjust her differences with the Emperor (for which the Congress of *Cambray* had been appointed) under the sole mediation of *Great-Britain*. This offer was refused by *King George* upon many accounts. The Emperor was so far from seeking the sole mediation of *Great-Britain*, with the same warmth as *Spain*, that he shewed such a coolness on the occasion, as not only indicated a jealousy, but foretold an unsuccessful issue in case it was assumed. Besides, the accepting it, in order to gratify the passions of the Queen of *Spain*, must have disobliterated *France*, with whom, ever since the death of *Lewis XIV.* the *British* Court had contracted the strictest friendship. The same motive still subsisted, that had induced *King George* to enter into a reciprocal confidence with that Crown, the title of the House of *Orleans* to that Monarchy in virtue of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The young King was as yet a minor, and unmarried, and the Duke of *Bourbon* Prime Minister of *France*, who solely guided the Helm, was next in reversion to the Crown, after the young Duke of *Orleans*, then unmarried, and of a weak constitution. The coolness therefore of the Emperor, the engagement with *France*, and the prospect of disuniting for ever the House of *Bourbon*, by means of the branches of *Orleans* and *Condé*, induced *King George* not to accept the sole mediation at the hazard of losing *France*, without any appearance of gaining, or, if gained, of keeping *Spain* one moment fixed to his interest or alliance. Upon the King's refusal of the sole mediation, the Emperor and Queen of

Spain resolved to adjust their differences by a private Negotiation. This was managed on the part of *Spain* by the Baron de *Ripperda*, a *Dutchman*, who had abandoned the Protestant Religion, and entered into the *Spanish* service. The first treaty of *Vienna* was soon concluded, and signed the 30th of *April*, and the next day a treaty of commerce was also signed. It was urged, that the Mediators having for several years in vain endeavoured to reconcile the Emperor and King of *Spain*, they resolved to do it by themselves without the intervention of any other power, especially since *France* had affronted *Spain*, by sending back the Infanta, and *England* had refused to continue her mediation at *Cambray* without *France* (2).

By these treaties the Emperor acknowledges *Philip V.* as lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and promises not to molest him in the possession of the Dominions secured to him by the treaty of *Utrecht*, nor to appropriate to himself any right to them. *King Philip* on his part renounces all his pretensions to the Dominions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, adjudged to the Emperor by the treaty of *London*, in *July* 1722. The Emperor grants (without the consent of the Empire) the investiture of the Dukedoms of *Tuscany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to the Queen of *Spain's* eldest son, in case these Dukedoms should be vacant for want of heirs, the determination of *King George* and the Regent of *France* in the treaty of *London*, that they are masculine fiefs of the Empire, being taken for granted. *Spain* agreed to guaranty the succession of the *Austrian* Dominions according to the *Pragmatic Sanction* (3). By the treaty of commerce, the Emperor's subjects were to have commercial advantages in *Spain*, to which no others were entitled: *Spain* was to guaranty the *Ostend* trade to the *East-Indies*, and pay an annual subsidy of about four millions of pieces of eight.

The treaty of peace was not liable to any great objection, though the article, by which *Spain* agreed to guaranty the Succession of the *Austrian* Dominions, according to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, gave some room to suspect, it was

(1) The *French* King being taken very ill, and in great danger of his life, by a fever, in *February* 1725, *N. S.* it alarmed the whole *French* Nation, and made them cry aloud for his marrying immediately after his recovery, to prevent the fatal consequences of a civil war, in case of his dying without issue. It was thereupon suddenly resolved in Council to send back the Infanta. Upon this unexpected turn the Court of *Spain* proposed the sole mediation to Mr. *Stanhope*, the *English* Minister at *Madrid*, which, as will be seen, was refused.

(2) It appears by stating and comparing the dates of these transactions, that the sending back the Infanta, or the refusal of the sole mediation, could have no share in the motives for Negotiating. The Courier, dispatched from *France* to signify the resolution of sending back the Infanta, *March* 13, 1725, did not arrive at *Madrid* till the 19th, and *King George's* answer, declining the sole mediation, came to *Spain* the 24th of *April*, 1724, *N. S.* *Ripperda's* full powers were signed in *November*, 1724; and the Court of *Madrid* received advice from him in *March*, 1725, that the principal articles were then agreed at *Vienna*. In consequence of this agreement, the treaty of peace and friendship between the Emperor and *Spain* was signed at *Vienna* the last of *April*, and that of commerce the first of *May*, 1725. Now could the resolution of sending

back the Infanta, which was not thought of in *France* till *March*, 1725, nor known at *Madrid* till the 19th of that month, be the occasion of negotiating at *Vienna* treaties of such importance and long discussion, the principal articles of which were the very same month of *March* known at *Madrid* to have been agreed upon at *Vienna*? Or could the King's refusal of the sole mediation, which was not known at *Madrid* till the 24th of *April*, 1725, *N. S.* have possibly occasioned the signing of treaties at *Vienna* the last of *April*, and first of *May*, 1725? To this it may be added, that the acceptance of the sole mediation to accommodate the difference between the two Courts, who were already agreed in every respect, would have been as ridiculous and absurd, as it is to imagine, that the declining of it could possibly be a motive for signing of treaties so injurious to the *States-General*, as well as to *Great-Britain*, when neither of them had given the least reason for such treatment.

(3) By the *Pragmatic Sanction* the order of Succession to the Dominions of the House of *Austria* is settled on the Emperor's heirs and successors of either sex, and declared to be a perpetual, indivisible, and inseparable fiefdom to the primogeniture. This *Pragmatic Sanction* or perpetual law was published at *Vienna*, *December* 5, 1724.

1725. was to operate in favour of Spain. And therefore it did not alarm the other States, but it was not the same with the treaty of commerce, which was so much to the disadvantage of England and Holland, particularly with regard to the privileges granted to the *Ostend India Company*.

Private
treaty be-
tween
Spain and
the Empe-
ror.

But, besides these treaties, King George had reason to suspect that another, much more repugnant to the interest of Great-Britain, was also concluded. This suspicion was afterwards confirmed, not only by some indiscreet expressions of *Ripperda*, but by the most positive intelligence from different persons, all capable of knowing the truth, and all concurring in the most material facts. By this third treaty, which was carefully concealed, it was declared, that the Spanish Minister having represented that the King of Great-Britain had promised the restitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, and that the King of Spain did insist upon it, the Emperor would concur in employing force for restoring *Gibraltar* to Spain, if it could not be amicably effected. King George had moreover cause to believe, that several other points of still more dangerous consequence were settled between the Emperor and Spain, particularly that the two Archduchesses should be married to the Infants of Spain, and that means should be taken for placing the Pretender on the Throne. This last article the King was informed of by a person of great rank, veracity, and credit, though the Emperor himself ordered his Ministers to give, in his name, the most solemn denial of the fact. It must indeed be owned, that the Duke of *Bavaria* received likewise assurances equally strong from the Ministers of *Vienna*, that nothing had been transacted between the Emperor and the Court of *Madrid*, relating to the marriage of an Archduchess to a Prince of Spain, though it was afterwards owned by the Imperial Ministers, and the execution of it openly demanded by those of Spain. And it may here be observed, that, if those marriages had taken place, and the French King and the Prince of Asturias at that time, both Princes of weak constitutions, had died without issue, it would have laid the foundation for the most formidable power ever known in Europe, by uniting together in one Sovereign all the Dominions belonging to the Houses of Austria and Bourbon.

In consequence of these treaties between the Emperor and Spain, great sums, amounting to about a million sterling, were remitted in six months, from the signing of them by Spain, to Vienna. The Court of Vienna gave immediately the necessary orders for an augmentation of their own forces, with thirty thousand men, and took immediately into their pay thirty thousand more. Negotiations were set on foot for engaging other powers in support of their cause; and particularly Russia, by her Accession, was to furnish thirty thousand men.

Treaty of
Hanover.

King George, justly alarmed at these proceedings, resolved to take such precautions, as were likely to defeat the pernicious designs of the new Allies. The Court of Vienna had behaved with uncommon coolness towards the Court of London, ever since the Accession of King George. The Emperor, whether out of some old personal enmity to the King, or from his jealousy of seeing a Protestant Prince of Germany become Sovereign of a powerful Nation, behaved with great indifference, and in a very contradictory

manner, towards him on many occasions. He refused to guaranty the Succession in his Line, and denied him the investiture of the Duchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which he had a right to demand and expect, as a Purchaser and Member of the Empire. To this may be added, the late erection and support of the *Ostend India Company* in violation of treaties, which greatly affected the British commerce to the *East-Indies*, and against which the whole Nation made loud complaints. Led by these motives, the treaty of *Hanover* was projected by King George, to check the ambitious views of the Emperor and King (or rather Queen) of Spain, who, from being irreconcilable enemies, ran into each other's arms voluntarily, tying themselves down by treaty to the closest and strictest friendship. The King succeeded in his design, and a treaty was concluded in September between England, France, and Prussia, in the usual forms of a defensive Alliance, with a mutual guaranty to protect the respective Countries rights and privileges, those of commerce in particular, which the parties enjoyed or ought to enjoy, as well out of as in Europe; which had a view to the *Ostend Company*. There was nothing in the treaty that reflected directly or implicitly upon the conduct of any other power: Nor was there any expression to be found in it, nor inference from it, or from the consequent measures, to shew it was projected to increase the dominions and claims of the Electorate of *Hanover*, or to involve Great-Britain in the quarrels of that Electorate, or could give offence to any but those who intended to offend. The treaty was to last fifteen years. There were three separate articles: The first related to the affair of *Thorn*, and was an engagement to procure satisfaction for what had been done contrary to the treaty of *Oliva*. By the second, the two Kings Electors engaged, in case the Emperor declared war against France, not only not to furnish their quota of troops, but to act in concert with his most Christian Majesty. By the third, France consented, that, if the Empire declared against her, the two Electors Kings might furnish their quota, provided they furnished no more, and fulfilled their engagements to his most Christian Majesty.

Thus was concluded the treaty of *Hanover*, which has been painted in more invidious colours, than any transaction during the Reign of King George.

In the mean time the Duke of Bourbon was removed from the Administration of affairs in France; having received, as he was preparing to follow the King to *Rambouillet*, an order to go to *Chantilly*, his country seat, and there to stay till further orders. Presently after, the Count de *St. Florentine*, Secretary of State, went to acquaint him, that the King had resolved to take the Government into his own hands; which he did on the 10th of June, in a Council of State at *Versailles*, to whom he made a speech suitable to the occasion. This revolution in the Ministry of France was generally supposed to be owing to the intrigues of the Court of Spain, who could never forgive the sending back the Infanta, which they imputed to the influence of the Duke of Bourbon on the counsels of France. The Bishop of *Frejus*, the young King's Preceptor, and afterwards Cardinal, had a great hand in this measure, in order to assume the post

1725. of Prime Minister himself; but he assured Mr. *Horace Walpole*, the *British* Ambassador at the Court of *France*, 'That the alterations in the Court of *France*, instead of making any in the measures taken with the King of *Great-Britain*, pursuant to the treaty of *Hanover*, would rather tend to the execution of that treaty.'

The King of *France* soon after married the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of *Stanislaus*, once King of *Poland*; the contract for the marriage being signed by proxy in *July*.

The Duke of *Wharton*, who had acted with great extravagance and licentiousness of all kinds in *England*, and ruined his estate there, having left his Country, went to *Vienna*, whence he proceeded to *Rome*, where he was introduced by the *Spanish* Minister to the Pretender, in whose house he was concealed for six days, and then posted away to *Madrid*, where the Baron de *Ripperda*, his great and intimate friend, was now in high credit and favour. Thither he came with credentials from the Pretender; and, as a public mark of confidence in him, adorned with a Garter, and the title of *Northumberland*. King *George* being informed of these proceedings, sent a letter under the Privy Seal to the Duke, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return forthwith to *Great-Britain*. This letter being carried to *Madrid* by Mr. *Crew*, the Messenger, it was delivered, on the 31st of *June*, to the Duke in a coach, as he was passing through one of the streets of the town; but, as soon as he was told the contents of it, he threw the letter out of the coach, and made great clamour at the executing a summons upon him by a *British* Officer of Justice, even in the sight of his Catholic Majesty's Palace. He likewise gave out, that he would present a memorial upon it to the King of *Spain*, and demand justice against the King's Messenger, who brought him the letter. Colonel *Stanhope*, the *British* Minister at *Madrid*, hearing of this, sent his Secretary to the Marquis de *Paz*, to acquaint him with it. The Marquis promised to represent the matter to his Catholic Majesty, and desired the Secretary to return to him the next morning, when he assured him, that the King of *Spain* knew nothing of the memorial, but had been informed of what had passed with relation to the delivery of the letter of Privy Seal, and would not in any manner interpose his authority in opposition to that proceeding. The Duke, about that time, openly professed himself a *Roman Catholic*, by making his public abjuration of the Protestant Religion; and, on the 23d of *July*, *N. S.* married one of the Ladies of the Queen of *Spain*'s Bed-Chamber, by whose interest he obtained the pay of a Lieutenant-Colonel.

The King's stormy passage to England.

The King, having settled affairs abroad, set out from *Hanover* on the 18th of *December*, *O. S.* and came to *Helvet-Sluyce*, where Sir *John Norris* waited with the convoy and yachts, and where he embarked on board the *Carolina* yacht on *New Year's-Day*, about one in the afternoon. Towards seven that evening there arose a most violent storm with rain and hail, which separated the ships one from another, except one man of war, commanded by Captain *Dancey*, who kept company with the King's yacht, on board which was Sir *John Norris*. The tempest continued so high, and the sea so boisterous, for thirty-six hours, that the whole fleet was in the utmost

danger. On the 3d of *January*, the yachts and men of war were near *Dover*; and one of the yachts, with some of the King's attendants, entered the river; but it was thought more advisable, that the King should land at *Rye*, where he arrived about noon. The King went immediately into a small boat, the tide being down; and, as soon as he could reach a horse, which Captain *Pigram* had brought him, he mounted it, rode by the wall, and over the new bridge. The Mayor, Mr. *Lambe*, and the Jurats, in their formalities, with the neighbouring Gentlemen, attended the King, who alighted at the Mayor's house, being saluted all the way with loud huzzas and acclamations. He was extremely fatigued, having eat nothing since the day he embarked. The Lord *Townshend* and his Lady, who were in the *Mary* yacht, kept company with the King, and with some difficulty landed at the same place. On the 4th of *January*, a messenger, dispatched by the Lord *Townshend*, arrived at the *Cock-pit*, with the agreeable news of the King's safe landing at *Rye*, from whence he intended to have set out for *London* on the 6th; but, the roads in that part of the Country being unsafe from the fall of snow, it was found necessary to give orders for the clearing of the ways; which done, the King began his journey the next day, and having crossed the water from *Rye*, at a place called the *Point*, lay that night at *Hytbe*, the next at *Sittingbourne*; and on the 9th arrived in good health at *St. James's*.

On the 20th of *January* the Parliament met, The fourth Session of the second Parliament. when the King made the following speech to both Houses by the mouth of the Lord-Chancellor:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Have had such frequent experience of the wisdom and zeal of this Parliament on many important occasions, that it is with pleasure I now meet you again; and I make no doubt, but that your endeavours for the good and service of your Country will be as successful, as they have hitherto been.

"The distressed condition of some of our Protestant Brethren abroad, and the Negotiations and engagements entered into by some foreign powers, which seem to have laid the foundation of new troubles and disturbances in *Europe*, and to threaten my subjects with the loss of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade, obliged me, without any loss of time, to concert with other powers such measures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of those, who are endeavouring to render themselves formidable, and put a stop to the farther progress of such dangerous designs. For these ends I have entered into a defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of *Prussia*, to which several other powers, and particularly the *States-General*, have been invited to accede; and I have not the least reason to doubt of their concurrence. This treaty shall in a short time be laid before you. By these means, and by your support and assistance, I trust in God, I shall be able not only to secure to my own subjects the enjoyment of many valuable rights and privileges long since acquired for them by the most solemn treaties, but effectually ally

1725-26. "ally to preserve the peace and balance of Europe, the only view and end of all my endeavours."

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the estimates for the service of this year to be prepared and laid before you, which, from an unwillingness I always have to put my subjects to an extraordinary expence by any unnecessary precautions, are formed upon the foot of employing no greater number of forces, than was thought necessary the last year; for which, if the Supplies you give, shall be fully and effectually raised, I shall be enabled to have a strong fleet at sea early in the spring. If the posture of affairs shall at any time make it necessary to augment our maritime force, I confide so intirely in the zeal and affection of my Parliament, that I assure myself you will enable me to make such an addition to the number of seamen, as shall be found requisite."

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It is not to be doubted, but the enemies to my Government will conceive hopes, that some favourable opportunity for renewing their attempts may offer from the prospect of new troubles and commotions. They are already very busy by their instruments and emissaries in those Courts, whose measures seem most to favour their purposes, in soliciting and promoting the cause of the Pretender. But I persuade myself, notwithstanding the countenance and encouragement they may have received, or flatter themselves with, the provision you shall make for the safety and defence of the Kingdom, will effectually secure us from any attempts from abroad, and render all such projects vain and abortive."

"When the world shall see, that you will not suffer the British Crown and Nation to be menaced and insulted, those, who most envy the present happiness and tranquility of this Kingdom, and are endeavouring to make us subservient to their ambition, will consider their own interest and circumstances, before they make any attempt upon so brave a people, strengthened and supported by prudent and powerful Alliances, and, though desirous to preserve the peace, able and ready to defend themselves against the efforts of all aggressors. Such resolutions, and such measures, timely taken, I am satisfied, are the most effectual means of preventing a war, and continuing to us the blessings of peace and prosperity."

*Proceed-
ing, of the
Commons.* Addresses suitable to the speech were presented by both Houses, and the Commons proceeded to consider of the Supply. The reduction of the four thousand additional troops was again insisted on, and particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who now set himself up to oppose every motion of the Court; but, after a warm debate, the same number of land-forces 18,264 men, and the same provision for them, were voted. A motion by Mr. Pulteney for a Committee to state the public debts, from the year 1714 to 1725, was rejected by 262 against 89. It was ob-

served, that most of the Tories then in the 1725-26. House were against it.

The treaties of *Hanover* and of *Vienna* being laid before the Commons, they were debated by a full House of 420 Members. No stranger was admitted except the Earl of Marchmont, who had been a Plenipotentiary at *Cambray*. Mr. *Horace Walpole*, Ambassador at the Court of *France*, opened the debate with a long speech,

setting forth the state of affairs in *Europe* from the peace of *Utrecht* to the present time. He took notice, 'That, since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, his constant care and endeavours had been to settle the balance of power on a solid foundation, and to preserve and secure the tranquility of *Christendom*; to protect and defend the Protestant cause, and promote the honour and interest of his British subjects.

That, with these great views, his Majesty was become Mediator and Guarantee, both of the *Barrier Treaty* concluded in 1715, and of a Convention made in 1718, for the execution of that treaty, between the Emperor and the *States-General* of the *United-Provinces*. In the year 1716, his Majesty concluded a defensive Alliance with the Emperor; and, in 1717, another with the most Christian King and the *States-General*; the genuine design of both which treaties was only to preserve the public repose of *Christendom*, established by the peace of *Utrecht*, to guaranty the Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain* in the Protestant line. In order to fortify all these treaties, and to extinguish the war, the Spaniards had kindled in *Italy*, his Majesty, in 1718, made a Convention with the most Christian King, for proposing ultimate conditions of peace between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and between his Imperial Majesty and the (then) King of *Sicily*. This Convention was, a few days after, followed by a treaty of Alliance between the Emperor, the King of *Great-Britain*, and the most Christian King, which, by their Ministers, was concluded at *London*, and signed on the 22d of July 1718, and in which the *States-General* were named as one of the contracting parties (upon a supposition that they would come into it) from whence this treaty was named the *Quadruple Alliance*. A few months after, the King of *Sicily* was admitted into this treaty; and at length the King of *Spain* himself was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous assistance, which his *Britannic* Majesty gave the Emperor in the *Mediterranean*. There remaining some points still controverted between the Emperor and King of *Spain*, the same were referred to be amicably determined in a Congress, which was afterwards opened at *Cambray*, under the Mediation of his *Britannic* Majesty and the most Christian King. By reason of several difficulties industriously raised by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, the great pains taken for three years by the Ministers Mediators proved unsuccessful, and at the last Congress was suddenly dissolved, upon advice, that the Emperor and the King of *Spain* had secretly adjusted the differences between them, and concluded a treaty of peace at *Vienna*. This unexpected event occasioned no small surprize, and raised jealousies, which appeared to be better grounded, when it was known, that the treaty of peace was soon followed by a treaty of commerce, the main de-

1725-26. sign of which was to support and countenance the *East-India* Company, some years before established at *Offend*, by granting to the inhabitants of the *Austrian Netherlands* greater privileges, both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, than were ever granted either to the *English* or *Dutch*, which visibly tended to the intire ruin of many valuable branches of our trade, and was contrary to several solemn treaties still in force. His Majesty, ever watchful for the interest of his *British* subjects, had caused lively representations to be made against the treaty of commerce, both to the Emperor and King of *Spain*. At the Court of *Madrid*, these complaints were received with coldness; and at that at *Vienna*, with stiffness and haughtiness, even to such a degree, that the Imperial Ministers did not stick to insinuate, that, if his *Britannic* Majesty persisted in his resolution to take measures in opposition to the treaties of *Vienna*, his Imperial Majesty would not only think himself disengaged from the guaranty of the Protestant Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, but that the same might be attended with consequences in relation to his Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*. These insulting menaces made no impression on his Majesty's firmness, nor deterred him from his fixed resolution of concerting with other powers such measures, as might give a check to the ambitious views of those, who endeavoured to render themselves formidable. These measures seemed to be the more necessary, because there were just grounds to believe, that the unforeseen reconciliation of the Emperor and King of *Spain* was owing to the constant view of the House of *Austria*, of rendering the Imperial dignity hereditary in their family. In order to that, it might reasonably be supposed, that the treaties of *Vienna* were to be cemented by a match between the Emperor's eldest Daughter and the *Infant Don Carlos*. It was easy to foresee the consequences of such a marriage. For the issue male, that might come from it, might, in time, be possessed not only of all the hereditary Dominions belonging to the House of *Austria*, and of the Imperial dignity, but also of all the Dominions of the *Spanish* Monarchy; which would intirely overthrow the balance of power, and render the liberties of all the rest of *Europe* very precarious. This supposition would appear more than probable to any one, who considered that there was scarce any other way of accounting, either for the King of *Spain's* breaking through solemn treaties with *Great-Britain*, in favour of the Emperor's subjects in the *Netherlands*; or for the Emperor's forgetting so far the obligations he had to *Great-Britain* and *Holland*, as to enter into engagements to assist *Spain* towards the recovery of *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to persist in supporting and countenancing the *Offend* Company, established with no other view, than to deprive the subjects of the Maritime Powers of several of the most advantageous branches of their trade. In order to give a timely check to the further progress of such dangerous designs, his Majesty, in his great wisdom, had entered into a defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of *Prussia*, to which several other powers, and particularly the *States-General*, had been invited to accede. The *States of Holland* had already done it; and it was not to be doubted, but their example would soon be followed by the other *United-*

No. 101. VOL. IV.

Provinces. The main view of this Alliance was to maintain and preserve the public repose and tranquility of *Christendom*, and to secure to each contracting party the possession of their respective Dominions and Territories, with the rights, immunities, and advantages, particularly those relating to trade, which their subjects enjoyed, or ought, by treaties, to enjoy. And, as his Majesty ever had a particular concern for the Protestant interest, so, out of his Royal and tender compassion for the distressed condition of some of our Protestant Brethren in *Poland*, his Majesty had not only interposed his good offices in the most pressing manner in their favour, but had taken the occasion of the defensive Alliance made at *Hanover*, to engage, by a separate article, the most Christian King and the King of *Prussia*, who, together with his Majesty, are guarantees of the treaty of *Oliva*, to see it maintained and observed in its full extent, and to cause reparation to be made for what may have been done at *Thorn* contrary to that treaty. He concluded with an encomium upon his Majesty's wisdom, care, vigilance, steadiness, and resolution in the conduct of all these weighty and important affairs.

Mr. *Walpole's* speech occasioned a great debate. A Member having suggested, that it was to be supposed, the King of *Spain* did not seem to grant any further privileges to the Emperor's subjects in the *Netherlands*, than what had been granted to the *English*, and other most favoured Nations; he was answered by Colonel *Bladen*, who pointed to the second article of the treaty of commerce of *Vienna*, whereby it was expressly stipulated, 'That the ships of war, and merchant-ships belonging to the contracting parties, or their subjects, should be allowed full liberty to frequent the harbours, coasts, and provinces of each other;' naming particularly the *East-Indies*, and without any exception as to the *Spanish West-Indies*, or any restraint on the ships of war and merchant-ships, than not to buy any thing besides victuals and materials for repairing their ships; which implied a permission to vend their merchandizes for ready money; so it was manifest, that the subjects of the *Austrian Low-Countries* were allowed more extensive privileges than ever had been granted to any other Nation, contrary to several treaties in force between the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *Spain*.

Colonel *Bladen* having cleared this important point, Mr. *Daniel Pulleney* made a long speech, wherein having made his observations on most of the points mentioned by Mr. *Horace Walpole*, he insinuated, that the subject-matter of this day's debate was of the greatest importance, and therefore they ought maturely to consider of it, before they came to any resolution upon it. He was supported by Mr. *Shippen*, who raised the main objection to the treaty of *Hanover*, That it would engage the *British* Nation in a war for the defence of his Majesty's Dominions in *Germany*, contrary to an express provision made for the securing our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, in the act for further limitation and succession of the Crown in the Protestant line; which, being the basis and foundation of the present settlement, was become part of our Constitution, and therefore ought to be sacred and inviolable. They were answered by Mr. *Pelham*, who urged, that the true meaning and intent of that limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his Ma-

1725-26. jeſty's foreign Dominions of any aſſiſtance from this Nation; for, if ſo, his Majeſty, in that reſpect, would be in a worſe condition upon his Acceſſion to the *Britiſh* Throne than he was before; but only to refrain the Sovereign, for the future, from engaging the Nation, at his pleaſure, in a war for the defence of any Dominions not belonging to the Crown of *England*, without the conſent of Parliament; to whom the Legiſlature wiſely left to judge and determine, Whether ſuch a war was juſt and neceſſary or no? Concluding, that, for his own part, he was fully of opinion, that, if, in the preſent juncture and circumſtances of affairs, his Majeſty's foreign Dominions ſhould be attacked or injured, this Nation ought to ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty againſt all his enemies whatſoever. And therefore he moved, 'That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for his great goodneſs in communicating the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, and the deſenſive Alliance between his Majeſty, the moſt Chriſtian King, and the King of *Pruſſia*. To expreſs our juſt ſenſe of his Majeſty's concern for the balance of power in *Europe*, and the Proteſtant Religion; and above all our unfeigned gratitude for his earneſt and reaſonable care of the particular intereſts of his *Britiſh* ſubjects, by forming and entering into the deſenſive Alliance with the moſt Chriſtian King and the King of *Pruſſia*, in order to obviate and diſappoint the dangerous views and conſequences of the treaty of peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; and to preſerve the many valuable rights and privileges of this Nation againſt the fatal tendency of the ſaid treaty of commerce, calculated for the entire deſtruction of the *Britiſh* trade, in breach of ſeveral ſolemn treaties now in force. To acknowledge his Majeſty's prudence and reſolution, in not letting any attempts or inſinuations whatſoever divert his Majeſty from conſulting and ſteadily purſuing the true intereſt of theſe his Kingdoms; and to aſſure his Majeſty, that, in juſtice and vindication of the honour and dignity of the *Britiſh* Crown, this Houſe will effectually ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks, that any Prince, or Power, in reſentment of the juſt meaſures, which his Majeſty has ſo wiſely taken, ſhall make upon any of his Majeſty's Territories and Dominions, though not belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain* (1).'

This motion being at laſt approved by a majority of 285 againſt 107, the addreſs was preſented on the 19th of *February*, to which the King returned this anſwer:

Gentlemen,

'I return you my thanks for this particular mark of your duty, affection, and confidence in me. Your aſſurances not to ſuffer my foreign Dominions to be expoſed or injured, on account of the meaſures I have taken for the intereſt

of theſe Kingdoms, will, I hope, be a means to preſerve the peace and tranquility of *Europe*. I have no views of ambition to gratify; I have no thought of aggrandizing myſelf, or extending any part of my Dominions at the hazard and expence of the other; and, as my honour is the common cauſe and concern of my ſubjects, their particular intereſts ſhall, upon all occaſions, be my conſtant care.'

The Lords took likewiſe into conſideration the three treaties, which had been laid before them: The Lord *Townſend* opened the debate, and concluded with a motion much to the ſame purpoſe with that of Mr. *Pelham* in the Houſe of Commons. He was ſeconded by the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, who acquainted the Houſe with a remarkable paſſage out of a letter from Mr. *Stanbope*, his Majeſty's Miniſter in *Spain*, 'That, in a private converſation, the Duke of *Ripperda* had not ſcrupled to own, that, beſides what had already been communicated to him about the late treaties of *Vienna*, there were ſtill ſome other ſecret articles, which in due time ſhould be made public, whereby the contracting parties mutually engaged to aſſiſt each other with a certain number of troops, in order to ſupport the *Oſſend* Company, and to recover *Gibraltar*.' The Duke being aſked, Whether he would produce that letter? He ſaid, He had not the King's commands for it, but was only left at liberty to take notice of what he had mentioned. Upon this the Lord *Lechmere* obſerved, that no ſtreſs could be laid on an information, that did not come regularly and in form before the Houſe: That beſides it was uſual with Miniſters of State ſometimes to drop things, that have no reality, in common converſation, only to found thoſe, with whom they negotiate. That, the treaties, that had been communicated to them, being a matter of the greateſt importance, they ought to proceed in it with the utmoſt caution and matureſt deliberation; and therefore he was of opinion, they ought to take ſome time to conſider of it, and adjourn the debate to another day. He was answered by the Earl of *Scarborough*; and, the queſtion being put upon the motion for an addreſs, it was carried in the affirmative, by a majority of 1.

After this the Lord *Lechmere* ſtood up, and declared, 'That he would go as far as any Member of that illuſtrious Aſſembly, in vindicating the honour and dignity of the *Britiſh* Crown, and in ſupporting and defending his Majeſty's Perſon and Government. That, as their preſent and future happineſs depended, next under God, on the ſettlement of the Crown of theſe Realms on his Majeſty and his Royal Iſſue, they ought to be extremely cautious of any leaſt derogation from the act of Parliament, by which that happy ſettlement was made; and therefore he was of opinion, and moved, that to the reſolution for an addreſs the following words be added:

This Houſe not doubting but your Majeſty, in your great wiſdom and juſtice to theſe your Kingdoms,

(1) Mr. *Pulteney* ſpoke againſt this motion, and among other things, ſaid, 'That the Imperial Court's backwardneſs in granting the inveſtiture for *Bremen* and *Verden*, might have been one of the motives to

ſome late meaſures.' Upon this, Sir *Robert Wagh* aſſured the Houſe, that the King might long ago have had the inveſtiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant fees that were demanded for it.

(1) He

1725-26. *doms, will always preserve to them the full and entire benefit of the provision made for the further securing our Religion, Laws and Liberties, by an act passed in the 12th and 13th years of the Reign of his late Majesty King William III. of glorious memory, whereby it is enacted, That, in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any person, not being a native of this Kingdom of England, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of England, without the consent of Parliament.* But this motion was rejected.

The address, in substance the same with that of the Commons, was presented by the House of Lords in a body, on the 18th of February, and received the like answer.

Mr. Hampden's affair.

On the 2d of March, a petition from Richard Hampden, late Treasurer of the Navy, and Knight of the Shire for the County of Bucks, was presented to the Commons by Sir William Yonge, for leave to bring in a bill, to empower the Commissioners of the Treasury to compound with the Petitioner for his debt to the Crown (1). Sir Robert Walpole having acquainted the House, that the King had given his consent that they might do as they thought fit, the petition was taken into consideration. It was said by Mr. Onslow the Speaker, and some others, 'That, out of regard to his ancient family, and, in particular, in consideration of his great-grandfather, John Hampden, who made a most noble and courageous stand against arbitrary power, in opposing ship-money, and fell the first victim in the glorious cause of liberty, they were for having something done for his relations.' His wife and brother presented petitions, setting forth the distresses they would be reduced to, by the deficiency Mr. Hampden was charged, without relief from the House. These petitions occasioning a debate, Sir William Yonge took notice, 'That Mr. Hampden's deficiency had, in some measure, been occasioned by a general calamity: That he had already done all that lay in his power to make it up: That, however, since neither his lady, nor his brother, had any ways been accessory to his misfortunes, it was unreasonable and unjust to involve them in his offence and its punishment: That his real and patrimonial estate amounted to about 2200*l.* a year, one full half of which was settled for a jointure to his Wife, who brought him near 11,000*l.* in marriage, besides an annuity of 200*l.* per annum during her life, for her separate use; all which settlements ought to be secured to her: That either Mr. Richard Hampden, or his brother, may have issue male; and, in consideration of the signal services, at divers times, performed by their illustrious ancestors, some provision should be made for their posterity out of the family estate.' And therefore he moved, that a bill be brought in for vesting the real and personal estates of Richard Hampden in Trustees, for making some provision for his wife and family, and for the better securing the debt due from him to the Crown. But Mr. Clayton and some other Gentlemen represented, that, if this

affair went through the usual tedious course of 1725-26⁶ extents in the Exchequer, great part of Mr. Hampden's estate would be consumed in law expenses, so that the Crown would not get 200*l.* a year out of it. And therefore they proposed, that the estate should be divided into two equal parts, one of which should be allotted as a provision for his wife and family, and the other half immediately sold off, towards satisfying the debt due from him to the Crown. Many Members shewed their approbation of this proposal; but the majority were for Sir William Yonge's motion; and a bill was ordered to be brought in, which afterwards passed into a law.

Upon a petition of Daniel Campbell, Member of Parliament for Glasgow, for satisfaction for his damages, by the Rioters in that City, a bill passed in his favour; and the satisfaction given him was laid upon the place, where the crime was committed, by an act for an imposition of two pennies Scots, upon all ale and beer brewed in the City of Glasgow. However, the malt-tax was thought to great a grievance in Scotland, that the Convention of the Royal Boroughs presented an address by John Campbell, Member for Edinburgh, in which, though they disavowed the conduct of the Glasgow men, they remonstrated against that tax, as a burden too heavy for their Country to bear; and afterwards petitioned the Commons concerning it; as did likewise the shires of Renfrew, Banff, &c.

On the 24th of March, Sir Paul Methuen, Knight of the Bath, delivered the following message from the King to the House of Commons: *The King's message for an extraordinary Supply.*

'His Majesty having nothing more at heart, than an earnest desire to secure to his own subjects the full and free enjoyment of their Trade and Navigation, and in the best manner to prevent and frustrate such designs, as have been formed against the particular interest of this Nation, and the general peace of Europe, has found it necessary, not only to augment his maritime force, but to concert such other measures, as may most effectually conduce to these desirable ends: And, as these services will require some extraordinary expence, his Majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the assistance of Parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted and granted for the service of this year, and to enter into, and make good such engagements, as the circumstances and exigency of affairs may require.'

This message occasioned a debate of six hours; but it was at last agreed to comply with it, by a majority of 270 against 89, and an address to that purpose was presented to the King.

This message had not been communicated to the House of Lords, though the King said in it, that he hoped he should be enabled, by the assistance of his Parliament, to increase the number of seamen already voted. Notice was taken of it, and the Earl of Stafford asserted, 'That the message was unprecedented, and struck at the ancient privileges of the House of Peers, who are the grand standing Council of the Sovereign, the hereditary and perpetual Guardians of the liberties

(1) His debt was at first 95,256*l.* but he had delivered in, by South-Sea Stock, subscriptions, and other securities, about half the debt, so the remainder was

about 48,000*l.* His paternal estate was about 2000*l.* a year.

1726. liberties and properties of the People, and, next the King, the principal part of the Legislature, and who therefore have a right to be consulted in all matters of public concern.' He moved, therefore, 'That an address be presented to know, who advised his Majesty not to send the same message to the House of Peers, as was sent to the House of Commons.' The Lord *Trevor* (who had been made Lord Privy-Seal on the 6th of *March*, in the room of the Duke of *Kingsfon*) moved, that the further consideration of that matter might be adjourned for a month. But the Lord *Lechmere* represented, 'That the subject-matter of this debate was of so great consequence to his Majesty's service, to the honour of that noble and illustrious Assembly, to the ancient constitution of Parliament, and to the prosperity and welfare of the Kingdom, that it ought not to be postponed at all, much less for such a length of time, as amounted to a laying it intirely aside. That it must be for the service and support of the Crown, upon all occasions, to have the advice of both Houses of Parliament; and as the message in question was only sent to the House of Commons, and there had not yet been any communication with their Lordships upon it, though it contained matters of the highest importance, it tended to undermine the very foundation of the House of Peers, and of the ancient Constitution of the Kingdom. That the rights of the People of *England* were, in some measure, invaded, whenever they were deprived of the assistance of that House of Parliament, without whom no aid can be given to the Crown, nor any taxes laid upon the subjects. And therefore, if this debate should be adjourned to so long a day, it might be inferred from such a dilatory proceeding, that their Lordships were not as jealous of their own privileges, and of their rights and properties of the people, at this time, and as much determined to support and defend them both, as any of their ancestors and predecessors had formerly been. That it was the undoubted, inherent and fundamental right of the House of Peers to alter and amend all money-bills, which came from the Commons; and, though in some last instances the Commons had disputed that right, yet the Lords had never failed to maintain and assert it. That, according to antient usage, all demands of Supply should come from the Throne in the House of Peers; and therefore all other methods are unparliamentary, new, and dangerous to the Constitution.' All these assertions were corroborated with several precedents upon record, which he caused to be read. He was answered by the Lords *Onslow* and *Townshend*, who were replied to by the Lord *Bathurst*, who took notice, 'That the appellation of Parliament being given to the Commons, and separately from the Lords, was intirely new and unprecedented. That this was so far from being the language of former times, that, though of late the Commons took upon them to begin all money-bills, yet there was a time, when they were so inconsiderable, as to apply to the Lords, to desire them to provide money for the public service. That, if, at this time, the Lords suffered themselves to be overlooked in this manner, they might come at last to be voted useless, as they had formerly been. And therefore, lest any mistake of this kind should be attended with such ill consequence, as to encourage evil Ministers hereafter to a total

neglect of the House of Peers, he was of opinion, that proper notice should be taken of it immediately, instead of deferring the further consideration of it for a month.' The Earl of *Scarborough* said, 'He did not deny, that the Peers have a right to be advised with in all matters of importance, and to give their consent to money-bills. But, in the case before them, it seemed needless to send the message in question to their House, because their Lordships had implicitly given their consent to the augmenting the number of seamen, in their address of thanks, wherein the augmentation was hinted at. As to what had been suggested, that formerly [the Commons applied to the Lords to provide money for the public service, the reason of it was, because, at that time, none had any money to give but the Lords, most of the lands being then in their hands; whereas since the Reigns of *Henry VII* and *Henry VIII*, the case is very much altered; and therefore they ought not to consider, how things were formerly, but how they are at present, and so act as they find them.' After several other speeches the affair was put off for a month, by 69 voices against 31. When the month was expired, it was again adjourned for a fortnight, and the House was moved 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, representing the fatal consequences which must happen to this Kingdom, when any advice shall be given to the Crown, whereby the counsel and assistance of this House shall not be asked, at the same time that the counsel and assistance of the House of Commons shall be asked, in matters which concern the peace and safety of this Kingdom; and most earnestly to beseech his Majesty, that he will for the future discourage all such counsels as shall tend, in so unwarrantable and dangerous a manner, to the destruction of the rights of this House.' But this address was rejected.

Among the bills passed this Session were these two: An act for building a bridge over the *Thames*, from the town of *Fulham* in *Middlesex*, to the town of *Putney* in *Surrey*.

An act for preventing frivolous and vexatious arrests. By this act, no person shall be held to special bail on any process from a superior Court where the cause of action shall not amount to 10*l*. nor from any inferior Court under 40*s*. In such cases the Plaintiff shall not arrest the body of the Defendant, but shall serve him personally with a copy of the process.

The business of the Session being over, the King dismissed the Parliament with the following speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Cannot in justice put an end to this Session, without returning you my hearty thanks for the many instances you have given me of your duty and affection to my Person and Government, and of your zeal to maintain the honour and true interest of this Kingdom.

"The spirit and resolution you have shewn on this important occasion, when our most valuable rights and privileges have been struck at, are highly becoming the weight and authority of a *British* Parliament: And the steps that have been taken abroad, in support of

1726.

End of the fourth Session of the second Parliament.

1726. " the measures entered into against this Nation, must convince every body of your wisdom and prudence in endeavouring to put an early stop to the further progress of them. I hope the precautions, you have enabled me to take, will be sufficient, in conjunction with my Allies, to defeat the designs, which have been formed against us; and that the Promoters of them, when they have fully weighed their own circumstances, and better considered those of the several powers united in defence of the tranquility and liberties of Europe, will find it their own interest to preserve the peace, and think it most safe and prudent to desist from their dangerous schemes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I return you my particular thanks for the Supplies, which you have so cheerfully and effectually raised; and you may be assured, that they shall be faithfully applied to the uses, for which you intended them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The constant employment of my thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of my heart, tend wholly to the securing to my subjects their just rights and advantages, and to the preserving to them, and to all Europe, the enjoyment of a safe and honourable peace. And I must not conclude, without giving you the strongest assurances, that the particular confidence you have placed in me, shall be made use of in such manner only, as may most effectually conduce to the attaining those good and great purposes."

Three squadrons fitted out. The Supplies, raised during this Session of Parliament, were immediately employed in fitting out three different squadrons; one of seven men of war, designed for the *West-Indies*, under the command of Vice-Admiral *Hofier*; another of twelve or more ships of the line, for the *Mediterranean*, under the command of Sir *John Jennings*, Admiral of the White; and a third, designed for the *Baltic*, under the command of Sir *Charles Wager*, Vice-Admiral of the Red, and Sir *George Walton*, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, consisting of twenty-one ships and two fire-ships.

The Court of Great-Britain had evident proofs, that nothing could influence the Emperor and King of Spain to terms of reason, but to shew a vigorous spirit against a very pernicious or suspicious part of the treaty of Vienna. And as all appearances convinced the Ministry, that nothing could so effectually guard against approaching evils, as the dispatching sufficient squadrons of ships to several places, they did with all possible diligence fit out the forementioned squadrons.

The squadron sent to the *Baltic* was to prevent very great evils in those parts, there being no room to doubt, that the *Czarina's* real view was to go with a fleet to *Stockholm*, and, under a pretence of demanding the use of the Ports,

and the assistance of Sweden for the recovery of *Sleswick* to the Duke of *Holstein*, actually to dethrone the King of Sweden, and make that Nation dependent on Muscovy. It was therefore judged of the utmost importance to prevent this. Accordingly, about the end of April, Sir *Charles Wager*, with his Squadron, came to Wager an anchor in the road of *Copenhagen*; and, on the 25th of that month, had an audience of the King of Denmark. On the 2d of May he failed to *Stockholm*, where, eight days after, he had an audience of the King of Sweden, being introduced by Mr. *Poyntz*, the British Envoy Extraordinary. A Squadron of Danish men of war having joined the British Squadron, the united fleet became so formidable, that the Court of Russia thought proper to suspend the fitting out their large ships, and only to equip some frigates; and the land-forces, which had been drawn together near *Peterburg*, in order to be put on board the Russian fleet, were sent to work on the *Ludoga* canal, and the fortifications at *Cronstot*. That Court was under the greatest uneasiness, and immediately gave orders for reinforcing the garrisons of *Wybourg*, *Cronstot*, *Revel*, and *Riga*. Mean while, Sir *Charles Wager*, having been joined by the *Nassau* and *Port-Mahon* on the 20th of May, failed from *Elfsnal* near *Stockholm* the 25th, and arrived, the 29th, near the Island of *Nargen*, three leagues from *Revel*, and, the next morning, sent an Officer with a letter to Lieutenant-General *Wulcoffe*, who commanded at *Revel*, and ordered the *Port-Mahon* to sail to *Cronstot*, having on board Mr. *Barnet*, one of his Lieutenants, by whom he sent his Majesty's letter to the *Czarina*, inclosed in a packet to Admiral *Apraxin* (1). In this letter, which was dated the 11th of April, his Majesty observed, 'That as the *Czarina's* great preparations both by sea and land for war, in a time of peace, could not fail of giving Him, as well as his Allies in those parts, great and just cause to be alarmed; she would not be surprized, that he had sent a strong squadron into the *Baltic*, to obviate any danger, that might ensue from so extraordinary an armament.' He laid before her the several instances he had given of a sincere disposition to establish a firm and lasting friendship with the Crown of Russia; but that his intentions had been disappointed by the delays of that Court; and he expressed his surprize, that, while he was carrying on amicable Negotiations, and had not given the least provocations on his part, measures were taken at her Court in favour of the Pretender, and great encouragement to his Adherents. After what, says he, we have now set forth, your Majesty will not be surprized, that we, being indispensably obliged to provide for the security of our Dominions, to perform our engagements with our Allies, and to maintain the public tranquility in the North, which seems to be very much in danger from your Majesty's late preparations, have thought it necessary to send a strong fleet of our men of war into the *Baltic*, and that we have given orders to our Admiral, who commands it, to endeavour to prevent fresh troubles in those parts, by hindering

(1) The Czar of Muscovy died the 28th of January 1725-6, and was succeeded by the Empress Catherine his wife.

1726.

hindering your Majesty's ships from coming out, in case that you persist in your resolution to put your fleet to sea, to execute the designs which you may have in view. But, as it is our firm intention to live in peace and friendship with your Majesty, we wish, from the bottom of our heart, that your Majesty, seriously reflecting upon the true interest of your subjects, would permit them to enjoy the blessings of that peace, which they purchased at the expence of so much blood and treasure, under the conduct of his late Majesty; and that, rather than enter into measures, which must inevitably plunge *Russia* into a war, and the whole *North* into confusion, your Majesty would please to give your people and all mankind convincing proofs of your inclination for peace, and of your good disposition to live in quiet with your neighbours.' The *Czarina*, in her answer dated *June 15*, declared her surprize at not receiving the King's letter till the very instant the fleet appeared on her coasts, and after it had cast anchor before *Revel*, 'since it had been more agreeable to the custom established among Sovereigns, and more consistent with the amity, that had so long subsisted between her Kingdoms and the Crown of *Great-Britain*, had his Majesty thought fit to expostulate with her about the umbrage he might have conceived from her armament; and to expect her answer thereupon, before he advanced to so offensive a step. That then his Majesty might have been assured by her, that it was so far from her thoughts to disturb the repose of the *North*, that, on the contrary, all her cares and attention were wholly bent on the security and preservation of it, both for the time present, and time to come, as being more concerned than his Majesty, in preventing whatever might endanger that tranquillity.' That, with regard to what was charged upon her, in relation to the Pretender, it 'was a frivolous and stale accusation, made use of as it had heretofore been, as the main pretence for all the unkind steps taken against her.'

Sir *Charles Wager* remained in his station near *Revel* till *October*, when, the year being so far advanced, and he having intelligence from *Peterburgh* and *Cronstot*, that the *Russian* galleys were laid up in their winter harbour, and their fleet not in a condition to put to sea, he sailed from the bay of *Revel* for the coast of *Denmark*, and arrived at *Copenhagen* the same month. From thence, after a stay of a few days, he sailed for *England*, where he safely arrived in *November*.

Sir John
Jennings
put to sea.

Sir *John Jennings*, with his squadron, which was furnished with a considerable number of land-forces and artillery, visited the coasts of *Spain*, and shut up the ports of that Kingdom. His orders were to cruise between *Cadix* and *Cape St. Vincent*, to intercept the Galleons, and to assist *Gibraltar*, in case of a siege, with the land-forces on board his fleet, and to annoy the enemy to the utmost. But he did no damage on the coast of *Spain*, and only caused alarms, and protected the trade of *Great-Britain*.

Hofier
sail to the
West-Indies.

Vice-Admiral *Hofier*'s squadron was inferior to those of Sir *Charles Wager* and Sir *John Jennings*; but he was authorized to join to his fleet all the ships he could meet with in the *West-Indies*; and his orders were to prevent the Galleons from sailing out of the *Spanish* ports there; or, if they should come out, to seize them,

and bring their cargoes untouched to *England*. 1726. He arrived at the *Bastimento*'s off *Porto Bello*, in the beginning of *June*; but, ten days before his arrival, an advice-boat from *Spain* brought orders for putting on shore the money on board the Galleons, said to be twenty-six millions of pieces of eight, and sending it back to *Panama*.

Ripperda
dismissed.

These measures were taken against *Spain*, in resentment of the engagements, which that Court had entered into with the Court of *Vienna*, to the prejudice of *Great-Britain*, and the designs formed in favour of the Pretender, by the instigation of the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Wharton*, and Earl *Maribibal*, who were then at *Madrid*. But the Duke de *Ripperda*, who had been the principal Agent in forming and concluding the treaty of *Vienna*, and the Author of the violent counsels against *Great-Britain*, was of a sudden dismissed, on the 14th of *May*, from all his employments, though allowed a pension of 3000 pistoles for his subsistence. The pretended cause of his disgrace was the embezzlement of the finances (of which he was Superintendent) to the value of four millions. The Duke, upon his receiving the King of *Spain*'s decree for dismissing him from his posts, went immediately to the House of Monsieur *Vandermeer*, the Dutch Ambassador; but, not thinking himself safe there, *Vandermeer* carried him in his coach to the house of Colonel *Stanbope*, the British Ambassador, whose protection he begged and obtained. The King being informed of this, caused the Ambassador's house to be surrounded by two hundred grenadiers. The next day Colonel *Stanbope* had an audience of the King, and gave him an account of what had happened in relation to the discarded Minister, which the King did not seem to disapprove; and the grenadiers were called off from his house, on a promise from him, that the Duke de *Ripperda*'s person should be forthcoming; and sixty guards were posted in the streets leading to Colonel *Stanbope*'s house, to take him, if he should attempt to make his escape. But on the 25th of *May*, N. S. the King appointed *Don Lewis Cuellar*, one of the Alcaldes of his Court, assisted by *Don Francis Valansa*, Adjutant-General of the Life-guard, to enter Colonel *Stanbope*'s house, and take from thence the Duke de *Ripperda*, and convey him to the Castle of *Segovia*, with a sufficient guard; which was done. But this violation of the law of Nations, in forcibly entering the house of an Ambassador, was justly complained of by the Court of *Great Britain*, who ordered the letters and papers, which passed between the Ministers and Ambassadors of both Courts upon this occasion, and upon Sir *John Jennings*'s coming with his fleet on the coast of *Spain*, to be published. Among these papers is a memorial of Colonel *Stanbope* to the King of *Spain*, dated *Sept. 24*, 1726, in which he observes, that the King his Master was surprized, that the King of *Spain* should not know the reasons, and be sensible of the necessity, which obliged his Majesty to send the fleet under Sir *John Jennings* to the coast of *Spain*; 'considering, says he, the engagements, into which some of the most considerable powers of *Europe* have of late entered, and of which his Majesty has complained so often and so loudly. The naval armaments and equipments, which have been made in most of the ports of *Spain*; the preparations of war, and the moti-

1726. ons of a considerable number of *Spanish* troops towards that part of the coast, which lies nearest and most convenient for executing an enterprise on his Majesty's Dominions; the great hopes of the Emisfaries and Adherents of the Pretender, who have publicly boasted of the assistance they should receive from those parts; the confidence they had in it, and which has appeared clearly in the pernicious and indiscreet conduct of some among them, who have been lately received and favoured at *Madrid*: This, joined with the intrigues, which have been carried on with the *Muscovites*, and the reasons his Majesty has to suspect the ill designs upon which the three ships were sent last year from *Peterburgh* to *Cadix*, and thence to *St. Andero*; the knowledge his Majesty had last winter, by the avowal of the Minister of *Spain*, that there was an offensive Alliance between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, and that, by one of the articles of that Alliance, it was stipulated to use open force to get *Gibraltar* restored to the King of *Spain*, a place, which his Majesty possesses by virtue of so just a right: the great Subsidies, which have been furnished to the Imperial Court, and which are not seen to be settled by an Alliance, that has yet been made public; the notorious infractions, which the *Spanish* *Guarda Costes* have for a long time made, with respect to the commerce and navigation of his Majesty's subjects in the *West-Indies*, infractions, which have been so often complained of without the least appearance of satisfaction or reparation: These things, joined together, are sufficient to exhibit clearly the reasons, which have induced his Majesty to take the measures he judged proper, and to equip the several fleets, which have put to sea; and his Majesty's subjects would have had just cause to complain, had not care been taken for the security of the Kingdom, and of their rights and properties, which they saw threatened and in danger.

The States
accede to
the treaty
of Hano-
ver.

The King
of Prussia
falls off
from that
treaty.

In *August*, the *States-General* signed their accession to the treaty of *Hanover*, after having been dissuaded by the Imperial and *Spanish* Ministers not to do it, and pressed to come into that of *Vienna*. Though the Emperor had not succeeded with the *States*, he found means to detach, in great measure, the King of *Prussia* from his engagements with the Allies of *Hanover*. The conduct of his *Prussian* Majesty, in this instance, as a Protestant and Son-in-law of King *George*, could hardly be defended. It was thought he proposed some extraordinary advantages from his desertion of the Allies of *Hanover*, and closing with those of *Vienna*; one part of which advantages was probably to be supported by the Emperor, in making some conquest upon the Dominions of *Hanover*. However that be, he made a treaty with the Emperor, which gave great jealousy to the friends of the treaty of *Hanover*. By this treaty the King of *Prussia* engaged in a new contract, not very consistent with the apprehensions of the *Hanover* Allies, of the Emperor's power and projects; since the King of *Prussia* was to guarantee the order of Succession in the hereditary Dominions in the heirs female, in default of male issue; while on the other hand, the Emperor obliged himself to use his endeavours to obtain from all those, who had pretensions to the Duchies of *Juliers* and *Bergues*, a cession of their rights in favour of his *Prussian* Majesty.

The treaty of *Hanover* was attended with the greatest difficulties, and a prodigious but unavoidable expence. Of this *Sweden* was an instance. All the summer pressing and repeated applications were made by the *British* and *French* Ministers at *Stockholm*, to induce the Court of *Sweden* to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*. And no less pains were taken by the *Russian* and *Austrian* Ministers, to procure his *Swedish* Majesty's accession to the treaty of *Vienna*. But that wife Prince resolved to leave the determination of so important an affair to the General Dyet of the States of *Sweden*. The *Holstein* faction in *Sweden* were spirited in their opposition to this accession, by Count *Freitag*, the Imperial Ambassador, and the Ambassador of *Russia*; but that did not hinder the *States* signing it, as well as the King of *Sweden*.

During these Negotiations, *Spain* incensed to the last degree, made great preparations for war. A camp of about twenty thousand men was formed at *St. Roch* near *Gibraltar*, and all the necessaries for a siege were provided. Preparations were likewise made at sea; four thousand sailors were landed; several men of war were come to *Cadix*, and as many more, as could be, were bought. The pretence was, to rebuild the Castle of *Old Gibraltar*, though some greater design was very visible.

In these circumstances the Parliament of 1726-27: Great-Britain met, on the 17th of January. The King opened the Session with a very long, lively, and pathetic speech, but, at the same time, extremely offensive to the Princes of whom mention was made. The speech was as follows: *King* *George*.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you last year with the treaties of peace and commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. As that sudden and unaccountable conjunction gave, at the first appearance, just grounds of jealousy and apprehension to the neighbouring powers of *Europe*, and the subsequent proceedings and transactions in those two Courts, and the secret and offensive Alliances concluded between them about the same time, have laid the foundations of a most exorbitant and formidable power, and are so directly levelled against the most valuable and darling interests and privileges of this Nation, that we must determine either tamely to submit to the peremptory and unjust demands of the King of *Spain* in giving up *Gibraltar*, and patiently to acquiesce in the Emperor's usurped and extended exercise of trade and commerce, or must resolve to be in a condition to do ourselves justice, and to defend our undoubted rights against those reciprocal engagements, entered into in defiance and violation of all the national faith and the most solemn treaties.

"I have likewise received information from different parts, on which I can intirely depend, that the placing the Pretender upon the Throne of this Kingdom is one of the articles of the secret engagements: And if time shall evince, that the giving up the trade of this Nation to one power, and *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon* to another, is made the price and reward of imposing upon this Kingdom

"a Popish

1726-27. " a Popish Pretender: What an indignation must this raise in the breast of every Protestant Briton!

" Nor were these fatal combinations confined to those parts of the world alone, but they extended themselves into *Russia*; and, had not the designs of that Court against some of their neighbours been prevented, by the seasonable arrival of our fleet in those seas, a way had been opened for invading those Kingdoms, and giving a powerful assistance to any attempt to be made from other quarters.

" Such circumstances would not suffer Me and my Allies, among whom there has been and is the most perfect harmony, union, and concert, to be idle spectators, and regardless of our own safety, and the common cause of *Europe*; for which purpose his most Christian Majesty has been at a great expence, this last year, in augmenting his forces; and the *States-General*, sensible of the imminent danger, have not only acceded to the defensive Alliance concluded at *Hanover*, but have come to strong and seasonable resolutions for an extraordinary augmentation of their forces both by sea and land. The Accession of the Crown of *Sweden* is in such a forwardness, and the Negotiations with the Crown of *Denmark* are so far advanced, that we may reasonably depend upon the success and good effect of them.

" This short view of the present posture of affairs, will, I am confident, not only secure to Me the support and assistance of my Parliament, in carrying on this great and necessary work, in conjunction with my Allies, but justify the measures hitherto taken, and the expences already made.

" The confidence, you reposed in me last year, has been made use of for the benefit of the public: And as the chief article of exceeding has by my equipping and sending to sea three considerable squadrons, fallen upon the head of the Navy, I am persuaded the necessity of the services, and the security, advantage, and glory, that has accrued to this Nation from those squadrons, will sufficiently speak for themselves, as long as both friends and foes, with joy and concern, confess they have seen and felt the effects of the naval power of *Great-Britain*.

" It is not to be wondered at, that the Princes engaged in these enterprizes are very much disturbed to see their projects rendered abortive. The King of *Spain*, impatient of the disappointments he has met with, can no longer disguise that enmity to us, which for some time he has only waited for a favourable opportunity to declare. He has now ordered his Minister residing here to depart immediately from this Country, leaving a memorial, that is little short of a declaration of war, wherein he again demands and insists upon the restitution of *Gibraltar*. He does not himself deny the offensive Alliance, nor his engagements to support the *Osind Company*. He makes my recalling those squadrons, which his conduct has put me under a necessity of sending to the *West-Indies*, and the coast of *Spain*, the condition of any further correspondence between the two Crowns; and supposing the continuance of my fleets abroad

to be actual hostilities, threatens to repel them with force, to the utmost of his power.

" But, not content with these menaces, insults and infractions of treaties, his Catholic Majesty is now making preparations to attack and besiege *Gibraltar*; and in order to carry on that service, or to cover another design, has assembled a great body of troops in that neighbourhood. But as the present state and condition of that garrison, with the reinforcement I have ordered thither, give me little cause to apprehend, or my enemies to hope for success in that undertaking, the certain and undoubted intelligence I have, that it is now resolved to attempt an invasion upon these Kingdoms in favour of the Pretender, by an embarkation from the coasts of *Spain*, gives me reason to believe, that, though the siege of *Gibraltar* may probably be undertaken, the public, avowed, and immense preparations made for that purpose are chiefly calculated to amuse the world, and to disguise the intended invasion, which I am surely informed has been for some time agreed to be the first step and beginning of the long premeditated rupture.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" These considerations must awaken in you all such a sense of our common and immediate danger, as will, I doubt not, inspire you with a zeal and cheerfulness in raising the Supplies necessary for the defence of your Country, and for making good our engagements with our Allies.

" I received too much satisfaction from the happiness of my people in their full enjoyment and future prospect of peace, ease, and prosperity, not to be sensibly affected with these new convulsions, and the unavoidable necessity I am under of asking larger Supplies of my people, and of desiring to be enabled to make such an augmentation of my forces by sea and land, as the present exigency of my affairs requires.

" I will order the proper estimates to be laid before you, and such treaties as I have made with foreign Princes for the hire of foreign troops: And as the expence, I was last year in a particular manner intrusted to make, has amounted to no inconsiderable sum, and the public utility may again require the like services to be performed, I hope you will again repose the same trust and confidence in me.

" It is with great pleasure that I see the time so near approaching, when such a considerable addition will be made to the sinking fund. Let all, that wish well to the peace and quiet of my Government, have the satisfaction to see, that our present necessities shall make no interruption in the progress of that desirable work of gradually discharging the national debt. I hope therefore you will make a provision for the immediate application of the produce of the sinking fund to the uses for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have had no thoughts of making any ac-
quittions

1726-27. " quilibet to any part of my Dominions. My whole care and concern has been to preserve and maintain the undoubted rights and privileges of my people; and therefore all my measures have been preventive and defensive. But, such endeavours being now rendered impracticable, vigorous resolutions, and a speedy execution of them, can alone put an effectual end to the dangers that surround us. However hazardous and desperate the enterprizes formed against us may appear to be, your being assured that they are resolved upon, will, I am persuaded, be sufficient to prevail upon you, to put yourselves in a condition to resist and defeat them.

" If preserving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the possessions of the Crown of Great-Britain, of infinite advantage and security to our trade and commerce; if supporting that trade and commerce against dangerous and unlawful incroachments; and if the present Establishment, the Religion, Liberties, and Properties of a Protestant people, are any longer considerations worthy of the care and attention of a British Parliament, I need say no more to incite my loyal and faithful Houses of Parliament to exert themselves in the defence of all that is dear and valuable to them."

The zeal and indignation raised by this speech was so great, that, in the addresses of thanks, words were wanted to express the deep resentment at the insults offered the King, at the invasions of the most valuable branches of trade, at the designs formed against the Nation, and to applaud the wise measures taken by the King, to prevent the destructive designs against the liberties of Europe. However, when the address was moved for in the House of Commons, it was opposed by Mr. Pulteney and others. They urged, 'That the matter of peace and war is of the greatest weight that can fall under their consideration: That, as his Majesty's speech contained many points of the highest moment and importance, so no doubt his Majesty, in his great wisdom and goodness towards his people, expected, on this occasion, not only the support, but likewise the advice of that House: That, in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on those several heads, which could not be done, before several papers were communicated to them, that seemed absolutely necessary to state some facts relating to those weighty matters: That the motion, as it was drawn up, implied an approbation of measures taken to prevent dangers; which seemed preposterous, before they knew either what those measures were, or whether those dangers were real: That therefore they ought, for the present, to content themselves with returning his

Majesty the most humble thanks of the House, 1726-27. for his most gracious speech, with assurances of supporting his Majesty in all just and necessary measures; and appoint a day for taking the speech into consideration.' To this it was answered in general, 'That delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the present situation of affairs, which required vigorous and speedy resolutions, both for the encouragement of our Friends, and the perfecting some Alliances, that were already in great forwardness, and for the discouragement of our Enemies, who had already blocked up Gibraltar, and threatened it with a siege: That the measures, that had been taken, were but a consequence of the last year's resolution, which the House had come to, after a full examination and mature consideration of the state of affairs, then laid before both Houses by his Majesty: But that, however, such an address, as was proposed, did not preclude a further inquiry into those matters.' As the promise of restoring Gibraltar was mentioned in some of the speeches, Sir Robert Walpole said, 'That, such a promise not having been made, while he had the honour to be in the Administration, he could say nothing to it: That, if such a promise was ever made, he durst aver, that it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the King of Spain's refusing to comply with the conditions on which it was made; and that, whenever the performance of that promise was mentioned to him, as insisted on by the King of Spain, he always delivered it as his fixed and positive opinion, That Gibraltar could not be given up without the consent of Parliament.' After the debate, the address was carried by 251 against 81.

The Commons, pursuant to the King's desire in his speech, applied themselves to the affair of the Supplies. It was unanimously resolved to grant 20,000 seamen, and to augment the land-forces to 26,383 men. To delay the expence of the fleet and army, Sir Robert Walpole proposed a tax of four shillings in the pound on land. This was opposed by some Members, who alledged, That it was more eligible to apply the produce of the sinking fund towards the present occasions; but the land-tax was voted (1).

The warmest debate this Session was in the House of Lords, on the 24th of January, all the Peers in London having been summoned to attend: In a Grand Committee, of which the Lord de la War was Chairman, the Clerk was directed to read the titles of the papers that had been laid before the House, consisting chiefly of letters and memorials between the Ministers of Great-Britain, France, and Spain, and the act of accession of the States to the Hanover treaty. This done, the debate was opened by the Lord Batburs, whose speech, and the Lord Townshend's answer, were as follow: The Lord Batburs began

(1) The whole Supply of this last year of King George was as follows:

	l.	s.	d.		l.	s.	d.
Jan. 24. For 20,000 seamen	1,040,000	0	0	— 14. For half-pay Officers	60,000	0	0
— 26. For 26,383 land-men	885,494	9	4	— For Chelsea Hospital out-pensioners	4,847	2	0
— For garrisons in the Plantations, Minorca, Gibraltar, &c.	157,637	6	5	— For arrears to the Landg. of Hesse	50,000	0	0
— For ext. expences not provided for	30,750	19	5	— For 12,000 Hessians	170,000	0	0
Feb. 2. For the Office of Land-Ord.	100,000	0	0	— For deficiency of funds	160,306	17	5
— For the Ordinary of the Navy	199,071	7	8	March 21. For making good the deficiency of the general fund	54,196	7	9
No. 102. Vol. IV.							
					2,998,104	11	0

1726-27. gan with taking notice, ' With what caution and circumspection the *States-General* had acted in this whole affair. That they had not fully acceded to the treaty of *Hanover*, since they had formally and expressly excused and discharged themselves from the general guarantee of the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Oliva*, in which, they said, they were never engaged. And, as to the business of *Thorn*, they had only promised to employ their friendly offices for obtaining a reasonable satisfaction. So that they acceded only upon account of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Munster*, for preserving and maintaining their right and respect to commerce; whereas, by the treaty of *Hanover*, *Great-Britain* and *France* stood engaged to guarantee to the *Dutch*, not only the 5th and 6th articles of the peace of *Westphalia*, but likewise the barrier treaty, and the treaty of *Oliva*, in favour of the Protestants of *Germany*. And thus, in short, the *Dutch* having engaged themselves to nothing, what they had done, did not deserve the name of accession, the rather because they had made it an express condition, that their act of accession should be approved and ratified by the King of *Great-Britain*, the most Christian King, and the King of *Prussia*. But, though this last Potentate was one of the principal contractors in the treaty of *Hanover*, yet, no mention being now made of him, he could not tell what to make of it. That it seems his Minister had refused signing the act of accession, probably upon account of the *Dutch* excusing themselves from the general guaranty. But, let his reasons for receding from his engagements be what they would, his example might be of dangerous consequence; for by a letter from the Duke de *Bourbonville*, the Spanish Minister at *Vienna*, it appeared, that they were not without hopes at the Imperial Court, that *France* might thereby think herself disengaged from the *Hanover* Alliance; in which event *Great-Britain* alone must bear the burden of an expensive war with two of the greatest Potentates in *Europe*. That, the *Dutch* receiving far greater advantages than *Great-Britain*, from the *East-India* trade, and consequently being more concerned than we in the suppression of the *Ostend* Company, they ought, at least, to bear an equal share with us in the expences of this war, and guarantee to us the possession of *Gibraltar*, in the same manner, as *Great Britain* guarantees to them their barrier. That, after all, he did not see any just reason for a rupture with *Spain*. That indeed the Duke de *Ripperda* might have dropped some indecent and indelicate expressions; but he was known to be a hot-headed man; and Princes have a right to disavow the indiscretions of their Ministers, which the King of *Spain* had done in a most solemn manner, with relation to *Ripperda*. That it was well known, that violent Ministers do many unaccountable things. And, if their idle talk and foolish expressions were a just foundation for war, Nations would ever be at daggers drawing. That, for some time past, the Emperor had been treated here very cavalierly by some persons; and that, in the memorial the Marquis de *Pozzobuono* left behind him, at his departure, it was suggested, That the violent state, in which affairs are now reduced, is owing to the Ministers of *England*. That, in the same memorial, mention is made of a positive promise made by the King of *Great-Britain* for the restitution of *Gi-*

braltar; which could not be supposed to be said without any foundation; and therefore it would be agreeable to inquire, whether, in reality, such a promise was ever made; and whether any thing like it was mentioned in the treaty concluded at *Madrid*? That, let that matter stand how it would, and possible methods of an amicable accommodation ought, in his opinion, to be tried before they engaged in a war, which, in our present circumstances, might be attended with very dangerous consequences. That the Nation is loaded with a debt of above fifty millions. But, though they are told of a sinking fund applied to the gradual discharge of that heavy burden, yet it was more to be wished than expected, that the operation of that wise contrivance should suffer no interruption by the exigencies inseparable from a war. That one of our best Mathematicians has computed, that, in ever so good a rate above five millions in a year, it will inevitably be exhausted and runed in a few years. Now if, at this juncture, we should enter upon a war, and not meddle with the sinking fund, according to the scheme of those in the Administration, they must be obliged to raise, at least, seven millions a year upon the people of *England*; the consequence of which was obvious and glaring to any one, who admitted the principle of that great Mathematician. That, in some of the papers laid before the House, mention was made of great sums of money distributed in divers places, to bring some measures to bear. That, for his own part, he had touched neither Spanish nor English gold. He was neither a Spaniard, nor a Frenchman, but a true Englishman, and, as long as he had the honour to sit in that House, he would speak and act for the good of his Country. That therefore he would sum up all he had said, with earnestly desiring their Lordships seriously to consider the matter before them, which was of the last consequence and importance to the whole Nation. What (said he) can we get by a war, if it be a successful one? I will say it in one word, nothing. What can we lose, if it be unprosperous? I will say it in one word, in a syllable, all."

This speech was answered by the Lord Townshend, who said, ' That the treaty of *Hanover*, being purely defensive, had made no alteration in the treaties subsisting before, either between the contracting Powers, or other Princes and States. That the true aim and intention of this Alliance was a reciprocal guaranty for the protecting and maintaining the Dominions and Countries, both in and out of *Europe*, whereof each of the Allies was actually possessed at the time of the signing this Alliance. So that, by acceding thereto, the Crowns of *Great-Britain* and *France* became guarantees of the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Munster*, by which the *Dutch* are intitled to exclusive rights and privileges of trade in the *East-Indies*. But that this guaranty was reciprocal between *Great-Britain* and the *States-General*, since, by the treaty of 1667, *Spain* had granted to *England* the same rights and privileges, which the *Dutch* enjoyed by the 5th and 6th articles of the treaty of *Westphalia*. That therefore the suppressing of the *Ostend* Company, which manifestly invaded those exclusive rights and privileges, was become a common cause between us and the *Dutch*. That our concern therein is almost equal to theirs; since our *East-India* trade brings about 300,000*l.* a year

1726-27. a year into the Customs; which being part of the general mortgage, if so considerable a branch of trade should be lost, that yearly sum would be taken from the sinking fund. That by former treaties *Great-Britain* was guarantee to the *Dutch* for their barrier in the *Netherlands*, as reciprocally, by the same treaties, they were guarantees to *Great-Britain* for the Protestant Succession. So that, in those respects, we stood no more engaged to them, than they to us. That, indeed, by their act of accession to the *Hanover Alliance*, the *States-General* exempt themselves from the general guaranty of the treaties of *Westphalia*, and *Oliva*, to which they never stood engaged; but, nevertheless, by the same act, they engage themselves to employ, jointly with *Great-Britain*, and *France*, their friendly offices for obtaining a reasonable satisfaction and reparation as to the infractions, which might have been made in the treaty of *Oliva*; which is as much as the contracting powers have engaged themselves to by the first secret article of the treaty of *Hanover*, and is indeed as little, as the Protestant Potentates could do, in commiseration of the severities lately exercised against the Protestants of *Thorn*. That as to the idle talk and indecent expressions of *Duke de Ripperda*, they were not alledged as a just foundation for a rupture with *Spain*, but only as pregnant and corroborating indications of an offensive Alliance between that Prince and the Emperor, of which there were such convincing proofs, as left no room to doubt it. That, as to the secret article of that Alliance in favour of the Pretender, his Majesty had received from several parts such positive and concurring informations, that, if the safety of the State permitted to lay those advices before the House, they would no more question the certainty of such an article, than it they had been present at the signing of it. But he hoped that illustrious Assembly would not think any of his Majesty's servants, who had the honour to sit among them, so audacious, as to tell them downright untruths, or to presume to impose upon their Lordships, by alledging facts of so great importance, without sufficient vouchers. That, as to the other articles of the secret offensive alliance, relating to the supporting of the *Offend Company*, and the restitution of *Gibraltar*, the King of *Spain* and his Ministers were so far from denying them, that, on the contrary, they did not scruple publicly to avow and justify them. That therefore his Majesty could not, in prudence, but take early and proper measures to oppose an Alliance, so directly levelled against his Crown and Dignity, and invasive of most valuable rights and privileges acquired to his subjects by the most solemn treaties. That, at the same time, notwithstanding these high provocations, his Majesty shewed his inclination and dis-

position to an amicable accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, that if the Emperor would remove the *Offend Company* to *Trieste*, or any other place in his Dominions, which did not heretofore belong to the *Spanish* Monarchy, *Great-Britain* would quietly acquiesce. But instead of accepting this proposal, those two Courts not only seemed resolved to support the *Offend* trade, but *Spain*, in the memorial lately presented by the *Marquis de Pozzobuono* insisted on the speedy restitution of *Gibraltar*, by virtue of a pretended positive promise, that exists no where; which put his Majesty and the whole Nation under the necessity of a vigorous self-defence.

After these and several other speeches, particularly by the Lord *Bingley*, who was answered by the Lord *Carteret*, it was resolved (by 98 against 25) 'That it fully appears to this Committee, upon consideration of his Majesty's speech, and the letters and memorials laid before the House, by his Majesty's order, That the measures his Majesty had thought fit to take, were honourable, just, and necessary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements, entered into in favour of the Pretender; for preserving the Dominions belonging to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, by solemn treaties, and, particularly, those of *Gibraltar*, and the Island of *Minorca*; and for maintaining to his people their most valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe.'

Against this resolution, a protest was entered by seventeen Lords; and the Lord *Lechmere* moved for an address to the King, 'to make new and pressing instances with his *Prussian* Majesty, and his other Allies, in such manner as the present critical and dangerous juncture requires.' But this motion was rejected, which occasioned another protest.

Mean time the Commons addressed the King, *Proceeds* for the accession of the *States* to the treaty of *King of the* *Hanover*, and for copies of the memorials, let. *Commons*. ters, answers between the *British* Ministers and the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. Some pushed matters farther, and moved for a copy of the memorial presented by Mr. *Pointz* to the King of *Sweden*, the 4th of *June* 1726, and also for the secret offensive article between the Emperor and the King of *Spain*; but both these motions were rejected. As the Court of *Spain* had persisted in the restitution of *Gibraltar*, pursuant to a promise made to that purpose, it was moved for an address for the declaration, letters, or engagements, which, in the *Marquis de Pozzobuono's* letter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, of the 21st of *December* last, is asserted to be a positive promise (1). This motion was supported

(1) The paragraph in the letter relating to *Gibraltar* was as follows:

'But as to what was then declared to Mr. *Stanhope* by word of mouth, and in writing, that the good correspondence and friendship with *England* depended absolutely on the speedy restitution of *Gibraltar*; I cannot avoid confirming it anew to your Excellency, by order from the King my Master, as a declaration most justly founded, insinuating on that restitution, after the King of *Great-Britain*, had on this point given, as he did give, a positive promise; besides that, on the other

hand, the Cession, which his Majesty made precedently of that place, is become null, because of the infractum made in the conditions on which it was permitted that the *English* garrison should remain in possession of *Gibraltar*; seeing that, contrary to all the protestations made, they have not only extended their fortification, by exceeding the limits prescribed and stipulated, but what is more, contrary to the express and literal tenor of the treaties, they receive and admit the *Turks* and *Moor*s, in the same manner as the *Spaniards*, and other Nations confounded and mixed, contrary to our Holy Religion;

1726-27. ported by Mr. Pulteney, and opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, who did not disown, 'That such a promise might indeed have been made in a former Administration: But this he was sure of, that, if there was such a promise, it was upon certain conditions, which not having been performed within the limited time, it was thereby become invalid: And as for the declaration, or letter, the communication of which was insisted on, the same was altogether impracticable and unprecedented, the private letters of Princes being almost as sacred as their very persons.' After a debate, this motion was also rejected by a majority of 204 against 97. After this, the Lord Morpeth moved 'for an address for copies of all such memorials or representations to his Majesty from the Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to send the Squadron the last year into the Baltic.' This motion was opposed by Mr. Horace Walpole, who, in a long speech, justified all the steps that had been taken by Great-Britain, since his Majesty's Accession (particularly from the opening of the Congress at Cambray) to preserve the balance of power, the peace of Europe, and the tranquility of the North; and with this last view to prevent the Czarina's designs against Sweden and Denmark, in favour of the Duke of Holstein. Mr. William Pulteney answered his speech; but, the question being put upon the Lord Morpeth's motion, it passed in the negative by a majority of 196 voices against 79.

In the account how the money given for the service of the last year was disposed of, there was an article of the sum of 125,000 *l.* charged in general terms, as issued out for other engagements and expences, over and above such as were therein specified. Upon this it was resolved to address the King for an account of the disposition of that money; in answer to which the House was told, 'That the sum mentioned in the address was issued and disbursed, pursuant to the power given to his Majesty by Parliament, for necessary services and engagements, of the utmost importance to the trade and navigation of this Kingdom, and the tranquility of Europe; and which require the greatest secrecy, and therefore a particular account of the distribution of it cannot possibly be given, without a manifest prejudice to the Public.'

Mr. Pulteney, not satisfied with this answer, 1726-27. said, 'That, when the Commons, in the last Session, resolved to make good all such expences, as should be for the security of trade and navigation, and for the preservation of the peace of Europe, they did not divest themselves of their undoubted right of being acquainted with the disposition of public money: That, if they gave up so essential a right, that House would become altogether useless, to serve only blindly to approve of and register the acts and deeds of the Ministers: That he did not, in the least, doubt the disbursement of the 125,000 *l.* for necessary services: But that, if they were satisfied with such a general account, the same might in future Reigns prove a very dangerous precedent, and serve to cover embezzlements of the public treasure.' Then he moved for a further address for an account of that sum. But the question was carried against addressing, by 235 against 110; and, instead of it, it was resolved without a division, 'That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his great care and wisdom, in taking such steps, and entering into such engagements, as his Majesty thought would best conduce to the securing of the trade and navigation of this Kingdom, and to the preservation of the peace of Europe; and to assure his Majesty, that this House, placing an entire confidence in his Majesty's goodness and regard for the true interest of his people, will stand by and support his Majesty in all such further measures, as his Majesty shall find necessary and expedient for preventing a rupture for the honour and advantage of these Kingdoms.'

The King's speech was examined in other places ^{Palms',} as well as in the Parliament. The Court of ^{memorial} Vienna took great offence, and passed severe censures upon it. The imperial Resident at London was ordered to present a bold memorial to the King, and afterwards to publish it to the whole Nation, as an appeal to the People against their Sovereign. With it was published Count Zinzendorf's letter to *Palms*, which was still more injurious than the memorial (1).

The King had the satisfaction to see this me- ^{confuted in} memorial highly refuted by the Parliament. Both ^{Parlia-} Houses joined in an address, expressing their indignation

Religion; not to mention the frauds and continual contrabands which are carried on there, to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenues.'

(1) The memorial was as follows:

Most Serene and Potent King,

'As soon as the speech, made by your Majesty to the Parliament of Great-Britain now assembled, came to the knowledge of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, my most gracious Master; he was struck with the utmost astonishment, that your Majesty could suffer yourself to be prevailed upon to declare from the Royal Throne, to that most renowned Nation, in a manner hitherto unheard-of, as certain and undoubted facts, several things, some of which are strained in that speech to a wrong sense, some are intirely distant from the intentions of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty; and lastly (which affect much more sensibly than all the rest) some things absolutely void of all foundation.

For as to what regards the peace, concluded at Vienna, with the most serene King of Spain, who can for-

bear being astonished, that this very peace, which is built on the Quadruple Alliance, signed at London, and other treaties contracted with your Majesty, as its solid and sole foundation; and, for the obtaining of which peace, your Majesty, together with your Allies, waged so bloody, so long, and so glorious a war, and took yourself so much pains to procure, should now be alleged by your Majesty as a just ground of complaint, and should be made use of as a pretence for these things, which hitherto your Ministers have been doing in all parts, to the great detriment of the Emperor and the Empire, and the public tranquility, and should be represented by your Majesty to the British Nation, with so much animosity against the Emperor and King of Spain, as a violation of treaties.

After complaining of the peace made at Vienna, complaint is likewise made of the treaty of commerce entered into with Spain, which is calculated to promote the mutual and lawful advantages of the subjects of both parties, which is agreeable to the law of Nations, and to the customs of all people in amity with each other; which can in no respect be of any prejudice to the Bri-

1726-27. indignation at the affront offered to his Majesty, by the memorial of Mr. *Palms*, and at his insolence in dispersing the same throughout the Kingdom: Assuring, that this audacious manner of appealing to the people, and turning a memorial into a seditious libel, was a proceeding that created in them the utmost abhorrence and detestation.

‘The endeavouring (says the Address) to instil into the minds of any of your faithful subjects the least distrust or diffidence in your Majesty’s most sacred Royal word, or to make a distinction between your Majesty and your People, is an attempt as vain as presumptuous. If time has not effaced the memory of the glorious exploits, and important succours (conferred to have been received from *Great-Britain*) gratitude, affection and esteem for this Nation, will be best manifested, by doing honour to the King, whom the People honour, and justice to the People, whose rights and privileges the best of Kings is now defending, against the invasions and incroachments made upon them.’ Besides this address, the Lord *Townshend* sent a letter in the King’s name to the Emperor’s Resident, ordering him forthwith to depart the Kingdom.

About the same time Monsieur *de Chavigny*, the French Minister at the General Diet of *Ratisbon*, presented a declaration to the Diet, affirming that the preparations, which were making in *France*, were only for the preservation of peace: That the guarantee of the treaty of *Münster*, in favour of the *States*, did not in any way concern the *Germanic* body: That, far from designing to invade the territories of *Germany*, the King of *France* on the contrary would exert himself to preserve their rights and privileges: That the report, as if his Ambassador at the Port had solicited the *Turks* to come to resolutions against the peace of the Empire, was a calumny: That he would faithfully observe the treaty of *Westphalia*: And hoped for a suitable return by the like sentiments and dispositions.

The Imperial Commissioners at the Diet were highly offended at this declaration, which was not registered according to custom, and they pub-

lished a few days after an Imperial decree, full 1726-27. of invectives against the steps taken by the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France*, particularly against his *Britannic* Majesty’s speech to his Parliament. Mr. *Le Heup*, the *British* Minister at *Ratisbon*, delivered the next day to the Diet a declaration of the same import with *Chavigny*’s, which raised a great ferment among the Imperialists, who loudly complained, ‘That this second declaration was manifestly intended as a personal insult to his Imperial Majesty, since it was presented in open defiance of his decree against the first.’ But to this it was answered, in behalf of the *British* Minister, ‘That he was not to take any public notice of his Imperial Majesty’s decree; and that such decrees, in what form or stile soever, cannot divert or interrupt foreign Ministers in the exercise of their functions, directed to the States of the Empire, and not to the Emperor; nor in the execution of the orders they may, at any time, receive from their respective Masters.’ The Imperial Ministers at *Ratisbon* made also a terrible outcry against an expression in the *English* and *French* Envoys memorials, wherein they call the charge against the Kings their Masters, as if they had endeavoured to excite the *Ottoman* Port against the Emperor, by no soter a name than that of Calumny; which was so warmly refuted, that the Imperialists gave out, There could be no reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of *Great-Britain*, till satisfaction was made for that affront.

The King at this time had the satisfaction of Sweden hearing the King of *Sweden*’s Accession to the treaty of *Hanover*. This Accession was signed the 14th of *March*, at *Stockholm*. The King of *Sweden* was to furnish, when the case of the Alliance should happen, three thousand foot and two thousand horse: His guarantee was not to reach beyond the limits of *Europe*: The stipulated troops were not to be employed in *Italy* or *Spain*: His engagement was only with *Great-Britain* and *France*. The main point was the secret article, by virtue of which the two Kings, to shew their friendship to his *Swedish* Majesty, were

tish Nation, whether we regard the situation of the Countries, or the particular nature of the trade, and which is not in the least repugnant to the treaties made with *Great-Britain*. So that, if this treaty be considered with a mind free from prejudice, and from all design of inflaming the Nation, there will remain no pretence to say, that this treaty can be grievous or hurtful to a Nation for which his Imperial Majesty has the greatest affection and esteem, and whose glorious exploits and important succours no time will efface out of his memory.

The other head of complaint, which contains such things as are void of all foundation, relates principally to that imaginary Alliance, which in the speech is called offensive, and is there supposed to have been made against your Majesty, between the Emperor and King of *Spain*. But it will not only appear how groundless and frivolous this supposition is, from the offer lately made by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, of entering into a Convention, *De se mutuo non Offendendo*, but will be entirely refuted by the consideration of the tenor of the treaty of Alliance and Friendship itself made with the Crown of *Spain*, and communicated in its whole extent to your Majesty when it was proper; from the words of which, whether the least shadow or appearance of an offensive Alliance can be drawn, is submitted to the judgment of the whole world.

No. 102. VOL. IV.

Another part of the complaint relates to the secret articles made in favour of the Pretender, whereof your Majesty asserts that you have certain and undoubted informations, by which articles it should have been agreed to set the Pretender on the Throne of *Great-Britain*. With what view, on what motive, and to what purpose, these informations, founded on the falsest reports, were represented to the people of *Great-Britain*, is not only easy to be understood by his Imperial and Catholic Majesty, but is obvious to the meanest capacity. But since the inviolable dignity and honour of such great Princes cannot suffer, that assertions of this nature, intirely unsupported by truth, should be advanced from the Royal Throne to the whole Nation, and to all Mankind; his sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty has expressly commanded me, that I should declare to your Majesty, and to the whole Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, how highly he thinks himself affronted thereby, solemnly affirming, upon his Imperial word, that there exists no secret article nor convention whatsoever, which contains, or can tend to prove the least tittle of what has been alledged.

But that the secret designs, which lie concealed under a conduct till this time unheard of, may more manifestly appear, it must be observed, that the time is purposely taken for doing this, when a Negotiation is on foot at *Paris*, for composing the differences which

1726-27. were to pay at *Hamburg, Amsterdam, or London*, as *Sweden* should direct, the sum of 50,000 *l.* sterling for three years, or the value thereof, according to the *Exchange*, in half-yearly payments. In return for this mark of their friendship, the King of *Sweden* was to hold in readiness another body of 7,000 foot, and 3,000 horse, to be employed where the cases of the Alliance should render it necessary. Provided however, that, when their *Britannic* and most Christian Majesties should require the service of these 10,000 men, they should be in their pay, and liable to be recalled when *Sweden* should be in any real or imminent danger.

Treaty
with Den-
mark.

The King of *Denmark* did not accede to form to the treaty of *Hanover*, but signed an Alliance the 16th of *April*. The King of *Denmark* promised to keep on foot 24,000 men, ready to march upon the first advice of the motion of the *Muscovites*, or of any other troops that should come to attack *Sleswick*, and disturb the peace of *Lower Saxony*: The *French* King promised to pay to his *Danish* Majesty 350,000 *Rix-dollars* for four years, payable quarterly at *Hamburg*. As soon as the *Danish* army should march, the King of *France* was to take 12,000 men into his pay: His *Britannic* Majesty was to hold in readiness 12,000 men to join the 24,000 *Danes*, when they began to march, and to send a Squadron of ships to cover the *Danish* coasts upon the first advice of the motions of the *Muscovite* fleet. The *French* King was to hold in readiness at least 30,000 men to march or make diversions where it should be needful, and his *Britannic* Majesty engaged to have likewise in readiness another body of at least 12,000 men for the same purposes. If the King of *Prussia* should be attacked for refusing passage to the *Muscovites*, the contracting Kings were to join their armies in his defence. By the secret articles, the King of *Denmark* was not to dispose of any troops contrary to the interest of the two Kings. If the *French* King should desire to employ the 12,000 men in his pay, for affairs not relating to *Denmark*, but only to his own service, or that of the treaty of *Hanover*, in such cases they should be allowed for the service of his most Christian Majesty. As the *Muscovites*, in order to trouble the peace of the Empire, must penetrate through *Poland*, his *Polish* Majesty was to be acquainted with the measures taken to hinder their coming into the Empire, and invited to stop the passes the *Muscovites* would take in his territories.

Convention
with Hesse
Cassel.

A Convention had likewise been made the last year with the Prince of *Hesse*, by which he

was to hold in readiness, for the service of *Great-Britain*, eight thousand foot and four thousand horse. He was to maintain these troops at his own charge for two years. As the *Landgrave* had not so many troops on foot, and was to be at a great expence in levying what was wanted, as well as in remounting the cavalry, the King promised to pay him 75,000 *l.* sterling after the ratification of the Convention, and 50,000 *l.* in the *February* following, or before, in case the troops should be required. For the subsidies, pay, and subsistence of these forces when they should serve, they were to be settled according to the treaty made at *London* in 1722. *France* came not into this treaty, so the whole expence fell upon *England*.

As these treaties were very expensive, an opportunity was taken, when the Commons were debating, on the malt-bill, to have it moved by Mr. *Scroope*, Secretary of the Treasury, 'That a clause of appropriation should be received, empowering the King to apply such sums as should be necessary for defraying the expences and engagements as had been, or should be made before the 25th of *December* next, in concerting such measures as he should think most conducive to the security of trade and navigation, and restoring the peace of *Europe*.' Upon this arose a very long and warm debate. It was said, in support of the motion, 'That his Majesty was so unwilling to put his subjects to any extraordinary expences, that he had demanded no more Supplies this Session, than what he thought absolutely necessary for the service of the year: But, in the present posture of affairs, some unforeseen accidents might require a further expence, for which no estimate could now be made, because some treaties, his Majesty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finished. Therefore they ought to enable him to answer such contingences. That the House had several times reposed the same confidence in him, which he had never abused: And what was now asked was only for a short time.' On the other hand it was urged, 'That the asking and granting Supplies without an estimate was unparliamentary: That the clause moved for was inconsistent with that part of the bill, which forbids the issuing of the Supplies thereby granted to any other purposes than those specified, and rendered ineffectual that appropriation of the public money, which the wisdom of all Parliaments had thought a necessary security against the misapplication of it: Which was the more to be feared, because no provision was made to oblige any person

1727.

Motion for
a clause in
the malt-
tax.

have arisen without any fault of his Imperial and Catholic Majesty; which Negotiation sufficiently shews how much his Imperial and Catholic Majesty is at all times inclined to peace, and to the religious observation of his treaties.

As to what is said of *Gibraltar*, and concerning the siege thereof, under which in the speech it is insinuated, as if some other design was concealed; the hostilities notoriously committed in the *Indies*, and elsewhere, against the King of *Spain*, in violation of treaties, seem to have given a very just occasion to the King of *Spain*, for attempting that siege. But, as to the intentions and engagements of the Emperor upon that article, it is easy to see what they are, by the treaty above-mentioned, which has been communicated.

As to what is said in the last place, concerning the *Ostend* trade, which the goodness of the Catholic King

induced him to favour (being bound by no treaty) after he had been apprized of the just reasons for the establishment of it, various expedients for a composition have been proposed, not only at the *Hague*, but even lately at *Paris*, lest this harmless method of providing for the security of the barrier should prove an obstacle to the common friendship of neighbouring powers.

Which things being thus, the injury offered to truth, the honour and dignity of his sacred Imperial and Catholic Majesty require, that they should be exposed to your Majesty, to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and to the whole World. And his sacred Imperial Majesty demands that reparation which is due to him by all manner of right, for the great injuries which have been done to his Majesty, and to his Kingdom.



In the Collection of Jacob Tonson Esq. Impensis J. Waples, Cantuarii 1718





ALEXANDER POPE ESQ.

En the Possession of the Author - Lond. - Amman - and the nearest Indes



1727. person to account for any money, that shall be disposed of, by virtue of the power in this clause. That vast sums had already been granted, which appeared sufficient to answer any occasions, as far as their present views could reach; and, if any unexpected emergency should demand a further Supply, that might be provided for in the usual manner, when necessity required. That this might be done with less inconvenience, and with less danger of misapplication, than by such a delegation of almost a dictatorial authority to the Ministers. That this Parliament had already given so many instances of their zeal and affection for his Majesty, that there could be no room to doubt of their readiness to make good whatever he should expend in concerting such measures, as he should think most conducive to the advantage and interest of his people. That such an unlimited and absolute power ought never to be given in a free Government, but upon occasions of evident necessity, when the very being of the Government is in imminent danger. That the reposing a confidence in the Crown in the disposition of such immense sums of money, as by the advice of unthrifty Ministers may be expended, might be attended with great prejudice to the properties of the subjects, and great danger to our most excellent Constitution, which cannot be preserved but by a strict adherence to those essential Parliamentary forms of granting Supplies only upon estimates, and of appropriating the same to services and occasions publicly avowed and judged necessary. That the departing from these excellent methods would by degrees render Parliaments altogether useless. That the precedents alledged to justify this clause were far from being full to the point, and satisfactory; and, if they were, ought not to be followed, lest clauses of the same nature might become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the Crown, and in the Ministers, an absolute and uncontrollable power of raising money upon the people, which by our wise Constitution is, and

with safety can only be, lodged in the whole Legislature.* The debate being ended, Mr. Scrope's motion was carried by a majority of 225 against 109; and the clause was added to the malt bill; which being sent up to the Lords, occasioned the like debate there as in the House of Commons, but was at last carried by a majority of 76 against 20 (1).

Two days after it was moved by Sir William *Motion for raising part of the Supply in the coal-tax.* Longe, 'That, towards the Supply granted to the King, the sum of 370,000*l.* should be raised by loans on *Exchequer* bills, to be charged on the surplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reserved for the disposition of the Parliament.' This motion was strenuously opposed; and particularly by Mr. Pakeney and Sir Joseph Jekyll. They objected, 'That, by several votes and acts of Parliament, all the exceedings or surpluses of public funds were to be applied towards the lessening of the public debts, or to the increase of the sinking fund. That this disposition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extremely low, since the taking off any part of the mortgage, could not but lessen the security of the debt. That it was somewhat strange, such a motion should be made by those very persons, who had the honour of being in the Administration, who could not have forgot, what his Majesty had so strongly recommended from the Throne at the opening of this Session, *That the produce of the sinking fund might be immediately applied to the uses, for which it was so wisely contrived, and to which it now stands appropriated.* And that this motion was still the more surprising, after the large vote of credit, the House had so lately come to.' To all this it was answered, that the surpluses in coals could not be deemed a part of the sinking fund, since they had never been appropriated, but were reserved for the disposition of Parliament. Upon which the motion was carried by a majority of 209 against 82 (2).

On

(1) It may here be observed, that these *Clauses of appropriation* have been by some late Writers confounded with votes of credit, which are of very different nature. *Votes of credit* were frequent in King William's first war, and when, at the beginning of a Session, money was wanting, for providing for the services of the next year, before the Supplies were granted, or any money-bills could pass, the Commons came to *votes* that gave the Crown a power to borrow money to a certain sum, and at a certain rate, to be repaid out of the first Supplies to be granted that Session: These were properly *votes of credit*, upon which money was advanced before the Supplies were granted or raised by act of Parliament.

But a clause of appropriation is not a power given to borrow or raise money by a *vote* of the House of Commons, but a power given, by authority of the Legislature, and by act of Parliament, to apply or dispose of some part of the Supplies (raised by law) to particular uses or services, not specified in the estimates or resolutions of Supplies, at the discretion of the Crown, upon future emergencies, or such services, as, by the nature of them, cannot properly, or without danger of rendering them ineffectual, be explained or laid before a House of Commons.

There are many instances of this method of granting money; particularly in the year 1706, a latitude is given in the clause of appropriation of the Supplies of that year, 'to pay sums due upon treaties made or to be made, and other charges of the war, for any

time before or till the 25th of December 1706, which method was continued several years successively.'

This is a method, no doubt, that ought not to be wantonly or frequently practised. The grounds and foundation, upon which such a confidence should be allowed, ought to arise from a supposition, that services may occur that are unforeseen, and therefore could not be provided for; that opportunities may offer which may be unexpected and sudden, but very essential and decisive; that there are services, which, by the nature of them, must be kept secret, because, by being divulged, they would be disappointed; and that there are services which equally require the greatest secrecy, from the circumstances and situation of the persons with whom you transact, and this secrecy must equally extend to future times, as well as preceding times. There are, for instance, Princes, whose situation will not permit them to enter at once into offensive engagements, till a safe opportunity shall present, who will, in the mean time, be induced to accept private subsidies and supplies, to put themselves in a condition to declare, when called upon.

(2) As the affair of the coal-tax has been misunderstood and misrepresented, it may not be improper to put it in a clear light. In order to this it must be observed, that the *sinking fund* consists of the surpluses of the aggregate fund, the South Sea fund, and the general fund, and of these only*. In the act of 1 Geo. I. which establishes the aggregate fund, it is enacted, 'That all other public monies which after Michaelmas, 1715, shall

* See p.

535-536.

shall

1727. On the 15th of May, the King put an end to the Session, with this his last speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I Acquainted you, at the opening of this Session, with the dangers which threatened this Kingdom, and the peace and liberties of Europe. I am now to return you my thanks for the zeal and dispatch, with which you have proceeded upon the several points I then recommended to your care; for the confidence you have reposed in me; and for the assurance you have given me of your support and assistance, in vindication of my honour, and in the maintenance and defence of the undoubted rights and privileges of this Nation, so openly and notoriously invaded and attacked.

"The siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all dispute, the end and design of the engagements entered into by the Emperor and the King of Spain; but the preparations I had made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of my troops, will, I doubt not, convince them of the rashness and folly of that undertaking. However, the love of peace has hitherto prevailed upon me, even under this high provocation, to suspend, in some measure, my resentments; and, instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding of my Allies that assistance, which they are engaged and ready to give me, I have concurred with the most Christian King and the States-General, in making such overtures of accommodation, as must convince all the world of the uprightness of our intentions, and of our sincere disposition to peace, and demonstrate to whole ambition and thirst

1727. "of power the calamities of a war are to be imputed, if these just and reasonable propositions are rejected. In the mean time, I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Crown of Sweden has acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and that the Convention between Me, his most Christian Majesty, and the King of Denmark, is actually signed.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The vigour and cheerfulness you have shewn in raising so effectually, and upon such easy terms, the necessary Supplies for the service of the current year, are not only instances of your zeal and affection to me, but demonstrate the established credit, power, and strength of this Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It would have been a great satisfaction to me, if, before your separation, I had been able to speak to you more positively, and with greater certainty, upon the present posture and state of affairs. But, as you have now dispatched the public business, and as the season of the year requires your going into your respective Countries, I chuse rather to put an end to this Session, than to keep you any longer together unnecessarily. The provisions you have made, and the perfect union and harmony between Me and my Allies, will, I hope, enable me, by the Divine Assistance, either to withstand and defeat the designs of our enemies, if their conduct shall bring upon us the necessity of a war; or to improve the blessings of peace, if peace can, with justice, honour, and security, be obtained."

By

shall come into the Exchequer, not being appropriated or appointed to any use by any act of Parliament made, or to be made, shall be set apart and applied to, and for the uses by the present act declared, as likewise the overplus monies of the yearly sum of 700,000 *l.* per ann. established for the King's Civil List. By virtue of these clauses, the surplus of the Civil List revenues, and all public monies remaining in the Exchequer, not appropriated by any act made or to be made, were part of the aggregate fund; but, as they were left to be appropriated by any acts to be made, as well as made, and any surplus, at that time arising from the aggregate fund, was made disposable for the public use by Parliament, it is evident that any public debts and revenues which were not in themselves part of any of the three capital funds, the surpluses whereof constitute the sinking fund, as they might be carried to the sinking fund, as long as they remained unappropriated, so they might be disposed of to any other use or service by authority of Parliament. Now it will appear, upon examination, that the coal-duty made no part of the sinking fund. By the 9th of Queen Anne, the coal-duty was granted from Sept. 28, 1716, to Sept. 28, 1724, and made a fund for building fifty new Churches, &c. By 1 George I, the duty is continued for another year, to provide for the Ministers of the fifty new Churches. By 5 George I, the duty is farther continued, and a fund of 21,000 *l.* is granted for thirty-two years, for raising 360,000 *l.* for building Churches, &c. with an interest of 4 *l.* per cent; and another fund of 30,559 *l.* was created, for raising 500,000 *l.* by a lottery; and the further sum of 21,325 *l.* was applied, for completing the Supplies granted that Session. It is there enacted, "That all the surplus

money of the coal duty, which should, at the end of any quarter, remain, during the said thirty-two years, after the aforesaid sum should be discharged, should be reserved for the disposition of Parliament, and should not be disposed of to any use, but by authority of Parliament, and according to such future acts, as should be passed for that purpose." This then was the state of the coal-duty in the year 1719: It was charged with two funds of 21,000 *l.* per annum, and 30,559 *l.* 14 *s.* per annum, when the produce of it was estimated at 70,000 *l.* per annum, which made a provision for the disposing the surplus necessary. This transaction was in 1719: The sinking fund was established in 1716; but if it had been the sense of the Parliament, that the coal duty, or any surplus of it, had belonged to the sinking fund, the provision for the disposition of the surplus had been unnecessary, or the direction, that is given by the act of Parliament, had been an invasion of the sinking fund; but we see in 1719 (in the infancy of the sinking fund, when it wanted assistance) 521,325 *l.* taken out of the coal-duty for the service of the year, and the surplus reserved for the future disposition of Parliament, which is an express exception of this surplus out of the sinking fund, because, by the act establishing the aggregate fund, this surplus might have been carried to that fund, and consequently into the sinking fund, which it is plain this restriction was purposely inserted to prevent, and to leave it to the discretion of future Parliaments, to make such use of this surplus, as they should from time to time think most conducive to the public good. Thus Mr. Pulteney and Sir Joseph Jekyll's objections, founded on the coal-duty's being part of the sinking fund, and those of others since, are entirely groundless.

1727.

1727.

Gibraltar
besieged.

By this speech it appears that, notwithstanding the preparations for war, as well by the Allies of *Hanover*, as by those of *Vienna*, overtures of accommodation had been made. All had declared, that the preservation of the tranquillity of *Europe* was the end of their armaments. This the Court of *Spain* did, at the same time that the siege of *Gibraltar* was ordered. The *Conde de las Torres*, Captain-General of the King of *Spain's* forces in *Andalusia*, opened the trenches before *Gibraltar* the 11th of *February*. He had an army of about twenty thousand men, and was well provided with artillery of all sorts, with ammunition, and warlike stores, proportioned to the strength of the place, and the bravery of the garrison, which the *Spaniards* expected would lengthen the siege. Colonel *Clayton*, Lieutenant-Governor of the place, had troops and necessaries sufficient for defence, till Supplies could come from *England*, for which due preparations had been made. Upon the repeated advices, that the *Spaniards* were preparing for the siege of *Gibraltar*, six men of war, the *Kent*, *Lenox*, *Berwick*, *Royal Oak*, *Portland*, and *Tyger*, were fitted out with all expedition. With these ships, and three regiments, *Newton's*, *Disney's*, and *Anstruther's*, Sir *Charles Wager* sailed in *January*. When the siege was begun, Colonel *Stanhope*, the *British* Ambassador in *Spain*, having received the passports, he had demanded of King *Philip*, set out from *Madrid* for *Bayonne*, in his way to *England*, having given the *British* Merchants in that Kingdom such timely notice to take necessary precautions for securing their effects, that, when orders came to the *Spanish* Governors to seize them, these Merchants suffered no considerable loss by that seizure. In the beginning of *March*, Colonel *Hayes's* and Colonel *Middleton's* regiment of foot were put on board the transports at *Portsmouth*, and sailed for *Gibraltar*, under convoy of the *Torbay*, Captain *Haddock*, and the *Poole* fireship. Colonel *Clayton's* regiment was about the same time ordered to embark in the river of *Thames*, and a draught of ten companies out of the first regiment of foot-guards was made by lot (1).

The Earl of *Portmore*, Governor of *Gibraltar*, notwithstanding his advanced age, having been a Colonel near forty years, resolved to repair to

his Government, and embarked at *Portsmouth*, on board the *Prince Frederick*, appointed with the *Falmouth* (two seventy gun-ships) to convoy the transports, on which the detachment of the guards and *Clayton's* regiment were embarked. All these forces arrived at *Gibraltar* the beginning of *April*, as did likewise five hundred men from *Minorca*, who with the garrison formed a body of six thousand men, the greatest part of whom incamped on the South point without the town, while the rest did duty within, and were relieved from the camp. The besiegers threw a great quantity of bombs into the place, which did the less damage, as most of the houses were empty by the desertion of the old inhabitants. The garrison had store of salt provisions from *England* and *Ireland*, and of fresh from *Barbary*; for which purpose a frigate was ordered to be continually going to and from *Tetuan* and *Tangier*. Sir *Charles Wager*, having caused the ammunition and warlike stores, with twenty-four pieces of cannon, to be put on shore, sailed from *Gibraltar* to cruise with the *Torbay*, *Sterling-Castle*, *Burford*, *Kent*, *Royal Oak*, *Canterbury*, *York*, and *Poole* fireship, leaving there the *Tyger*, *Winchester*, *Lyme*, *Solebay* bombship, *Thunder* bombship, *Cruizer* and *Harok* sloops; which were joined by the *Portland* and *Durley* galley; the *Colchester* and *Swallow* being ordered to *Port-Mahon* to be cleaned. In this disposition of defence the siege of *Gibraltar* gave little pain to the *English*, either at home or abroad; while the *Spaniards*, in the prosecution of it, for four months lost above half their army by slaughter, sickness, and desertion.

About the same time the Court of *Vienna* having shewn a disposition to begin the war in the *Netherlands*, by attacking the *Dutch* barrier, the King ordered an augmentation of thirty companies of foot, and that the ten thousand auxiliaries, which *England* was obliged by treaty to send to the assistance of the *States*, should hold themselves in readiness for embarkation (2).

As the King of *Sweden* had acceded to the treaty of *Hanover*, Sir *John Norris* was sent with a considerable fleet to the *Baltick*, to support him in this new Alliance, so disagreeable to the Courts of *Vienna* and *Russia*. The *English* being joined by a *Danish* squadron, the *Russian* Court thought fit to put a stop to the equip-

(1) The lots fell on those of

Colonel *Price*,
Colonel *Hastings*,
Colonel *Pearson*,
Colonel *Meyrick*,
Colonel *Duncombe*,
Colonel *Huswood*,
Colonel *Treby*,
Colonel *Brown*,
Colonel *Oughton*,
Colonel *Williamson*.

The whole detachment to be under the command of Colonel *Gust*, Major in the said regiment. Of these, Colonel *Treby* resigned his commission, and was succeeded by Colonel *Onslow*; Captain *Stan-*

hope, of the said regiment, also laid down his commission, and was succeeded in it by Mr. *Parker*.

(2) Of this number were Colonel *Campbell's*, Major-General *Gore's*, Brigadier *Churchill's*, and Major-General *Honeywood's* Dragoons; and two Battalions of guards commanded by Colonel *Robinson*, and Colonel *Robinson's*, Colonel *Kirke's*, Colonel *Harrison's*, Earl of *Deloraine's*, Sir *James Wood's*, Lord *Tyrawley's*, Colonel *Pocock's*, Colonel *Murray's*, and Colonel *Grouse's* regiment of foot. This body of forces were to be commanded by the Earl of *Orkney*, Commander in chief, the Duke of *Argyle*, General of the foot, the Lord *Cobham* and the Earl of *Stair*, Lieutenants-General. The Earl of *Deloraine* and *Philip Honeywood*, Major-Generals; Sir *James Wood*, Colonel *Pocock*, Colonel *Kirke*, Colonel *Kerr*, and the Earl of *Scarborough*, Brigadiers-General.

1727. equipment of their fleet, which was no more talked of after the death of the *Czarina*, on the 17th of May, about the time of Sir *John Norris's* arrival in the *Baltic*.

Preliminary articles agreed on. The Court of *France*, being equally concerned with *England* to prevent a war, augmented their troops, and formed incampments for the exercise of their militia. But, as the *Hanover Alliance* was only defensive, it did not exclude *France* from a mediation, which tended to adjust all the differences of the several parties. Accordingly, his most Christian Majesty undertook that office, which was conducted by the Duke of *Richlieu*, his Ambassador at *Vienna*. The Duke, in concert with the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers, drew up a project of accommodation, which was sent to the Emperor and the King of *Spain*. This scheme consisted of eight articles, which were to serve as preliminaries for a general Congress. The Emperor did not think proper to reject it, but formed a counter-project, which he sent to the Allies of *Hanover*. The Allies, judging it not satisfactory, formed their last resolution, in which they declared, they could make no alteration. The Emperor, pressed by the Duke of *Richlieu*, accepted, at last of the scheme, consisting of the twelve following articles:

I. His Imperial and Catholic Majesty having no other view, than to contribute to the public tranquility of *Europe*, and observing, that the commerce of *Ostend* has given birth to jealousy and uneasiness, consents, that there shall be a suspension of the Charter of the *Ostend Company*, and of all Traffic between the *Austrian Netherlands* and the *Indies*, during the term of seven years.

II. All rights or possessions shall remain intire to such of the contracting powers, as enjoyed them by virtue of the treaties of *Utrecht*, *Baden*, and the *Quadruple Alliance*, or the treaties and Conventions made before the year 1725, which regard neither the Emperor nor the *States-General*. But if any change has been made with relation to the said possessions; or if, in consequence of those Conventions, somewhat has not been executed, the change that has happened, or the points, which have not been executed, shall be discussed and decided in the future Congress, according to the tenor of the Treaties and Conventions.

III. Consequently all the Privileges of commerce in *Europe*, *Spain*, and the *Indies*, grounded upon treaties, and formerly enjoyed by the *English* and *French* Nations, and by the Subjects of the *States-General*, shall be restored upon the same foot, and settled in the same manner they were, particularly by the treaties preceding the year 1725.

IV. The powers of the *North* shall be invited and desired by their respective Allies, not to have recourse to hostilities; but, on the contrary, to embrace all reasonable methods of accommodation; and that, until the opening of the Congress hereafter mentioned, wherein all the respective differences shall be discussed, the contracting powers shall not contribute to any hos-

tilities directly or indirectly, under any colour or pretence whatever, which may disturb the present state of affairs in the *North*; but, on the contrary, they shall engage to act in concert, to put an end to hostilities, if any should be commenced.

V. All hostilities whatsoever, if any should happen, shall instantly cease after the signing of the present articles; and with respect to *Spain*, eight day after his Catholic Majesty shall have received the articles signed. The ships, which sailed from *Ostend* to the *Indies* before this Convention, the names whereof shall be given in a list on the part of his Imperial Majesty, may return freely and safely from the *Indies* to *Ostend*; and, if any of these ships be detained or taken, they shall be restored *bona fide*, with their cargoes. The galleons also shall be permitted to return to *Spain* unmolested, in firm confidence, that his Catholic Majesty will, with regard to the effects on board the galleons and the flotilla, deal in the same manner as usual in all times of liberty. In consequence of this, the *English* squadron commanded by Admiral *Hofier*, shall depart as soon as possible from *Porto-Bello*, and all other ports of *America* belonging to the King of *Spain*: He shall even return with his squadron into *Europe*, that the subjects of his Catholic Majesty in the *Indies* may be free from all further apprehensions and uneasiness. The commerce of the *English* in *America* shall be carried on as formerly, according to the treaties. Moreover, the *English*, *French*, and *Dutch* squadrons, which may appear upon the coasts of *Spain*, or on those of the States of his Imperial Majesty, at the time when this present cessation of hostilities commence, shall depart thence as soon as possible, that the Inhabitants of those coasts may henceforth be rid of all disturbance and fear. Neither shall those ships be permitted to undertake any thing directly or indirectly against the said Port.

VI. This cessation of hostilities shall continue as long as the suspension of the Charter granted to the *Ostend Company*, viz. seven years, that the jarring interests may be reconciled in that time, and peace settled on a more firm foundation.

VII. If, after the signing of these preliminaries, any troubles or hostilities should happen between the subjects of the contracting powers, whether in *Europe* or the *Indies*, under what pretence soever it may be, they shall join together to get reparation of the damage or prejudice their respective subjects have sustained.

VIII. If these articles are accepted and signed, a Congress shall be opened in four months, reckoning from the day of signing at *Aix la Chapelle*, wherein the respective rights of all the contracting powers, and those invited to it, shall be examined, discussed, and settled.

IX. The Plenipotentiaries, that shall be named, shall have in their retinue no more than two Gentlemen, two Pages, and six Footmen, that they may be sooner ready for their journey, and to avoid pomp and expence.

X. The

1727. X. The Plenipotentiaries shall insist on no ceremonial, but follow the regulations settled at the Congress of *Cambray*, to obviate all disputes relating to rank: However, each shall have liberty left to protest.

XI. The several Powers shall earnestly recommend to their respective Plenipotentiaries, to avoid any thing trifling, that may in any wise retard the Congress.

XII. The ratification of these preliminary articles shall be exchanged in the space of two months, or sooner, if possible, reckoning from the day of signing.

These articles were first signed at *Paris*, the 20th of *May*, by the Minister of the *Hanover* Alliance, and afterwards at *Vienna*, by the Ministers of the Emperor and the King of *Spain*.

Cessation of arms at Gibraltar and elsewhere. The Emperor punctually executed the first of these articles, and ratified the preliminaries within the time agreed on. Though *Aix la Chapelle* was appointed for the place of Congress, it was afterwards transferred to *Cambray* for the convenience of the Minister of *France*, whose presence was necessary at that Court. The King of *Spain* also executed in part what concerned him; he gave orders for suspending all further attacks against *Gibraltar*, and all hostilities against the *English* elsewhere. This was an honourable way of abandoning a siege, which lasted four months without success; nor had it done much execution among the *English*, for they lost in all but three hundred and seventy-three

men. The suspension of arms was signed the 23d of *June*, N. S. But, when the siege was on the point of being entirely raised, and the preliminaries to be ratified in form, *Spain* started new difficulties, and urged new pretensions. The *Spaniards* insisted, that a temporary suspension of arms did not imply an actual raising of the siege of *Gibraltar*: and that the restitution of the *Prince Frederick*, the *South-Sea* ship (taken at *la vera Cruz*, before *Spain* was in war with *England*) was not mentioned or included in the articles, whereas the *English* demanded both, by virtue of the preliminaries. Upon this hostilities began again between the ships of the two Nations, and Sir *Charles Wager* continued to cruise on the coasts of *Spain*, after the cessation of arms at *Gibraltar*. And what was very remarkable, whilst he was looking out with seven ships for the *Spanish* Galleons (which were said to be coming home) thirteen *French* men of war (six from *Brest*, and seven from *Toulon*) suddenly came and anchored before *Cadiz*, of which Squadron Admiral *Wager* had received no intelligence either from *London* or *Madrid*. As therefore he had no notice of their coming, all communication with the *French* fleet was forbid. However, after many cavils and delays, the preliminary articles were at last signed at *Madrid*, on the 24th of *February*, above eight months after the death of King *George I.*, by the Ministers of the Emperor, *England*, *France*, *Spain*, and the *States*, which opened the way to the Congress (1).

King *George* had not visited his *German* Dominions these two years, and therefore, soon after the breaking up of the Parliament, he prepared for his journey to *Hanover*, where he thought

1727.

(1) To bring down these matters to the present time, it may be observed, that means were found to detach *Spain* from the Emperor, and a treaty was concluded at *Seville*, Nov. 9, N. S. 1729, between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*. By this treaty Commissioners were to be appointed to examine at the Court of *Spain*, and decide about the captures on both sides, among which were reckoned the ships taken by the *English* fleet in 1718. That instead of neutral garrisons (as agreed to in the Quadruple Alliance) *Spanish* garrisons should be introduced into *Leghorn*, &c. for preserving the Succession of *Don Carlos*. This it was that induced the Queen of *Spain* to come into a treaty, which gave great offence to the Emperor, as it put an end to his subsidy from *Spain*, of about a million sterling a year. He thundered out complaints against it at all the Courts of *Europe*, and particularly by a commissitorial decree, directed to the Diet of *Ratisbon*. But it was to no purpose, for the treaty of *Seville*, with regard to the Emperor, and all other States, and the balance of power, varied in nothing from the Quadruple Alliance, but in substituting six thousand *Spanish* instead of so many neutral troops, for asserting the eventual Succession of the Infant of *Spain* to the Grand Duke's Dominions, to which the Emperor had agreed. However, the *British* Court offering to guarantee the *Pragmatic Sanction*, or the Emperor's settlement of his hereditary Dominions, on his eldest daughter, on his failure of issue male (which was thought necessary to preserve the balance of power) the Emperor was at last pacified. This produced the second treaty of *Vienna*, March 16, 1731, between the Emperor and *Great-Britain*, in which the *States* were included. By it the order of the Succession, settled by the Emperor,

was guaranteed by *Great-Britain* and the *States*; the commerce and navigation to the *East-Indies* were to cease in the *Netherlands*, except two ships for once from *Ostend*: A tariff or new treaty concerning trade, and the rule of imports relating to the *Austrian Netherlands*, was to be settled by Commissioners at *Antwerp*: The introduction of *Spanish* garrisons into *Leghorn*, &c. was agreed to by the Emperor. Thus the Queen of *Spain* was pacified by the variation of neutral troops, and the Emperor was contented, by guaranteeing his Succession. The conclusion of these treaties gave hopes of a lasting tranquility: But the death of the King of *Poland* soon put an end to these hopes. The Emperor, in conjunction with *Russia*, espoused the quarrel of the Elector of *Saxony*, and supported an unfair election of a King forced upon a free Nation. This being opposed by *France*, a war broke out between their Imperial and most Christian Majesties, in which *Great-Britain* and the *States* stood neuter, as they did also in the differences which arose between *Spain* and *Portugal*. But, though *Great-Britain* and the *States* were not engaged in these disputes, they were both obliged to guard against events, which had a good effect. Our naval armaments struck terror into *France* and *Spain* alternately. The *French* durst not venture to the *Baltic* to relieve *Dantzick*, whilst our navy rid in the *Downs*, nor the *Spaniards* to insult, much less attack *Portugal*, whilst our fleet lay in the *Tagus*. At last, in order to adjust all differences between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, the famous Convention was transacted by Sir *Robert Walpole*, but meeting with opposition was laid aside, and the present war with *Spain* ensued, which has brought on a war also with *France*.

1727. thought to enjoy the fruit of his labours in peace, or continue his endeavours for the good of the common cause. Having appointed the Lords Justices for the Administration of the Government, he embarked at *Greenwich*, on board the *Carolina* yacht, the 3d of *June*, attended by the Earl of *Illy* and the Lord *Townshend*. The King landed, on the 7th, at *Vaert* in *Holland*, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to *Hanover*; and, on the 9th of *June*, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at *Delden*, in all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and eat an orange, but no melon, as was reported; and, having rested well that night, set out from *Delden* about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, in order to make water, and perceiving, that one of his hands hung motionless, said, *I cannot move this hand*. Monsieur *Fabrice* rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon which he called the Surgeon (who followed on horseback) who rubbed it also with spirits. In this interval the King's mouth and eyes began to move strangely, and his tongue to swell, so that he could not speak. The Surgeon, taking it for an apopleptic fit, opened a vein, and the King recovered his speech, so as to say, *Hasten to Osnaburg*; but immediately fell into a slumber in *Fabrice's* arms. As the violent motion of the coach could not keep the King awake, *Fabrice* asked the Surgeon, What he thought of him? Who answered, he despaired of his life. *Fabrice* ordered him to take care of him, and rid post himself from the last stage to *Osnaburg*, to prepare the Duke of *Tork*, the King's Brother, for such unexpected news. The King, being arrived there about ten, was immediately carried to bed, where he continued speechless and in agonies till two o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 11th of *June*, when he expired in the 68th year of his age, and 13th of his Reign; and was interred at *Hanover*, among his Ancestors (1).

His circumstances and character.

Thus died *George* the First, who may truly be considered as more fortunate in more important circumstances of his life and affairs, than any Prince of the last or present century. This good fortune, which is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence, attended him as well before as after his Accession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. The establishment of the Electoral dignity in his Family, was a work which, though begun by his Father, was reserved for him finally to accomplish. A large accession of dominion fell to him by his succeeding to the Dukedom of *Zell*, whereby he became one of the greatest Princes of *Germany*, and by far the most powerful person that ever stood next heir to the *British* Throne. The Duchy of *Bremen* and the Bishoprick of *Osnaburg* considerably strengthened his interests in the Empire, and gave an additional weight to the Protestant cause.

But his good fortune appeared in nothing so remarkable as in the removal of those seemingly invincible obstacles to his Succession to the Crown of these Kingdoms. Queen *Anne* had high notions of Hereditary Right; and, in the latter part of her Reign, slavish doctrines in support of the indefeasibleness of that right, were avowed in numerous addresses. Preparations were made for the execution of purposes well understood, though not expressly avowed. The Ministers, and all, who had been the sure supports of the *Hanover* Succession, had been disgraced. Many favourable concessions were made to our often defeated enemies, who both by interest and inclination were the protectors and friends of the Pretender. The Administration of affairs was committed to the most daring and determined, and the Nation deluded into madness for destruction. But, amidst these apprehensions and dangers, the Queen's sudden and unexpected death gave the fortunate Elector of *Hanover* an easy and unmoilested Accession to the Throne.

King *George* did not labour under King *William's* first disadvantages. His and their Country's enemies were well known, and could with no colour of right demand confidence and power. After strong professions of submission and loyalty, many actually entered into Rebellion; and greater numbers wished it success. The murmurings and complaints, which were occasioned by the disgrace of the General and Ministry, who had raised the credit and glory of the Nation to an height before unknown, had been resented as unpardonable affronts to the Royal Prerogative: And yet, when the Successor removed those, from whom he had received many indignities, and of whose measures and designs to defeat him of his Royal dignity, he had many and undoubted proofs, this was represented as extreme partiality and injustice; and in public, and on the most solemn occasions, it was pleaded as a just provocation to Rebellion, and all punishments of the Authors of so much mischief and misery were opposed under the pretence of being acts of inhumanity and cruelty.

There are many circumstances not publicly known, which, if brought to the light, would demonstrate the King's extraordinary good fortune in defeating the Rebellion. Besides what broke out in the *North*, the associations and preparations in the *South* and the *West* were great and numerous. Caution, fearfulness, and delay prevented the execution of measures, which could hardly have failed of proving fatal to the Government. Such a multitude of enemies in so many places would have divided the troops, and have rendered the army insignificant in the defence of the whole. The march of part of the Rebels into *England*, their trifling at *Preston*, and their speedy defeat, were of unspeakable advantage, by effectually discouraging insurrections in many other places; whereas a few days march further would have

very

(1) His wife, the Princess *Sophia Dorothy*, died November 2, 1726, at the Castle of *Ablen*, in the Electorate of *Brunswick*, where she had been confined many

years. She was daughter and heiress of the Duke of *Zell*, born in 1666, and married in 1682.

1727. very much swelled their numbers, and given them a dangerous strength.

But nothing could be more fortunate to the King than the death of *Levis XIV.* of *France*. From him the Rebels would have received all sorts of Succours and Supplies. Bigotry and revenge animated the whole *French* Nation with unanimous zeal for the success of the Pretender. And even a minority, a contested regency, and the probable need which the Regent might have of our support, did not prevent all assistance. However, those circumstances proved a powerful restraint; and the situation of the neighbouring Nations was an eminent security to this reign. The utmost degree of aversion and jealousy subsisted between the Regent of *France* and the Court of *Madrid*; which was properly improved by destroying the growing naval power of *Spain*; and our surprizing and complete advantage in this affair utterly disappointed the vast designs of an able and enterprising Minister.

The Invasion and Rebellion, in 1719, are the less remembered, because not one person suffered death on that account. The *Spanish* fleet with five thousand soldiers suffered too much in a storm, as to be obliged to return home; but about four hundred of them landed in *Scotland*, where they were joined by a considerable body of *Highlanders*, but were soon defeated, by an inferior number of the King's forces.

The King of *Sweden's* death was far from being the least considerable of many favourable events; for, had that implacable Monarch lived, his designs against *Denmark* would probably have succeeded; and then he would have had full leisure and opportunity for transporting his hardy troops into *Scotland*.

But, on the other hand, how great and uncommon soever the King's good fortune was in removing all obstructions, and firmly establishing himself in the Throne, it was not without some alloy. Had his Succession taken place before the change of the Ministry, and the disgrace of the General, it would have been infinitely more happy, not only for the nation but for the lasting tranquility and liberties of *Europe*. *France* would then have been compelled to give up the *Spanish* Monarchy. By advantages in trading to the Dominions of *Spain*, in *Europe* and *America*, and by several concessions, we should have had ample means of repairing the losses sustained in a long and expensive war. The House of *Bourbon* had been reduced within their proper bounds, and ceased to have been the terror and scourge of their neighbours.

To this may be added, that King *George* came to a people, who had been corrupted both in their political and religious notions, and had been taught an aversion to our natural Allies, and to all foreign Protestants, while an esteem and affection for *France*, and a tenderness for many doctrines of popery had been infused into them with great success; and these prejudices had indisposed the Nation to submit to a Protestant Prince, while the dangers from a popish one were not attended to. The advantages likewise of a prosperous war, and many valuable branches of commerce had been given up or neglected; and the revenue

No. CIII. Vol. IV.

was loaded with a very heavy debt. The Authors of these calamities had the art and assurance to impute the consequences of them to the King and his Ministers; and their peace-making had left *Europe* in such a state, and their principles infected the Nation to such a degree, that a good body of regular troops was absolutely necessary to the safety of the Nation; and yet this was exclaimed against as enslaving it.

The moderate and sure methods of discharging the public debts which had been offered, having been neglected, the *South-Sea* scheme took place to the great misfortune and disgrace of this Reign, as well as of the Nation in general; and though men of all parties and degrees upon this occasion equally renounced common sense and honesty, yet they transferred the whole blame from themselves to the Government. But whatever mistakes or misfortunes happened, they cannot justly be imputed to the King, whose integrity and good designs were eminent and undoubted, and his resolution to govern agreeably to our laws and constitution steady and unalterable; though the best understanding, and the best disposition are not always secure from the arts of bold and ambitious men.

With regard to the management of affairs abroad, a due attention was paid to the feeble and corrupt state of our Allies; and the eager and hasty disposition of the people for war, their perpetual complaints of the wisest conduct, caviling at the most affecting successes, soon growing weary of the expence, and longing for peace on any terms, were well considered; but at the same time the dignity and honour of the Nation were maintained in our methods of composing the disorders and disturbances; which was performed with as little expence and hazard as possible; and preventive and defensive measures were the wise and safe politics, the happiness and glory of this Reign.

As King *James*, instead of giving the laws their proper course, assumed a power to dispense with them: and as Queen *Anne* was flattered into a persuasion that the regal authority was unlimited. King *George* on the contrary, desired no power but what enabled him to promote the welfare of his subjects, and was too wise to deem those his friends, who would have made their court to him by the profession of an obedience which they never practised, and which has always proved fatal to those Princes who have put it to the trial. He had given a proof of his sovereign virtues before he exercised them in this Nation. His natural inclination to justice led him to rule his *German* subjects in the same manner that our constitution directed him to govern the *English*. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind, and therefore indulged them to a people who pleaded no other claim to them than his known goodness. The consistency of his behaviour was such, that he inflexibly pursued those measures which appeared the most just and equitable. As he was most prudent in laying proper schemes, he was no less remarkable for his steadiness in accomplishing what he had once concerted. To this uniformity and firmness of mind which appeared in all his proceedings,

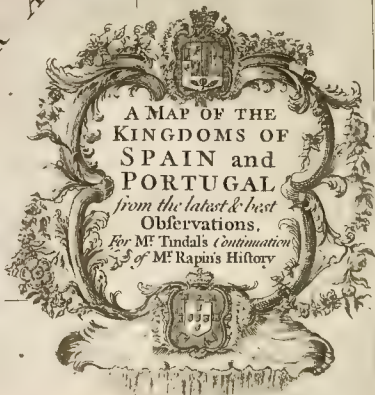
ceedings, the successes that attended him were chiefly owing. His martial virtues were no less conspicuous than his civil, though for the good of his subjects he studied to decline all occasions of military glory. He had acquired great reputation in his younger days, in *Hungary* and the *Morea*, when he fought against the *Turks*, as well as in *Germany* and *Flanders*, where he commanded against the disturber of the peace of *Europe*. And, as if personal courage was an hereditary virtue of his family, three of his brothers fell gloriously in the field, fighting a-

gainst the enemies of their country, and his son (his present Majesty King *George II.*) fought with the bravery of his father at the battle of *Audenarde*, when the sons of *France* and the Pretender fled before him.

As to his most private virtues, He was of a grave, easy, and calm temper, and generous upon all occasions; and the serenity and benignity of his mind discovered themselves in his countenance, and captivated the love and veneration of all, who approached him.

The End of the Reign of GEORGE I.





- Capital Cities.
- Large Towns.
- Archbishopsricks.
- Bishopsricks.
- Universities.
- Forts.
- Castles.
- Battles fought by the English.

R.W. Scale delin. et sculp.





A MAP OF ITALY

with its KINGDOMS, STATES &c.
from the latest & best Observations.

For Mr Tindal's Continuation of
Mr Rapin's History.

EXPLANATION.
a Capital Cities.
+ Archbishops.
† Bishops.
! Universities.
† Castles.
P. Principality.
D. Dukedom.
R. Republic.

Italian & British Miles. 60 to a Degree.
German Leagues. 15 to a Degree.

























For M^r. Tyndal's Continuation of M^r. Rapin's History





A MAP OF
NORTH AMERICA
With the European Settlements &
whatever else is remarkable in
WEST INDIES.
from the latest and
best Observations.

EXPLANATION.
European Cities &
and Towns.
Indian Towns.
Forts.
Circles.

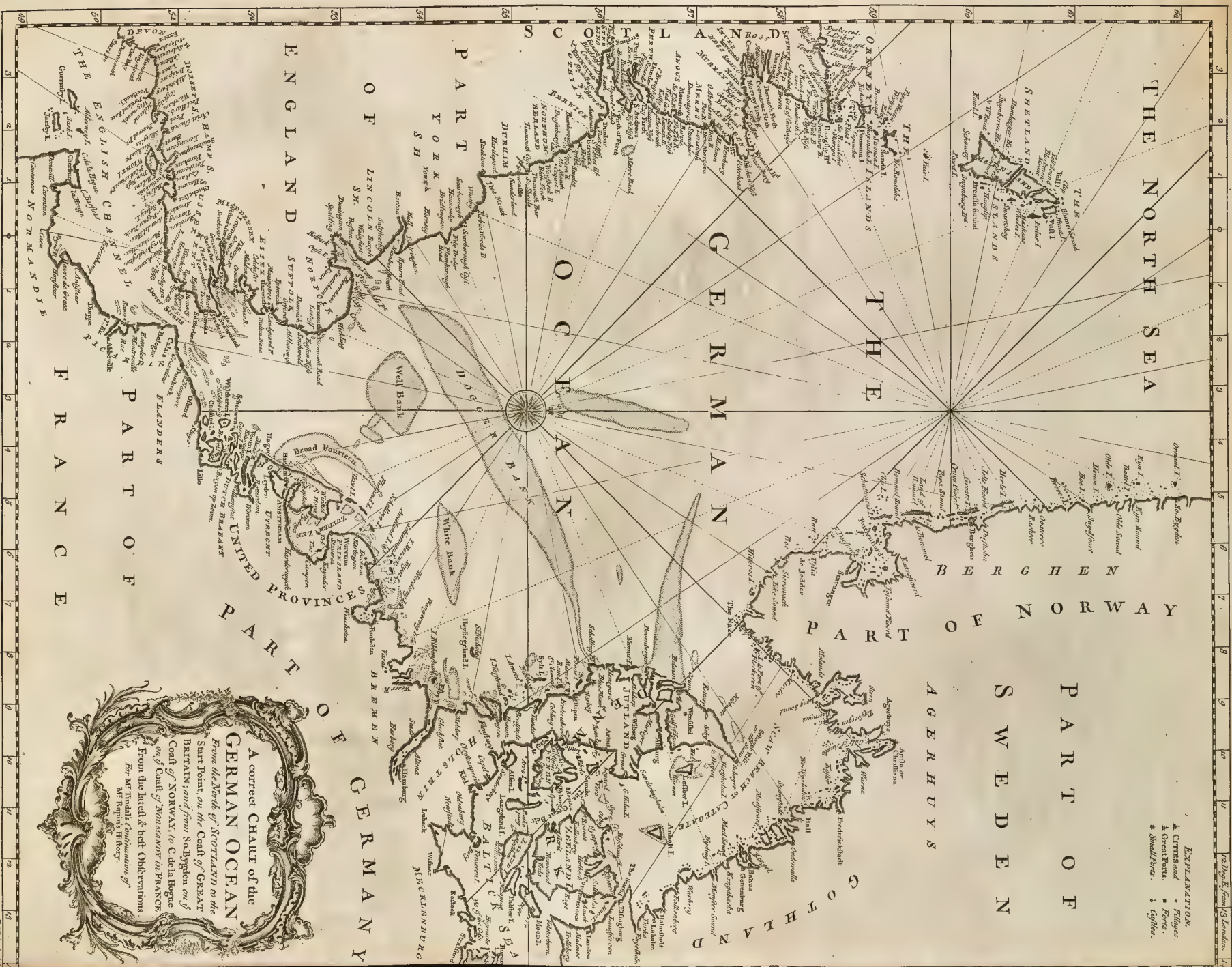




A MAP OF
SOUTH AMERICA
With all the European
Settlements & whatever
else is remarkable
from the latest & best
Observations.

EXPLANATION.
European Cities. *
and Towns. +
Indian Towns. +
Rivers & Light. +
Mountains & Hills. +







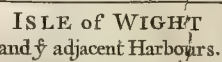
EXPLANATORY
 A. Cities and Towns
 B. Great Rivers
 C. Small Rivers
 D. Light.



A
 Correct Chart of
 St. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
 and the IRISH SEA,
 including all the Coast of IRELAND,
 and of West Coast of GREAT BRITAIN
 from Canine to Portland Head:
 From the latest & best Observations:
 For the Use of the Admiralty of the Royal Navy.



Seven Stones



A correct CHART of the
ENGLISH CHANNEL.
*From the No. Foreland to the Lands End
 on the Coast of ENGLAND, and from Calais
 to Brest on the Coast of FRANCE :*
 From the latest & best Observations.
For M^r Tindal's Continuation of M^r Rapin's History.

EXPLANATION.

<i>CITIES and</i>	<i>Villages.</i>
<i>Great Ports.</i>	<i>Forts.</i>
<i>Small Ports.</i>	<i>Castles.</i>



EXPLANATION.

- Place whose Latitude & Longitude have been determined by Observation.
- Where the Latitude alone has been taken.
- Where the Latitude has been accurately observed by able Navigators.
- Names of Capital Places are in the Roman Print Character.
- The Longitude is reckoned from London.



A correct CHART of the
MEDITERRANEAN SEA,
from the Straits of Gibraltar to the LEVANT;
From the latest and best Observations.
For M^r Tindal's Continuation of M^r Rapin's History.



T H E W E S T E R N O C E A N

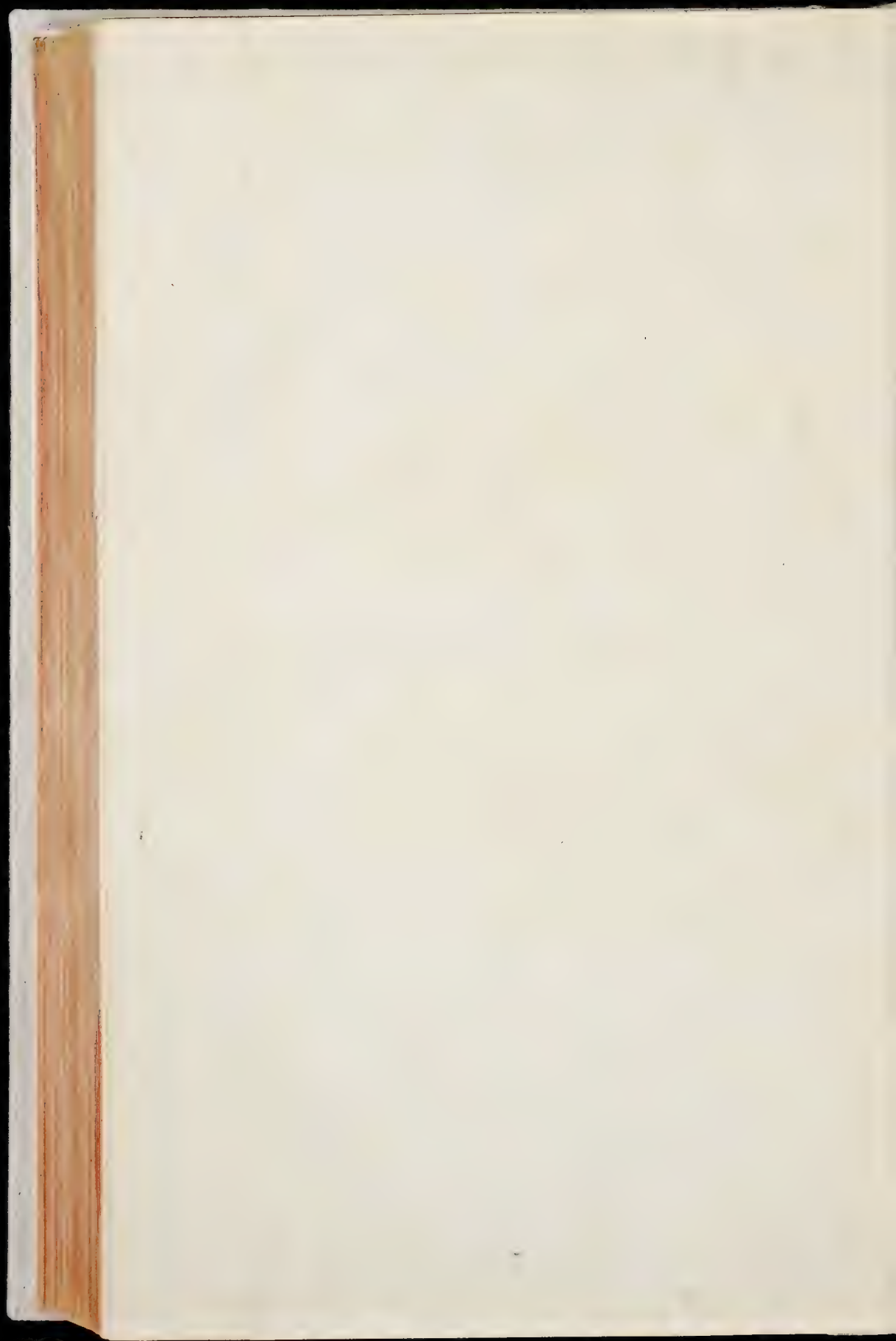
A correct CHART of the
BAY of BISCAY, Part of the
WESTERN OCEAN &
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Defining the Coasts of
SPAIN and PORTUGAL
with Part of FRANCE,
from Morhax to Valencia;
Done, from the latest & best
Observations.

EXPLANATION.

△ Cines and	○ Villages,
▲ Great Ports,	■ Ports,
△ Small Ports,	◇ Castles.



R. W. Scale del. et sculp.



THE INDEX

TO THE

Continuation of the History of *England*.

N. B. The Numbers III and IV. denote the Third and Fourth Volumes. *K.* stands for King, *D.* for Duke, &c.

A.
ABDICATION: debates about it, III. 24.
Aberdeen, Earl of, *William Gordon* brought prisoner to London, IV. 65
Aberdeen, the Clergy and People of that place present addresses to the Pretender, IV. 465, 466.

Abington, Earl of, *Montague Bertie*, his motion in the debate about the Union, III. 786, 787.

Abington, Earl of, *Montague-Venable Bertie*, made Justice in Eyre, and his Countess one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber, IV. 195. Is against the treaty of commerce, 520
Abjuration of *K. James II.* Bill for it, III. 13.

Accounts, public, examined into, IV. 203
Acts for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* act, III. 44. of Toleration, 48. for declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession to the Crown, 55. and 444. act to explain this, IV. 432. for repealing a clause in it, 499. of settlement in *Ireland*, repealed, III. 87. for the relief of the Protestant *Irish* Clergy, 98. of indemnity, 132. for raising the subsidy in 1691, 161. for abrogating the oath of supremacy in *Ireland*, &c. 193. for recognition of their Majesties title to the Crown of *Ireland*, 218. for encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in that Kingdom, *ibid.* to prevent frauds by clandestine mortgages, 236. to prevent malicious informations in the Crown-Office, *ibid.* to erect a company in *Scotland* trading to *Africa* and the *East-Indies*, 283. in favour of the episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*, 286. for regulating trials in cases of high-treason, 304. for remedying the ill state of the coin, 308, 333, 334. to enforce the signing of the allocation, 322. for attainting Sir *John Fenwick*, 345. and all concerned in the conspiracy, 346. for settling the *African* Company, 371. against Papists, 401, 402. for renewing the *East-India* Company, 371. for the Protestant Succession, 442, &c. for attainting the Pretender, 501. act that the solemn affirmation of the Quakers shall be accepted instead of an oath, 506. for the union of *England* and *Scotland*, 550. act of commision for a treaty between *England* and *Scotland*, 602, &c. for regency, 722. the act which declared the *Scots* aliens, repealed, 723. for ratifying and approving the treaty of union, 775. for confirming the union, 787, 788. for settling the manner of election of the sixteen Peers in *Scotland*, 777
Act for improving the union of the two Kingdoms, IV. 114. for naturalising all foreign Protestants, 110. for the *South-Sea* trade, 204, 535. for increasing it's capital stock, 612. See *South-Sea* Company. Act to suspend the *Habeas Corpus*, 433. for septennial Parliaments, 490. for a general fund, with a clause establishing the linking fund, 534, 535. to restrain the Sub-Governor, &c. of the *South-Sea* Company from going out of the Kingdom, 632. in favour of the sufferers by the *South-Sea* affair, 645. for suppressing the Mint, 672
Addition, *Joseph*, his letter to the E. of

Manchester, about the affair of the *Russian* Ambassador, IV. 103. made Secretary to the Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 104. has a hand in the Crisis, 335. assists *R. Steele* at his trial, 343. appointed Secretary to the Lords of the Regency, 395. made Secretary of State, 525. added to the secret Committee, 541. writes the *Old Whigs*, 586. dies, 606. an account of him, *ibid.*

Addresses to *K. James II.* III. 17.
Addresses of both Houses to *K. William*, promising assistance for the reduction of *Ireland*, III. 53. of the House of Commons for a war with *France*, 89. for removing French Papists, *ibid.* from the Lords, to put the *Isles of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey*, &c. in a posture of defence, 96. for removing the Marquises of *Caermarthen* and *Halifax*, 97. from the Convocation, 110. to *Q. Mary*, from the City of London, 141. from the Tinniers in *Cornwall*, *ibid.* from *Madagascar*, *ibid.* from both Houses to the King and Queen, 159, 189. of advice from the Lords to the King, 233. upon the state of *Ireland*, 234. addresses to the King on the Queen's death, 264, 282. about the *Scottish East-India* Company, 308. about a grant made to the E. of *Portland*, 310. of both Houses on the discovery of the Assassination plot, 320. against profaneness and immorality, 374. against the woollen manufacture in *Ireland*, 376. upon disbanded the army, 388. about the *Dutch* Guards, *ibid.* against the Papists and Jacobites, 389. about the Navy, 390. from *Scotland*, about the affair of *Darien*, 407. of the Commons against the Partition treaty, 447. of the Lords complaining of the same, 452. of the Commons desiring the King to remove the Lords *Somers, Orford*, and *Halifax*, from his Presence and Councils, 460. counter-addresses of the Lords, *ibid.* addresses of the City of London, and other parts of the Kingdom, upon the proclaiming of the Pretender in *France*, 495. from the Lords and Commons upon that occasion, 499, 500. from the Commons to the King, that he would desire the Allies to increase their quotas of land-forces, and provide for the half-pay Officers in the first place, 504. from the Convocation to the King, 526. addresses of condolence to *Q. Anne* from the Bishops and Clergy in London, from the Dissenters, and from Counties, Cities, &c. 540. of the Commons about the Princess *Sophia*, 550. concerning *Bp. Lloyd*, 575. of the Lords, *ibid.* on the ill-managers of the funds, 585. of the Commons on account of the plot in *Scotland*, 630. their address upon the Lords appointing a select Committee, 632. from the Parliament of *Scotland*, 652, 653. from the House of Lords in *England* about *Scotland*, 675. from the Commons, to desire that the Allies might furnish their compleat quota's, 678. about the Succession of *Scotland* in the House of *Hanover*, and for promoting the Union, 719. addresses from both Houses concerning the endeavours used for creating jealousies between the *Dutch* and us, 723. of both Houses concerning the danger of the Church, 728.

of thanks from the Commons to the Queen, for her tender regard to the privileges of their House, 729. draught of an address from the Upper House of Convocation, 733. another form drawn up by the Lower House, *ibid.* of *Scotland* against the Union, 774. congratulatory addresses upon the Union, 791. from the French Refugees to the Queen, in favour of their brethren persecuted in *France*, *ibid.*

Addresses from the Lords about the Admiralty, IV. 42. from the Commons for the relief of the *Scotch* Merchants, 43. from both Houses, not to make peace without the restitution of all *Spain*, 46. of the Commons about the number of *English* forces in *Spain* and *Portugal*, at the time of the battle of *Almanza*, 53, 54. the same address renewed, 54. their address of thanks to the Queen, for taking measures to restore the affairs in *Spain*, *ibid.* addresses of the Lords and Commons, upon the news of the Pretender's intended descent in *Scotland*, 57. another of the Commons thereupon, 59. and of the Lords, *ibid.* of condolence upon the death of Prince *George*, 108. for demolishing of *Dunkirk*, 117. to the Queen, for marrying again, *ibid.* about *Dr Sacheverell's* Trial, 196, 185. of both Houses to order the Duke of *Marborough* into *Holland*, 186. against the officers of *France*, 249. address of thanks by the Commons about the peace, 269. of the City of London, and other places, 273. addresses on account of the peace, debates about them, 312, 314. of thanks from the Commons for the treaties of peace and commerce, 319. for having the Pretender removed out of *Lorraine*, 323, 350. against the public spirit of the Whigs, 341. about the *Spanish* trade, 365. about the *Affiento* contract, 366. from the Corporation of *Wigan*, in behalf of *Q. Anne's* late Ministry, 419. addresses upon the intended invasion from *Sweden*, 510, &c. for a copy of the treaty with *Sweden*, 522. about the E. of *Oxford*, 545. of the Commons, in relation to their proceedings against the *South-Sea* Directors, 643. upon the discovery of the Plot, 662

Admiralty, a motion made in the House of Commons, to advise his Majesty to make such Commissioners of the Admiralty, as were of known experience in maritime affairs, III. 230. the state of it inquired into by the House of Lords, 678

Advocates, faculty of, the Pretender's medal sent to them, IV. 217.

Act taken by the French, III. 353. by the Allies, 751. a description of that place, *ibid.* African Company of *Scotland*, III. 283.

African trade regulated, III. 371

Aghrim, battle of, III. 177.

Alibury-men; five of them bring an action against the Constable of that Corporation, III. 679

Alibab, *John*, speaks against the bill for confirming the treaty of commerce, IV. 320. leaves the court party, and is removed from being one of the Lords of the Admiralty, 355. speaks against the peace, *ibid.* made

Treasurer of the Navy, 406. his speech against the E. of *Straford*, 429. and upon the E. of *Oxford's* impeachment, 430, and 434. proposes the lowering of the gold species, 553. resigns his places, 634. has great quantities of *South-Sea* stock given him, 637. expelled the House, and ordered to be committed to the *Tower*, 641.

Cardinal, makes great pretensions in *Spain*, IV. 562. his anger at receiving Admiral *Byng's* letter, 566. account of him, 569. his letter upon the defeat of the *Spanish* fleet, 573. acts in favour of the Pretender, 575, 582. forms a plot against the Regent of *France*, 582. consents to a peace, 624. disgraced, and

Alexander VIII., Pope, chosen, III. 102. Affairs; the peace between that Regency and *England* renewed, III. 615.

Alliance, offensive and defensive concluded between the Emperor and the *States-General*, III. 102. between *England*, *Holland*, and *Denmark*, 483, 484. between *France* and *Portugal*, 487. between the Emperor, *England*, and *Holland*, *ibid.* triple alliance, IV. 508. triple and quadruple, 562. between *England* and *Sweden*, 588. between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Spain*, 650. between *Great-Britain*, *France*, and *Denmark*, 706. *Adam, Peter*, his Ecclesiastical History, III. 398.

Almonara, battle of, IV. 176. *Almonara*, battle of, IV. 5, &c. *English* regiments there, 7, &c. and 197, 198. *Almonar* of *Castile*, proposes that *Archduke Charles* should be made K. of *Spain*, III. 624. *Alena* burnt by the *Swedes*, IV. 309. *Amber*, bill for preserving their privileges, IV. 117. *Andrum* taken by the D. of *Savoy*, III. 215. *is*, account of, I. 4.

Anion, D. of. See *Philip V.* K. of *Spain*. *Argyle*, Arthur *Argyle*, E. of, votes with the Whig Lords, IV. 348. and again with the Court Lords, 350. set down for one of the Regency, 349. sups with *Bellinghame*, *ibid.* promised the Government of *Ireland*, *ibid.* joins with the Whigs, 352. speaks for the schism-bill, 361. moves to have that bill extended to *Ireland*, 363. voted an enemy to the Kingdom, for being one of the advisers for breaking the army, 479, 480. removed from the King's council and service, *ibid.*

Arundell, William *Johnston*, Marquis of, takes upon him the government of *Scotland*, III. 61. in a plot against K. *William*, 122, &c. made President of the Council in *Scotland*, 595. and Kt. of the Thistle, 604. made Secretary of State, 669. presses the settling of the Succession, *ibid.* presents a memorial to the Parliament, 690. made Earl, 697. carries the bill against the Cavaliers, *ibid.* was against the

Annandale, James *Johnston*, Marquis of, his speech about the Peerage-bill, IV. 586. *ANNE*, her accession to the Crown, III. 231.

make his addresses to her, 534. is married to Prince *George of Denmark*, *ibid.* their issue, *ibid.* makes the Lady *Churchill* her great favourite, *ibid.* her Father's endeavours to pervert her to Popery, 535. withdraws from Court, and goes to *Nottingham*, 536.

great coolness between her and K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, *ibid.* was prejudiced against the Whigs, 538. her speech to the Privy Council, *ibid.* her agreeable manner in pronouncing her speeches, 539. forms her Ministry, and admits many Tories, 544. her letter to the States of *Holland*, 541. her Civil List settled, 543. declares war against *France*, 546. orders the Princess *Sophia's* name to be put into the public Prayers, 550. recommends to the Parliament the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, *ibid.* a pretended design to exclude her from the Succession, *ibid.* refuses to receive an address from the Duke of *Hamilton*, and other Lords in *Scotland*, 557. resolves to maintain the Session of the Parlia-

ment there, *ibid.* appoints Commissioners to treat about an Union between *England* and *Scotland*, *ibid.* makes an order against fel- offices in her House

to *Bath*, &c. *ibid.* dines at *Gumbard in London*, 574. goes in state to *St Paul's* on the thanksgiving-day for the victory at *Lige*, *ibid.* desires some provision for her husband Prince *George*, 575. touches for the evil, 592. the K. of *Spain*, (*Charles III.*) has an interview with her at *Windsor*, 625. her sentiments about the Occasional Conformity-bill, 627. endeavoured to dissuade the Parliament from bringing it in again, *ibid.* her speech on account of the plot in *Scotland*, 639. her answer to the Lords' address about settling the Crown of *Scotland* in the House of *Hanover*, 639. gives the first-fruits and tenths to the Clergy, 641. pressed by the E. of *Nottingham* to dismiss the Dukes of *Somerst* and *Devonshire* from her Cabinet-Council, 647. is desirous of having the Succession settled in *Scotland*, 648. her answer to the Commons about the *Albany-men*, 681. her answer to the representation of the Lords upon the same subject, 684. her letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, 690. another letter of her's, appointing the Lord *Archib. Campbell* to have the place and vote of High-treasurer, *ibid.* amazed at the Tories proposal, of bringing over the next Successor, 720. her answer to the address about the danger of the Church, 728. another about the privileges of the House of Commons, 729. her letter to the Archbp. of *Canterbury* about the Convocation, 734. goes to the meeting of the Commissioners for the Union of the two Kingdoms, and makes speeches to them, 739. the articles of the Union are presented to her, *ibid.* &c. her speech of thanks to them, 740. inclined to pacific measures, 780. Mr *Harley* in her confidence, *ibid.* her speech concerning the

enacting it, 781. *is*, revives the Parliament, and declares her pleasure for holding the first Parliament of *Great-Britain*, 791. was against the E. of *Sunderland's* being made Secretary of State, 793. forms a project jointly with the *States-General* and the D. of *Savoy* to invade *Provence*, IV. 23. her letter to the Emperor about the conquest of *Naples*, 24. takes Mrs *Masham* and Mr *Harley* into her utmost confidence, at which the Dukes of *Marlborough* is extremely uneasy, 34, 35, &c. the Dukes's letters to her Majesty upon that occasion, 36. is made jealous of the Duke of *Marlborough's* too great power, 35. the L. *Goldolphin* threatens to quit her service if Mr *Harley* continued in her confidence, 36. her speech to her first British Parliament, 39. displeased with the Lord's address about the Admiralty, 13. uneasy at the D. of *Marlborough's* offering to resign, 55. remarkable variations in her speeches, 60. a letter from her to the D. of *Marlborough's*, 69. another to him after the victory at *Oudenarde*, 104. does not come to Parliament, but grants a commission to several Lords to represent her, 105. her answer to the Commons's address for marrying

117. ratifies the Preliminaries of peace, 130. books written against her title, 150. *bp. Burnet* speaks to her with great freedom about the Pretender, 163. begins a change in her Ministry, *ibid.* and 165, &c. her answer to the *Sacheverell's* trial, 185. writes to the D. of *Marlborough* to give the E. of *Essex's* Regiment to *J. Hill*, 187. sits from her undertaking, *ibid.* communicates to the E. of *Goldolphin* her resolution of making the E. of *Sherburn* Lord Chamberlain, 187. the Dukes of *Marlborough* wait upon her Majesty for the last time, 186. the Queen dismisses the E. of *Goldolphin* from his employments, 190. delighted with the alteration, 190. the D. of *Marlborough* he was not to expect the thanks of both Houses, as usual, 196. her name exposed to cover all the negotiations of the peace, 222. Mr *Messenger* has a private conversation with her, and speaks to her in favour of the Pretender, 223. the Elector of *Hanover's* memorial shewn to her, 225. the closets the D. of *Marlborough* and several other Lords, 226. dismisses the D. of *Marlborough* from all his employments, 232, 233. her proclamation for suppressing the *Mobbers*,

245. acknowledged Queen by the K. of *France*, 249. her answer to the Lord's address about the offers of *France*, 251. communicates the plan of peace to the Parliament, 267. her answer to the Commons address of thanks upon that occasion, 269. and to the Lords address, 270. her new plan of peace, 271. tries to prevent the El

Prince of *Saxony's* turning Papist, 304. her answer to the letter of the *States-General*, 305. ratifies the treaty of peace and commerce, 311. causes several French Protestants to be released from the galleys, 329. is ill, 335. Dr *Shadwell's* account of her illness, 335, 336. has a fit of the gout, 336. the Protestants write a letter to her, concerning the clause in the fourth article of the treaty of *Kijuck*, 337. is taken ill again, 346. her answer to the Lords address in behalf of the *Hanover* Succession, and for removing the Pretender out of *Lorraine*, 351. her letter to the Princess *Sophia*, 357. is again indisposed,

the address about the *Spanish* trade, 365. and about the *Affairs*, 366. extremely shocked at the quarrel between her Ministers, 368. her last illness, *ibid.* constitutes the D. of *Sherburn* Lord Treasurer, 369. dies, 370. not able to receive the Sacrament nor sign her will, *ibid.* her character, *ibid.* a strict observer of forms, 371. questioned, whether she knew

Anspach, *Corsina*, Princess of, is courted by K. *Charles III.* but refuses to embrace Popery, IV. 34. is married to the Electoral Prince of *Brandenburg*, and becomes Q. of *Great-Britain*, *ibid.*

Antonians, III. 515, &c.

Argyle, *Archibald Campbell* E. of, account of him, III. 59. Commissioner from the

425. is head of the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, 596. made High Commissioner, 676. created Baron of *Chastam*, and Earl of *Greenwich*, 724. is present at the battle of

Ghent, 92. at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 136. his speech at Dr *Sacheverell's* Trial, 157. objects against the Duke of *Marlborough's* being thanked by the House of Lords, 195. recalled from the service in *Flanders*, and appointed to command the English forces in

Spain, 212, 213. had acted in constant opposition to the Duke of *Marlborough*, 213. goes through the *Hague* without visiting that Duke, *ibid.* does not receive the expected remittances, *ibid.* borrows 10,000 *l.* on his own credit, *ibid.* complains of his not being supported, *ibid.* returns to *England*, and is

of K. *William's* grants, 245. excuses the orders given to the D. of *Ormond*, not to fight, 261. opposes the malt-tax in *Scotland*, 318. reflected on in the Public Spirit of the

the Ministry, *ibid.* removed from all his places, 346. his account of the distressed condition of *France*, 349. repairs to Coun-

of *Hales*, 402. Chief of the forces in *Scotland*, 404. sets out for that Kingdom, 438. engages the E. of *Mar* near *Dunblain*, 459, &c. speaks for the Septennial bill, 494. removed from all his employments, 500. made Steward of the

Arminius and *Arminians*, III. 511, 512, 514

Army; the Agents of the army oppress the common soldiers, III. 267, 268. the King orders the officers of the army to examine all informations and complaints, *ibid.* consultations about the standing army, 364. papers for and against a standing army, 365. the commons resolve to pay off and disband the army, 366. list of the army, 367. reduced to ten thousand men, *ibid.* the Confederate army, their bravery at the battle of *Romilies*, 746. &c. defeat the French at *Oudenarde*, IV. 74, 75. demolishes the French

and plunders *Picardy*, 79. motion for reducing the army, 526. is reduced, 551. de-

bates

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

bates about a standing army, 552, 558. articles for the regulation and government of the army, 559

Arran, James Hamilton, Earl of, endeavours to restore *K. James*, III. 44. sent to the *Tower*, *ibid.* his proposal to the *Scotch* Lords assembled at *London*, 63

Argyll, John, his absurd notions, III. 520. speaks against the bill for further preventing the growth of Popery, 730. expelled the House of Commons for a book of his, IV. 44

Ashburnham, John Lord, made Deputy-warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Colonel of the first troop of *Horse-guards*, IV. 325. votes with the *Whig* Lords, 348. and again with the *Court*, 350. reflected on by the D. of *Argyle*, 349

Abby and White, their case, III. 639

Abby, Sir John, his conduct at *la Hague* fight, III. 203. examined before the House of Commons, 222

Abley, Lord, unable to proceed in his speech in the House of Commons, III. 304. See *E. of Shaftesbury*.

Ashton enters into a plot to restore *King James*, III. 166. seized, *ibid.* tried, condemned, and executed, 169, 170. his dying speech, *ibid.*

Affassination plot, III. 196, &c. 312

Association signed by the Commons, III. 321. and by the Lords, *ibid.* and all over *England*, 322. an act to enforce the signing of it, *ibid.* signed in *Scotland*, 332. entered into throughout the kingdom, IV. 451

Athanasian Creed, III. 107

Athlone, summoned, III. 146. besieged, 174. and taken, 176

Athlone, E. of. See *Ginckle*.

Athal, John Murray, Marquis of, created Duke, III. 604. made Knight of the *Thistle*, *ibid.* a letter from the Pretender directed to him, 629. the conspiracy in *Scotland* said to be a contrivance to ruin him, 634. his memorial hereupon, *ibid.* Lord Privy-Seal for *Scotland*, his speech in his own vindication about the plot, 694. his protest against the *Scots* being declared aliens, 696. letter sent to him by the Pretender, III. 768. is against the Union, 770. was for violent measures, 771. engaged deeply in the Pretender's interest and receives letters from him, IV. 63. sworn of the Privy-Council, 311. causes *K. George* to be proclaimed at *Perth*, 403

Atterbury, Francis, his letter to a Convocation man, III. 523. his character, *ibid.* his letter reprinted with additions, 524. approved of, 529. chosen Prolocutor of the Convocation, IV. 206. draws up a representation, 207. thought that a prerogative put an end to all matters not finished, 254. made Bishop of *Rechester*, and Dean of *Westminster*, 325. he is the supposed author of *English* advice, 415. advises the Duke of *Ormond* to leave *England*, 428. refuses to sign the Declaration, testifying an abhorrence of the rebellion, 452. endeavours to justify the University of *Oxford*. with regard to the riot there, 519. his speech about the *South-Sea* affair, 633. against the Quakers, 655. is apprehended and committed to the *Tower*, 660. his commitment causes great uneasiness, 661. he is prayed for, *ibid.* See *William Young*'s speech against him, 668. it is voted that he had been concerned in the Conspiracy, *ibid.* bill to inflict pains and penalties upon him, *ibid.* is brought to his trial, *ibid.* the bill against him passes, 670. deprived of all his offices, and banished the realm, *ibid.* carried to *France*, 674. says, he was exchanged, *ibid.* Dr *Sacheverell* left him 500 l. 681

Augsburg: the Elector of *Bavaria* endeavours to seize it, III. 621. a description of that city, *ibid.* taken by the Elector of *Bavaria*, 622. the Czar complains of him, 792

Augustine St., his doctrine made by our reformers the standard of religion, III. 511

Augustine, Fort St., in *North America*, attacked by the *English*, III. 594

Augustus K. of Poland, engaged in a war with the *K. of Sweden*, III. 559. defeated by that King, 568. is deposed, 626. retires into *Saxony*, *ibid.* causes the two Princes *Sibicki* to be taken prisoners, *ibid.* his *Saxon* Dominions are invaded by the *K. of Sweden*, 763. makes a peace with that King, *ibid.*

reigns *Poland* and *Lithuania*, *ibid.* serves as volunteer at the siege of *Lisse*, IV. 81. pretends that the resignation of the Crown of *Poland* was extorted from him, 142

Augustus King of Poland, his forces assist the Czar, IV. 183

Austrian, Robert, made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, III. 236

Austrian Dominions; the succession guaranteed by Spain, IV. 689

Auxiliaries in British pay, retained by the States, IV. 274. refuse to march with the D. of *Ormond*, 277. their pay and subsidies from *England* taken from them, 281

Aylebury, Thomas Bruce, E. of, proclamation for apprehending him, III. 142. concerned in the assassination plot, 312. goes to *France*, and has a secret conference with *K. Lewis*, 313. committed to the *Tower*, 326. released upon bail, 350.

B.

BADEN, Prince *Lewis* of, his bravery in *Hungary*, III. 187. and in *Germany*, 241. comes to *England*, 252. commands on the *Rhine*, which he passes, and takes a great booty, 257. commands the Imperialists, 300. takes *Eberburg*, 363. invests *Landau*, 561. 562. defeats the *French* at the battle of *Fridlingen*, 565. hinders the Elector of *Bavaria* from seizing *Augsburg*, 621. sends the D. of *Marlborough* an express with intercepted letters, 654. it is agreed that he and the Duke should command each day alternately, 655. wounded at the battle of *Schellenberg*, *ibid.* jealous of the D. of *Marlborough*'s success, 661. and 668, 699. promised to join him, but failed him, 698. suspected of favouring the *French*, *ibid.* the Emperor sends to expostulate the matter with him, 703. publishes thereupon a manifesto, *ibid.* forces the *French* lines at *Hagenau*, *ibid.* nothing however considerable done by him, 704. the Emperor *Joseph* disaffected with him, *ibid.* dies, IV. 4

Baden, a Congress there, IV. 337

Baker, Major, bravely defends *Londonderry*, III. 51

Baltick; a fleet sent thither, IV. 525, 538, 589, 618. which is affirmed to be an infringement of the act of settlement, 654. a motion to know the reasons of sending it, 704

Bangor, Bishop of, See *Headley*.

Bank erected, III. 253. complaints against it, 267. 800,000 l. engrailed upon it, 335. Bank-notes, *ibid.* Land-bank, 322. fails, 334. great demand upon it, IV. 61. their loans, 530. the Bank act, 535. the Bank present their proposals to the Government, 611. Bank contract, 625. dropped, 628

Barcelona besieged by the Allies, III. 708, &c. surrenders, 710. besieged by King *Philip*, who raises the siege, 752

Barrier-Treaty with the States, IV. 240. complained of, 241. condemned by the House of Commons, 242. a new one proposed, 300. signed, 302. See also 408. ratified, 464

Barfille, a description of it, III. 621. taken by the *French*, *ibid.*

Bafoille, Monsieur de, intendant of *Languedoc*, III. 613

Bath, order of the, revived, IV. 687

Bathurst, Allen, created a Baron, IV. 235. his speeches in Parliament, 647, 663, 666, 669, 678, 696, 701, and 702

Battle of Boyne, III. 136. of *Aghrim*, 177. of *la Hague*, 201. of *Steenkirk*, 208. of *Landen*, 238. of *Marsaglia*, 241. of *Scardingen*, 616. of *Schellenberg*, 655. of *Hochstet*, 657. of *Ramillies*, 746. of *Turin*, 759. of *Kalisz*, 763. IV. 5. &c. of *Oudenard*, 74. of *Blaraignes*, or *Malplaquet*, 136. of *Almanara*, 176. of *Saragossa*, 178. of *Villaviciosa*, 181. of *Preston*, 456. of *Dumbain*, 459

Bavaria, Maximilian Elector of, commands the Imperialists, III. 158. made Governor of *Flanders*, 188. puts that country in a good state, 206. left commander in chief there, 219. commands an army in the *Netherlands*, 288. at the siege of *Namur*, 289. his bravery, 298. was to have Spain, &c. by the partition-treaty, 383. has several negotiations with the Emperor, 559. declares for *France*, *ibid.* and 564. surprises *Ulm*, 564. defeated by Count *Stirum*, 616. defeats the Imperialists, *ibid.* takes *Ratisbon*, 617. marches into *Tirol*,

and takes *Innsbruck*, 620. driven out by the boors, *ibid.* takes *Augsburg*, 622. the D. of *Marlborough* enters into a Treaty with him, but the Elector refuses to sign it, 656. surprises *Diehl*, 703. appointed to command on the *Rhine* instead of the *Netherlands*, IV. 68. gains some interest in that country by his politeness and popular behaviour, 70. besieges *Brussels*, and raises the siege, 88. gives out hopes of a peace, 121. proposal from *France* to restore him to his dominions, and to give him *Sardinia* and *Sicily*, 288, 293. comes to *Paris* and has a conference with *L. Bolingbroke*, 289. *Sardinia* to be given to him, 301. renounces the *Spanish Netherlands*, 313

Baxter, Richard, his reformed Liturgy, III. 518. refuses the See of *Hereford*, 519

Beaufort, Henry Somerset, Duke of, his laying to the Queen, IV. 190. sworn a Privy-Counsellor, 195. appointed Captain of the Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, 234. moves for an address of thanks about the peace, 312. installed Knight of the Garter, 308. dies, 344

Belford, Earl of, created Marquis of *Tavistock*, and D. of *Bedford*, III. 253

Benson, William, writes the *Plebeian*, IV. 586. removed from his place, 587

Bentinck, William, a great favourite of *K. William*, made Groom of the Stole, and Privy-Purse, III. 39. created Baron of *Cirencester*, Viscount of *Woodstock*, and E. of *Portland*, 45. See *Portland*.

Beretti Landi, Marquis de, signs the quadruple alliance, IV. 600. delivers a plan of peace to the States-General, 605

Berkley, James, Earl of, appointed to command the fleet, IV. 370. fails to *Holland* to bring over *K. George*, 399. made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, 401

Berwick, James Fitz-James, D. of, fails from *Ireland* into *France* with King *James*, III. 138, 145. returns, and is left Commander of the *French* forces in *Ireland*, 151. taken prisoner at the battle of *Landen*, 239. takes *Segura*, *Salvaterra*, and many other places in *Portugal*, 667. defeats a body of the *Dutch*, passes the *Tagus*, and invests *Portalegre*, *ibid.* defeats the Allies at *Almanza*, IV. 5. &c. plunders the neighbourhood of *Salvatierra*, 294. takes *Fontarabia* and *Port-Pajosse*, 603. and *St Sebastian* and *Port-Antonia*, 604

Belhune, description of it, IV. 174. taken, *ibid.*

Beveridge, Dr William, is offered the Bishopric of *Bath and Wells*, which he declines, III. 173. one of the promoters of the Society for Reformation of Manners, 374. made Bishop of *St Asaph*, 687. dies, - IV. 67

Bill for excluding Placemen from sitting in Parliament, III. 226, 227, 587. IV. 162, 200. for limiting their number, IV. 342, 344. for ascertaining the fees of Officers of Justice rejected, III. 227. touching the free and impartial proceedings in Parliament, 228. passes both Houses, but the King refuses it, 250. for frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, 231. rejected, 249. passed at last, 260. for continuing the Parliament notwithstanding the King's death, 321. to prevent the publishing of any news without licence, 350. for disbanding the army, 387. Preliminaries of the bill of succession, 443, &c. that bill passed, 445. for the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, 550. against occasional conformity, 578, 627. that no persons be chosen Members of Parliament but such as have a sufficient real estate, 588. to prevent occasional conformity, 671, &c. for an Union with *Scotland*, 675. for the naturalization of the *French* Protestants, 684, 685. self-denying bill, 685. for a Regency, intitled a bill for the better security of her Majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the Crown of *England*, 720. for further preventing the growth of Popery, 730. for correcting some of the proceedings in the Common Law and Chancery, 731. for enacting the Union, 787. for a general naturalization of all Protestants, IV. 110. about privileges of Ambassadors, 117. to repeal the naturalization act, 200. for building fifty new churches in and about *London*, 208. to give the Electoral Prince of *Hanover* as D. of *Cambridge* the precedence of all Peers, 231, 238. for a Toleration of the Episcopal Clergy in *Scotland*,

243. for making good the 8th and 9th articles of the Treaty of Commerce, 315. rejected, 317. to regulate the land-forces, 423, 425. for recognizing K. George's title to the Crown, and for the better security of his Person and Government, in the Parliament of Ireland, 478. to attain the Pretender and D. of Ormond, *ibid.* for septennial Parliaments, 490, &c. to prohibit commerce with Sweden, 519. about mutiny and desertion, *ibid.* Peetrage-bill, 585, &c. rejected, 608. for securing the dependency of Ireland, 609. for enabling the South-Sea Company to increase their stock, 610, &c. for ingrafting nine millions of the South-Sea stock into the bank, 631, &c. for the relief of the sufferers by the South-Sea Company, 642, &c. to prevent the infection from the Plague, 654, &c. for altering the Quakers affirmation, 655. for the freedom of elections of Members of Parliament, 656. to lay a tax on Papists, 665. to inflict pains and penalties on Kelly and Plunket, and on Bishop Atterbury, 667, 668. to prevent the King's subjects from being concerned in the *Offend East-India* Company, 672. for lessening the public debts, 677. to indemnify the Masters in Chancery, 684
Births, marriages, and burials, a tax on them, III. 259
Bishops, their votes taken away, III. 8. excuse themselves from causing K. James II. declaration to be read in all churches, 20. tried for the same, and acquitted, *ibid.* excuse themselves from declaring under their hands their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's invasion, 22. move for a bill of Toleration, and another of comprehension, 44, 106. Bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, suspended, 105. letter from the Bishops in Scotland to K. James, 58. their proceedings in the Convention there, 64. non-juring a severe pamphlet against them, 143. disown what was therein asserted, 144. are in a plot, neglect the concerns of the church, 172. the Bishops looked upon by many of the Clergy as betrayers of the rights of the church, 524. blame upon the loss of the occasional conformity bill, 581. contest between them and the Lower-House of Convocation, 590. their behaviour upon the occasional conformity bill being brought in again, 628. disputes between them and the Lower-House of Convocation, 645
Blackall, Offspring, made Bishop of Exeter, IV. 36
Blenheim, a description of that place, and battle near it, III. 657. the standards and colours taken there hung up in *Windsor-Hall*, 677
Blenheim-House, III. 678
Blount, Charles, his book to prove K. William and Q. Mary conquerors, burnt, III. 232
Bolingbroke, L. Viscount. See St John.
Bolton, Charles Paulet, D. of, dies, III. 394. his odd character, *ibid.*
Bolton, Charles Paulet, D. of, made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, IV. 525. his speech to the Parliament of that kingdom, 606
Bonne besieged by the Allies, III. 615. taken, 617. a description of it, *ibid.*
Bonneval, Monsieur de, invades Ferrara, and takes several places belonging to the Pope, IV. 98, 99
Booth, George, Lord de la Mere, afterwards Earl of Warrington, made Chancellor of the Exchequer, III. 40. his character, *ibid.* protests against rejecting the charter for taking away the Sacramental Test, 46. infuses jealousies of the King into the Whigs, 54. dismissed from his employments, 126
Boreghy, finally, the rotten part of our constitution, III. 497
Bohmar, Baron de, publishes the Elector of Hanover's memorial, IV. 225. causes a clause relating to the Regency to be rectified, 329
Bossiers, Marshal de, his proceedings in Flanders, III. 288, &c. throws himself into Namur, 289, &c. arrested by way of reprisal, and released again, 299. passes the *Mare*, 560. tries to surprise Nimeguen, 561. sent to besiege Linge, 618. disgraced, 619
Bourbon, D. of, nominated Prime Minister in France, IV. 676. removed from that employment, 690
Boyle, Robert, founds his lecture, III. 238

Boyle, Henry, Secretary of State, IV. 103. his speeches, &c. at the trial of Dr Sacheverell, 153. removed from his place of Secretary of State, 191
Brandenburgh, Frederic, Elector of, enters into a league against Sweden, III. 410. expects the title of King, 412
Bremen and Verden made over to K. George, IV. 424. the Pretender's observation about it, 454. the K. of Sweden enraged at this acquisition, 505, 509, &c. annexed to the Electorate of Hanover, 674. the Emperor denies K. George the investiture of them, 690
Bribery, proceedings in Parliament against it, III. 267, &c.
Bridgewater, Scroop Egerton, E. of, created Duke, IV. 617. forms a bubble for building houses in London, &c. 621
Brissac taken by the French, III. 566. Old Brissac taken also by them, 621. a description of it, *ibid.*
Bronley, William, one of the Managers of the Occasional Conformity Bill, III. 579, &c. 627. brings in the bill to prevent Occasional Conformity, and his speech upon it, 671, 672. his speech on the debate about the danger of the church, 728. his speeches, &c. at the trial of Dr Sacheverell, IV. 152, 154. chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, 194. made Secretary of State, 328. promotes the Schism Bill, 360. dismissed from his place, 404
Brown, Dr. Chairman of the Committee of Convocation, IV. 149. made Bishop of Cork, *ibid.* writes and preaches against drinking to the memory of K. William, *ibid.*
Bruges, a description of that place, IV. 70. surprized by the French, 71. abandoned by them, 92
Brussels, a description of that city, IV. 70. surprized by the French, 71. abandoned by them, 92
Buckinghamshire, John Sheffield, D. of, removed from the office of Privy-Seal, III. 687. seconds the motion for inviting the Princess Sophia over, 719. his speech about the Union, 781. speaks in behalf of Dr Sacheverell, IV. 158, 159, 160. made Lord Steward, 191. most verber in Parliamentary Proceedings, 228. does not attend at the Coronation of K. George, 407. dies, 651
Bull, George, made Bishop of St David's, III. 687
Burgundy, Lewis, D. of, dies, IV. 246. his character, 247
Burnet, Gilbert, made Bishop of Salisbury, III. 41. is against the laity being put into the commission for a comprehension, 50. concerned in the bill of Succession to the Crown, 55. writes a pastoral letter, 56. is against the inquiry into the murder of the Earl of Essex, 95. discovers a plot against the King, 118. his letter to Mr Johnston, 160. his pastoral letter burnt, 231. his reasons for Sir John Fennock's attainder, 343. does him some service, 346. made Preceptor to the D. of Gloucester, 380. addresses for removing him from that post, 397. publishes his exposition of the 39 articles, *ibid.* which is censured in Convocation, 529. his method of instructing the D. of Gloucester, 409. is one of the Commissioners for disposing of church preferments, 523. one of the Managers against the Occasional Conformity Bill, 581. censured for it, *ibid.* instrumental in obtaining the first fruits and tenths, 642. reflected upon by the Lower House of Convocation, 686. proposes the first model of the act of Regency, 720. his speech about the danger of the church, 725, 726. Chairman of the Committee in the debates about the Union, 783. reports the resolutions of the same, 787. speaks in favour of the bill for naturalizing Protestant Foreigners, IV. 112. his notions upon the acts of treasons in Scotland, 115. Dr Sacheverell reflects upon him, 150. threatened by the mob, 155. his speech at Dr Sacheverell's trial, 157, 158. speaks to the Queen with great freedom against the Pretender, 163. the Queen speaks to him about the peace, 226. his speech about the peace, 320, &c. his preface to his pastoral care complained of in Parliament, 345. makes a long speech, 352. his speech about the peace with Spain, 353
Byng, George, made Rear-Admiral of the Red, III. 590. goes into the Mediterranean, 612. at the taking of Gibraltar, 664. made Vice-Admiral of the Blue, 678. fails towards

Dunkirk, to defeat the Pretender's designed expedition to Scotland, IV. 58. comes back into the Downs, and sails towards the coast of France, *ibid.* pursues the French fleet, and comes near the Firth of Edinburgh, 60. his two letters, *ibid.* thanked by the House of Commons, 61. one of the Lords of the Admiralty, 192. made Admiral of the White, 219. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 406. takes upon him the command of the fleet, 433. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 525, 562. sent with a fleet into the Baltic, 525. and with a large squadron into the Mediterranean, 562, 565. his instructions, *ibid.* dispatches his Secretary with a letter to Colonel Stanhope, 566. the King of Spain's answer to his letter, *ibid.* sends a letter to the Marquis de Lede, 568. defeats the Spanish fleet, *ibid.* the King's letter to him upon that occasion, 569. receives a gracious letter from the Emperor, with his picture, 571. motion in the House of Lords to have his instructions laid before them, 576. confiscates all French ships in the service of Spain, 589. lends the Imperialists cannon and ammunition, 594. destroys some Spanish men of war in *Misina* Road, 596. sends cannon to Sicily, 597. convays the Imperialists to Trepani, 599. returns to England, 603. account and character of him, *ibid.*

C.

CABAL, III. 13. dissolved, 14
Cabinet-Council appointed for Q. Mary, III. 139. detrimental to the public for affairs pursued through the Cabinet-Council, 223. IV. 404
Cadix, attack of the English upon that place, III. 568
Cadogan, Major-General, gives the Queen information of the Pretender's designs against Scotland, IV. 57. sends some regiments from abroad upon that occasion, 58. his bravery at the battle of Oudenard, 74, 75. at the battle of *Winnendale*, 84. forces the French lines, 170. removed from being Lieutenant of the Tower, 234. receives the Duke of Marlborough with great respect at his landing at *Offend*, for which he is dismissed, 300. takes measures to secure the Protestant Succession, 347. appointed Colonel of the 2d regiment of foot guards, 407. sent as Plenipotentiary to *Anwerp*, about the barrier treaty, 408. his proceedings against the Rebels in Scotland, 467, &c. created Baron of Reading, 499. negotiates a treaty between England and the Duke of Orleans, 505. a censure designed to be passed upon him, 526. made General of the forces in England, 548. sent Ambassador to the *League*, 549. created an Earl, 562. made Master-General of the Ordnance, 658
Cambray, a Congress there, IV. 619. the sole mediation there offered to K. George, who refuses it, 689
Cammock, a Spanish Rear-Admiral, IV. 568, &c. gets into *Misina*, 572. account of him, 589. his romantic offers to Admiral Byng, *ibid.*
Campaign in Flanders, III. 102, 154, 182, 255. IV. 19, 69, 139. in Germany, III. 103, 654, &c. IV. 101. in Italy, III. 184. in Italy and Prevence, IV. 21. in Italy, IV. 93. on the Rhine, III. 187, 257, 328. IV. 140, 175. in Catalonia, III. 328, 705, &c. in Portugal, III. 665. IV. 183. in Piedmont and Dauphiné, IV. 140, 175
Cape-Breten yielded up to the French by the treaty of Utrecht, 314, 391
Carlos, Don, a marriage concluded between him and one of the Duke of Orleans's daughters, IV. 674. the is sent back, 689. a match designed between the Emperor's eldest daughter and him, 690. the succession to Tuscany preserved to him, 711
Carmarthen, Marquis of. See Osborne, Thomas.
Carnarvon, Robert Dolziel, E. of, takes arms for the Pretender, IV. 445. his character, 448. taken prisoner at *Freston*, 459. brought up to London and examined, 465. committed to the Tower, *ibid.* impeached, 482. brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and pleads guilty, 484. condemned, *ibid.* respited, 487

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

- Carolina Wilhelmina*, Princess of Wales, delivered of Prince William, IV. 651. and of the Princess Louisa. 686
- Carpenter*, General, in Spain, IV. 94. at the battle of Almanara, 176. sent to ford over the Ebro, 177. his good advice not followed, 180. taken prisoner at Brihuega, 181. made Commander in Chief of the forces in Scotland, Governor of Minorca, &c. 501
- Carteret*, John Lord, votes with the Whig Lords, IV. 348. made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, 407. his speech about the Septennial bill, 492. about a standing army, 558. Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to Sweden, 588. concludes an alliance between England and Sweden, 614. made Secretary of State, 649. motion for his private instructions to be laid before the Parliament, 654. appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. 679
- Carthage* in America taken by *Pointis*, III. 354
- Castelmains*, Roger Palmer E. of, impeached, III. 113. excepted out of the Indemnity, 132
- Catalans* very kind to the English troops, IV. 213. forsaken by the English, 296. amnesty for them, 307. resolved to defend their liberty, 335. are to have a full pardon, 339. their safe taken into consideration by the House of Lords, 345, 347. reflection on their condition, 373. their safe reported by the Committee of Secrecy, 379. the Lords of the Regency write to the King of France in their behalf, 398
- Catalonia*, affairs there, III. 300, 328.
- Catharine*, Empress of Russia, her answer to K. George's letter to her, IV. 698. dies, 710
- Cession of arms* proposed, IV. 275. proclaimed, 281. prolonged, 304
- Covenants* rise in arms, III. 613. the English fleet attempts in vain to assist them, 614. suffer much, and are not relieved, 668. enter into a treaty with the French General, *ibid.*
- Chancery*, Matters in, their affair, IV. 683
- Charles II.* See Spain, K. of.
- Charles XI.* K. of Sweden, Mediator, III. 351. dies, 352
- Charles XII.* K. of Sweden, Mediator, III. 354. See Sweden.
- Charles*, Archduke of Austria, proclaimed K. of Spain, III. 614. several Spaniards declare for him, 615. lands in England, 625. his character, 626. is besieged in Barcelona, 753. delays going to Madrid, which is a great injury to him, 754. comes to *Tarragona*, and thence to *Saragossa*, and is acknowledged by the Kingdoms of *Valencia* and *Aragon*, 755. comes up near Madrid, *ibid.* joins the E. of *Galway*, and advances against K. Philip, 757. concludes a treaty of commerce with England, IV. 12. but ratifies it with reluctance, *ibid.* courts the Princess of *Anspach*, who refuses to change her Religion, and he marries the Princess of *Wolfenbuttel*, 32. the Pope acknowledges him, 100. the French offer to give him Spain and the *West-Indies*, 121, &c. comes to Madrid, 179. no care is taken by the Allies to support him, 180. his affairs are in a bad situation, 182. is elected Emperor, 214. See Emperor.
- Cholmondeley*, Hugh E. of, objects against the ratification of the treaties of peace and commerce, IV. 311. removed from the place of Treasurer of the Household, *ibid.* received with great favour by K. George, 402. appointed Treasurer of the Household, 406. his speech in Parliament, 579
- Cholmondeley*, George E. of, his speech upon the Septennial bill, IV. 492
- Church of England* said to be in danger, III. 715. memorial of the Church of England, *ibid.* danger of the Church inquired into by the House of Lords, 724, &c. protests about it, 728, 729
- Churchill*, Lord John, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 38. and Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, 39. created E. of *Marlborough*, 45. acts in Flanders, 103. See *Marlborough*.
- Civil Life*, III. 51, 52
- Clarendon*, Henry Hyde E. of, in great credit in Ireland, III. 77. aspires to the post of Lord-Lieutenant, *ibid.* discontented, *ibid.* spreads slanders against K. William, 105. enters into a plot to restore K. James, 166. committed to the Tower and released, 171. the Earl's History published, 592. appointed Envoy Extraordinary to Hanover, IV. 352. his speeches, *ibid.*
- Clark*, Dr Samuel, publishes his *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, IV. 412. lays a paper before the Convocation to vindicate himself, 413
- Clement XI.* Pope, dies, IV. 651. was a great friend to the Pretender, *ibid.*
- Clergy*, adhere to the divine rights of Monarchy, and lineal Succession, and to the distinction of a King *de jure* and *de facto*, III. 27. it is proposed in Parliament to exclude them from taking the oaths to K. William, 47. but they are at length obliged to take them before August 1, 1689. 48. shew their hatred to the Dissenters, 49. episcopal Clergy in Scotland zealous for K. James, which proves the ruin of Episcopacy in that Kingdom, 58, &c. Protestant Clergy in Ireland, design to suppress them, 88. Clergy in England take the oaths to K. William with reservations and distinctions, 105. excepted out of the abjuration bill, 131. the Clergy in England give offence by their behaviour about the oaths, 218. sign the Association, 322. divisions among them encourage profaneness, 374. some of them against a toleration, *ibid.* complain of the Convocation's not sitting, 522, &c. helped to recover many privileges by the help of Mr *Atterbury*'s book, 524. used to grant their own subsidies apart, *ibid.* taxed by the House of Commons ever since the year 1665, *ibid.* and 525. promote the notion of the Church's being in danger, 715
- Coin*, the loss the Nation suffered by reclaiming the money, III. 327. proceedings of the Commons about it, 333, 334
- Collier*, Jeremy, gives absolution to Sir John Freind, and Sir William Perkins, III. 325. vindicates that practice, *ibid.* his *short view of the stage*, 391
- Commerce*, treaty of, between England and France, IV. 303. rejected by the Parliament, 304. between the Emperor and Spain, 690
- Commission* for reviewing the Liturgy and the Commissioners names, III. 106, 107. ecclesiastical Commission for disposing of Church preferments, 523
- Commissioners* to treat of an Union between England and Scotland, III. 557, &c. 736, &c. they meet, 737
- Committee* of both Houses to advise K. William, III. 223, &c. 235. of Secrecy chosen, IV. 420. meets, 421. their Report, 426, &c. their report concerning Mr Prior, 435. a select one to inspect into the execution of the South-Sea scheme, 632. their report, 636, &c. of the House of Commons examines *Lyster*, 666. their report, *ibid.*
- Commons*, House of, will not agree to exclude the Clergy from taking the oaths, III. 47. present an address of thanks to the King, for his having discharged chimney-money, 52. address to the King for a war with France, 89. settle upon the King the hereditary excise for life, and grant him the customs for four years, 128, 129. vote a Supply of four millions, 160. another of above three millions, 190. one of above five millions, 226, &c. of five millions and a half, 249, &c. of almost five millions. 259. their representation to the King upon his refusing to pass the Place-bill, 250. their proceedings against *Pauncefort* and others guilty of bribery, 267, 268. debates in that House about reclaiming the money, 305. their proceedings about the Coin, 333, 334. bent upon disbanding the forces, and grant a Supply for that purpose, 387. their address of thanks to the King upon disbanding the army, 388. the King's message to them about the Dutch Guards, and their address thereupon, *ibid.* many hard things said in that House against the Court and the King, 389. find fault with the partition treaty, 447. vote forty thousand sailors, and the same number of soldiers, 501. vote that it is the undoubted right of the People to petition, 503. present an address to the Queen on the ill-management of the funds, 584. disputes between them and the House of Lords, in the case of *Abby and White*, 639, &c. shew a great neglect in all that related to the fleet, 642. lose much of their reputation, 644. their proceedings about the five *Shylbury* men, 679, &c. motion for excluding Pensioners and Placemen from the House of Commons, 722. debates about the danger of the Church, 728. their resolutions for making the Union more complete, IV. 43. and about the trade to Portugal, Italy, and Spain, *ibid.* enquire strictly into the E. of *Galway*'s conduct at the battle of *Almanza*, 53. their resolution for the preservation of public credit, 61. their partiality in judging of contested elections, 108. great debates about the Peers of Scotland's eldest sons, *ibid.* impeach Dr *Sacheverel*, 151. their Managers at his trial, 153, 154. take into consideration the management of the war, and find some abuses in the victualling, 199. inquire into the affair of the *Palatine*, 200. grant 1,500,000l. for the service in Spain, 212. reject in their address of thanks a clause that had been inserted in the Lords address, 229. form several resolutions injurious to the *States*, 242. and condemn the barrier treaty, *ibid.* debates there about the negotiation of peace, 263. order Bp *Fleetwood*'s Preface to be burnt, 270, 271. their resolution against the letter from the *States*, 272. and about the Queen's care for the Protestant Succession, *ibid.* they stigmatize those that delighted in war, 313. vote the Protestant Succession to be in no danger, 354. debates about K. George's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, 419. on the bill for Septennial Parliaments, 494, &c. measures taken by them for reducing the public debts, 527, &c. debates there about the repeal of the *Schin* and Occasional bills, 578. and about the South-Sea scheme, 611. their proceedings about the South-Sea affair, 630, &c. their resolutions about the South-Sea Directors, 637, &c. in favour of the Sufferers by the South-Sea scheme, 642, &c. they present an address to the King, demonstrating the necessity and wisdom of their proceedings, 643. debates there about the Subsidy to Sweden, 647. and about the Navy debt, 653. their votes against the *Old East-India* Company, 672. their proceedings against the *Mallors* in *Chancery*, 683
- Comprehension*, bill for it, III. 49. why miscarried, 51. attempted again, 106
- Compton*, Henry, Bishop of London, made Privy Counsellor, III. 38. and Dean of the Royal Chapel, 39. crowns K. William and Q. Mary, 45. his speech in the Convocation, 109. twice disappointed of the See of *Canterbury*, 529. opposes the Court, *ibid.* had the education of the Princess (afterwards Q. Anne) 534. marries her to the Prince of Denmark, *ibid.* helps to convey her from the Court to Nottingham, 536. his speech about the danger of the Church, 725. his death and character, IV. 323.
- Compton*, Spencer, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, IV. 416
- Congress* at *Alb* and *Aland* between the Swedish and Russian Ministers, IV. 540, 616. at Brunswick and Cambray, 619
- Conspiracy* in Scotland, III. 629. the papers relating to it laid before the House of Lords, 633. endeavours used to stifle it, 634. account of that Conspiracy, 637. the Lords vote about it, 639. in England, IV. 426. discovered, 438. carried on 443. another Conspiracy, 506
- Convention* turned into a Parliament, III. 41. the Convention in Scotland meets, 64. proceeding therein, 65, &c. the lawfulness of it, 67. their acts for the security of the Nation, 68. send relief to Ireland, *ibid.* their answer to K. William's letter, 69. publish a proclamation against K. James, 73
- Convocation* meets, and their proceedings, III. 109, &c. their address to the King, 110. books about it, 522. regularly called by K. William, but always prorogued, 524. is allowed to sit, *ibid.* pretended they had a right to sit whenever the Parliament sat, *ibid.* and that they had no need of a licence to enter upon debates, *ibid.* disputes between the Lower-House and the Archbishop about adjourning, 525. report of the Lower-House, 526. their power as to censuring of books, 527. whether dissolved by the King's death, 531

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

531, 532. their proceedings in 1702, 589, &c. their petition to the Queen, 591. lit again, their proceedings, 644, &c. meet again, and present a representation, 645, remarks upon it, *ibid.* a new one meets, 732. difference between the two Houses, 733. meet again, 793. speak against the Union, and name a Committee to consider of the present danger of the Church, *ibid.* pro- rogued, *ibid.* order a representation to be made to the Bishops, 794. the Lower-House continues sitting after the prorogation, 795, and prepares a protestation against the Arch- bishop, *ibid.* the Prolocutor absents himself, for which he is declared contumacious, *ibid.* the Convocation opened, IV. 206. the Queen's licence for the fitting of it, *ibid.* their representation to the Queen, 207. has a jurisdiction, and may proceed in case of heresy, *ibid.* whether the Queen's licence to it sub- sisted after a prorogation by a Royal writ, 254. meets again, 340. and 412.

Cook, Sir Thomas, Governor of the East- India Company, proceedings of the Com- mons against him, III. 270. committed to the Tower, and a bill brought in against him, 272. act to indemnify him, 273. examined before the Commons, *ibid.* act for imprison- ing him, 279.

Corporation-Act repealed, IV. 578, &c.

Corruption, an universal one complained of, III. 269.

Cottonian Library, III. 731.

Coulper, William, made Lord-Keeper, III. 716. his character, *ibid.* discourages the great number of private bills, 731. his pro- ceedings and speeches about the Union of the two Kingdoms, 737, &c. presents the arti- cles of Union to the Queen, 739. is created Baron of Wingham, 781. declared Lord High Chancellor, 792. his speech to the Parliament, IV. 106. speaks at Dr Sacheverel's trial, 158. delivers up the Great Seal, 191. speaks against the resumption of K. William's grants, 245. his speech about the peace, 261, 269. represents the dan- gers that threatened the Protestant Succession, 345. his speech about the Catalans, 347. made Lord Chancellor, 404. Lord High- Steward at the time of the condemnation of the seven impeached Lords, 484. and of the E. of Winton, 488. his speech on the Sep- tentennial bill, 493. appointed Lord High- Steward at the E. of Oxford's trial, 541. resigns the Great Seal, 562. created an Earl, *ibid.* is against the repeal of the Schism Act, 570. his speeches about the Peerage-bill, 586. and 608. and about the South-Sea scheme, 611. was against securing Knights, 633. dies, 676. his character, *ibid.*

Court of Conscience erected in Bristol, Glou- cester, and Newcastle, III. 98. Court of the Marshes of Wales abolished, *ibid.*

Craggs, James, sent to the Tower, III. 265. concerned in clothing the army, *ibid.* ex- amined in the House of Commons about the East-India Company, 277. act for impris- oning him, 279. speaks against the *Affiento* trade, IV. 339. sent to K. George with a letter, 370. returns to England with letters to the Lords-Judices, 397. made Secretary at War, 525. made Secretary of State, 562. his answer to Marquis de Montelou's letter, 574. gives the House of Commons an ac- count of the measures pursued by the King, 577. was to have been created a Peer, 609. challenges the House of Commons, 632. dies, 635.

Crawford, William Lindsay E. of, appoint- ed to preside in the Parliament of Scotland, III. 74. against the Episcopal Clergy, 105. his character, *ibid.* and 118.

Credit, the public, restored, III. 334. very high, 729. the Commons care for pre- serving it, IV. 61.

Crew, Nathaniel, Bishop of Durham, takes the oaths, III. 112. excepted out of the Indemnity, 132.

Cromarty, George Mackenzie E. of, Secre- tary of State for Scotland, III. 649. his speech, 650. is made Justice-General, 653.

Czar, Peter I, travels to Holland and England, III. 356. his character, *ibid.* suc- cessful against the Tartars, 363. defeated at Narva, 438. over-runs Poland, IV. 15. presses the Poles to chafe another King, *ibid.*

tries to make a peace with the K. of Swe- den, *ibid.* reduces Livonia to his obedience, 183. the Grand Seigneur declares war against him, 184. has an engagement with the Turks, and concludes a peace with them, 214. the K. of Sweden endeavours to stir up the Turks against him, 309. makes him- self master of Finland, *ibid.* had taken from the K. of Sweden his German Dominions, 505. angry with K. George, 506, 511, &c. misunderstanding between him and the Court of Hanover, 538, 539. goes to France, and concludes a treaty with that Court, 540. a peace between him and Sweden, *ibid.* ravages part of Sweden, 589. his Minister's Se- cretary committed, 606. alliance between England and Sweden against him, 614. con- tinues the war, and makes peace without any Mediator, 615. refuses the mediation of England, 618. peace between him and Swe- den, 650. his memorial upon Mr Bstflugel's being ordered to leave England, *ibid.* dies, 697.

Czarina. See Caibarine.

D.

Dalrymple, John, made Joint-Secretary of State for Scotland, III. 182. undertakes to bring the Jacobites into the King's service, *ibid.* created Lord Stair, 194.

Dalrymple, Sir David, frames a bill to dis- charge the Clans of Scotland from their vas- sals, IV. 58. Lord Advocate of Scotland, ordered to enquire into the affair of the Pre- tender's medal, 218. removed, *ibid.* made Auditor of the Exchequer in Scotland, 617.

Danby, E. of. See Osborne, Thomas.

Danes refuse to stir from their quarters till their arrears were paid, III. 743. join the Allies, 744.

Darien; account of that Settlement, III. 283, 308, 392. miscarries, 392, &c. the French King complains, and the K. of Spain presents a memorial against it, 393. great discontent upon the loss of it, 394. and 406.

Dartmouth, William Legg, Lord, made Secretary of State, IV. 189. created Vis- count Lewisham, and Earl of Dartmouth, 219. made Lord Privy-Seal, 328.

Davenant, Dr Charles, some of his books censured, III. 551. appointed Secretary to the English Commissioners for the Union, 558. his Essays upon peace at home, and war abroad, 627.

D'Aumont, D. of, appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to England, IV. 296. comes to England, 300. his character, *ibid.* insult- ed, and his house burnt, 325, 326. the Pre- tender thought to be with him, *ibid.* presents a memorial against Mr Dubourdieux, an emi- nent French Preacher, *ibid.* makes his pub- lic entry, 327. leaves England, 328.

Dauphin, an attempt to carry him off, IV. 32. he dies, 203. two other Dauphins died, 246.

Dawes, Sir William, Bp of Chester, speaks against the bill for naturalizing Protestant for- eigners, IV. 112. votes for the E. of Ox- ford, 431. endeavours to justify the Uni- versity of Oxford, with relation to the riot there, 510. speaks against the Quaker's bill, and presents a petition against it, 655.

Debts; measures for reducing the public debts, IV. 527. state of them, 528, &c. bill for lessening them, 677. debts of the Civil List, 684.

De Foe, Daniel, his shortest way with the Dissenters, III. 582.

De la Mère, Lord. See Booth, George.

Deleval, Sir Ralph, presides at the Court- martial which tried the E. of Torrington, III. 145. examined in the House of Commons about a letter from the E. of Nottingham, 192. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 236.

Dendermonde, deserviced, III. 751. taken by the Allies, *ibid.*

Denmark, George Pr. of, created Baron of Oakingham, E. of Kendal, and D. of Cum- berland, III. 45. attends K. William in Ire- land, 133. is married to the Princess Anne, 534. their issue, *ibid.* prejudiced against the Whigs, 538. is declared Generalissimo of all the Queen's forces by sea and land, 344. made Lord High-Admiral, 545. a bill for

settling a provision upon him, if he survived the Queen, 575, 576. protests against it, 576. is for the Occasional Conformity bill, 581. underflood sea-affairs very little, and was imposed upon, 611. negligent in the management of the Admiralty, 678. declared High-Admiral, 792. his Council in the affairs of the Admiralty, *ibid.* they manage badly, IV. 30. engages in Mr Harley's party, 35. great complaints against his Coun- cil, 41. is thanked by the House of Com- mons for his diligence in fitting out a fleet, when Scotland was threatened with an in- vasion, 61. dies, 104. his character, *ibid.*

Denmark, Anne Princess of, 50,000 l. a year settled upon her, III. 52, 120. K. William and Q. Mary uneasy at her requiring a pro- vision, *ibid.* motion for her maintenance causes the E. of Marlborough's disgrace, 195. Q. Mary falls out with her because she would not dismiss the Councils of Marlborough, 196. retires to Lion-House, 197. not admitted to see her Sister Q. Mary on her death-bed, 263. the King reconciled to her, *ibid.* not put at the head of the Lords-Judices, 280. See Q. ANNE.

Denmark, Frederick IV. K. of, travels through the Courts of Germany and Italy, IV. 143. it is given out that he intended to change his Religion, *ibid.* attacks Sweden, *ibid.* and 184. invades Pomrania, 214. takes Swe- den, and reduces the Duchy of Bremen, 308. exacts 300,000 l. of the City of Hamburgh, *ibid.* defeated by the Swedes, 309. the Czar's designs against him, 538. his manifesto against the Czar, 538. treaty between Eng- land and Denmark, 617. restores all the places taken from Sweden, and makes peace, 618. treaty between Denmark, Great-Brit- tain, and France, 706.

Derwentwater, James Ratcliffe E. of, en- gaged in the Rebellion, IV. 443. his char- acter, 450. taken prisoner at Preston, 458. brought up to London, and examined, 465. impeached of High-Treason, 482. brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and pleads guilty, 484. His Lady intercedes with the King for mercy, 485. petitions the Parlia- ment in his behalf, 486. he is executed, and his dying speech, 487.

Descent, one in France intended, III. 761. one designed by the Pretender, in Scotland, IV. 56.

Devonshire, William Cavendish E. of, made Lord Steward of the Household, III. 39. and Knight of the Garter, 45. his safe taken in- to consideration by the Parliament, 92, 93. created Marquis of Hartington, and D. of Devonshire, 253. made one of the Lords- Judges, 280. made Lord-Steward, 545. is for declaring war against France, *ibid.* against the Occasional Conformity bill, 581, 678. has a meeting with some of the eminent Members of the House of Commons, IV. 37. removed from being Lord-Steward, 191. his speech on occasion of the D. of Ormond's refusing to fight, 261. made Steward of the Household, 404. brings in the bill for Sep- tentennial Parliaments, 490. made President of the Council, 500. resigns his place of Pre- sident of the Council, 525. brings about a reconciliation between the King and the Pr. of Wales, 617. brought again into favour, and made one of the Lords-Judices, *ibid.*

Deyne and Dismayde surrender, III. 294. their garisons treacherously detained by the French, 295.

Dissenters, K. William endeavours to have them admitted into civil employments, III. 45. their state at the Revolution, *ibid.* K. William's great indulgence to them creates jealousies of him, 105. blackened after K. William's death, 578. complaint from the Lower-House of Convocation, for their Teachers administering private Baptism, 686. Schism-bill against them, IV. 359, &c. mo- tion to allow them schools to teach their own children, 362. a design to ease them, 524. encouraged, 551. get the Schism-act re- pealed, 578. some of them make an ill use of the indulgence shewn to them, 579. a great dispute amongst their Ministers, about sub- scribing articles of peace, 607. an act for ex- empting the Protestant Dissenters in Ireland from certain penalties passed in the Parliament of that Kingdom, 606.

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Daddington, George, Secretary to the English Commissioners for the Union between England and Scotland, III. 736. made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, IV. 143.
Dadwell, Henry, account of him, IV. 254.
Dalben, John, complains to the House of Commons of Dr *Sacheverell's* sermons, IV. 151. carries up his impeachment, 152.
Dorset, Charles Sackville E. of, Lord Chamberlain, made one of the Lords-Justices, III. 280. resigns his office of Chamberlain, 350. his character, *ibid.*
Dorset, Lionel Cranfield Sackville D. of, made Conflable of *Dever*, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, IV. 105. removed, 325. made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to K. *George*, 401. and Knight of the Garter, 407. made a Duke, 617.
Doway besieged and retaken, IV. 171, &c. account of that place, 174.
Drake, James, against the Partition treaty, III. 448. his history of the last Parliament, 475, 479. *rescued*, 551.
Dubois, Abbott, comes to London, IV. 549. helps to discover the plot against the D. of *Oleant*, 582.
Dumblain, battle of, IV. 459. prisoners taken there, 461, 462.
Duncomb, Charles, Receiver-General of the Excise, sent to the Tower for false indentures on *Exchequer*-bills, III. 373. purchased the manor of *Hemley*, *ibid.*
Dundee, Viscount, acts for K. *James* in Scotland, III. 64, &c. raises a Rebellion, 68, &c. defeats *Mackay*, but is slain, 76. his character, *ibid.*
Dunkirk, address for demolishing it, IV. 117. the French offer to demolish it, 125; 129, 163. is to be demolished, 221, 251, 268. the English take possession of it, 280, &c. an equivalent for the demolition of it, 314, 320. *Tughe* presents a petition for preserving that harbour, 327. Mr *Steele's* reflection on that petition, *ibid.* *Dunkirk* demolished, but a new canal made at *Mardyke*, 328. *Steele's* motion about it, 343. and Mr *Walpole's*, 344. *De Torcy's* letter about it, 379. *Prior* presents a memorial about the demolition of it, 408.
Dutch, their charges for K. *William's* expedition into England repaid, III. 54. fix hundred thousand pounds granted them, 98. treaties with them, 91, 102. are thought to be too much favoured by K. *William*, 189, 212. the service of their fleet at *la Hogue*, 201, 202. *Dutch-Guards*; the King's unfitness at disbanding of them, 387. his message about them, 388. motion for obliging them to leave off trading with France, 724. the bravery of their cavalry at the battle of *Ramillies*, 747.

E.

East-India Company, III. 190. King's message to the Commons about it, 222. proceedings of the House of Commons upon their affairs, 223, &c. obtains a new Charter, 250. their affairs examined by the House of Commons, 269, &c. a new *East-India Company* erected, 369. petition of the old *East-India Company* to the House of Commons, 390. the Old and New bribe the Members of Parliament, 439. do not like the proceedings of the House of Commons, 471, 472. these two Companies come to an agreement, 503. public debts due to them, IV. 530, 531. an union proposed between them and the *South-Sea Company*, 624.
East-India Company in Scotland, III. 283, 308. gives a great alarm to that in England, 283. proceedings in the Parliament of Scotland about it, 308. they lay open their grievances before the Parliament of Scotland, 380, &c.
East-India Company settled at *Offend*, IV. 672. guaranteed by Spain, 689, &c. suspended, 710. stopped, 711.
Eckron, battle of, III. 619. description of that place, *ibid.*
Edgcombe, Richard, made one of the Lords of the Treasury, IV. 499. removed from his employment, 525. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 617. appointed one of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland, 679.

Edict of Nantes revoked, III. 36.
Edinburgh-Castle kept by the D. of Gordon, III. 68, &c. surrenders, 76. several suspected persons committed to the Castle there, IV. 437. plot to seize that Castle, 438. the heads of the disaffected are summoned to come thither, and surrender themselves, 445. the Rebels march towards that City, 447. some Ministers there refuse to acknowledge *King George*, 606.
Emperor, Leopold, resolves to be master of *Transylvania*, III. 188. led on by prophecies, and hates *Herely* and France, *ibid.* declares against the Partition treaty, 413, &c. alliance between him, England and Holland, 487. declares war against France and Spain, 546, 564. disorders in his Court, 622. reduced to the last extremities, implores Q. *Anne's* protection, 653. his ill conduct with regard to Hungary, 668. dies, 704. his character, *ibid.*
Emperor, Joseph, succeeds his father, his character, III. 704. 500,000*l.* lent to him upon a branch of his revenue in *Silesia*, 720. bent upon the reduction of Hungary, 759. recalls his troops from the *Upper Rhine*, *ibid.* makes a treaty for evacuating the *Milanese*, without the participation of his Allies, IV. 4. conquers *Naples* also without their consent, 21, &c. the King of France endeavours to unite the Princes and States of Italy in a league against him, 98. difference between him and the Pope, *ibid.* his troops seize *Comacina*, and other places possessed by the Pope, *ibid.* interposes by his Ambassador in favour of the D. of *Marlborough*, and the Ministry, 190. dies, 203.
Emperor, Charles VI., elected and crowned, IV. 214. writes a circular letter to the Electors, upon the receipt of the preliminaries of peace, 224, 225. and another letter to the States, *ibid.* sends Prince *Eugene* to England, 236. sends his Plenipotentiaries to the Congress at *Utrecht*, 247. makes preparations for the campaign, 254. the number of men he offered to furnish in divers places, 276. offers to contribute towards the subsistence of the auxiliary troops, 287. disposed to promote a general peace, 304, &c. his Ministers are against signing the treaty of *Utrecht*, 310. his Ministers had Conferences at *Rastadt* with the French King's, 337. resolves to conclude his treaty with France, without the intervention of the maritime powers, 338. the King of Spain pretended to have numberless complaints against him, 504. persuades the D. of *Savoy* to take *Sardinia* in exchange for *Sicily*, *ibid.* treaty between him and K. *George*, 508. attacked by the Spaniards, 549. the Courts of England and France try to bring about a reconciliation between him and the K. of Spain, *ibid.* renounces all pretensions to the Crown of Spain, *ibid.* quadruple alliance concluded with him, 562. peace concluded between him and the Sultan, 565. writes a gracious letter to Admiral *Byng*, and sends him his picture, 571. enters into a Convention with the D. of *Savoy*, *ibid.* sends to *Sicily* the troops designed for *Sardinia*, 596. rejects the mediation of the Dutch, 604. continues to take the title of K. of Spain, 615. refuses the sole mediation of K. *George*, 689. concludes two treaties with Spain, *ibid.* and a private treaty, 690. had acted with uncommon coldness towards K. *George*, *ibid.* denies him the investiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*, *ibid.* and 694. Complains that the Court of Great-Britain and France had endeavoured to stir up the *Osman Porte* against him, 705. prepares to attack the Dutch in the *Netherlands*, 709. concludes a peace with Great-Britain, 710. ratifies the Preliminaries, 711.
England to furnish twenty thousand men for the general war against France, III. 165. in great danger from the French for want of intelligence, 201. a great corruption throughout England, 218. England guarantee of the Neutrality of Italy, IV. 549. the Spanish squadron fails for England, 583. peace concluded between England and Sweden, 588.
English army very sickly in Ireland, III. 133. defeats the *Irish*. See *Boyne*. English fleet has an engagement with the French near *Beauchy*, and is worsted, 140. English Mi-

nistry act without union, 243. blamed for the ill success at sea, *ibid.* and 244. English fleets bombard *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, &c. 254, 255. English Nation highly inflamed at the King of France's proclaiming the Pretender, 495. very eager for the war with France, 503. their success in America, 594. attack Fort *St Augustin* and *Guadalupe*, *ibid.* defeat the French at *Ramillies*, 746. defeated at *Almanza*, IV. 6, &c. several battalions surrender themselves, 9. the rest retire to *Xativa* and *Alcira*, 10. the English alarm the coast of *Normandy*, 83. the English troops not suffered to march through any of the towns garrisoned by Dutch, in their way to *Dunkirk*, 274, 282. those in Spain called home, 296. the English too jealous of their liberty to suffer foreign forces, 404.
Episcopacy abolished in Scotland, III. 58, 72, 124, &c. Episcopal Clergy in Scotland deprived, 105, &c. See Clergy and Scotland.
Episcopal Clergy in Scotland encouraged by Q. *Anne*, and present an address to her, III. 595. the Episcopal party had the majority in the Parliament there, 596.
Ernst, Bishop of *Onaburg*, created E. of *Uylster*, and Duke of *York* and *Albany*, IV. 500.
Essex, Arthur Capel E. of, Committee to inquire into his death, III. 95.
Essex, Algernon Capel E. of, sworn a Privy-Counsellor, IV. 105.
Evans, George, created Baron *Carbery*, IV. 404.
Eugene, Prince, of Savoy, goes to Vienna to solicit succours, III. 184. commands the Imperial troops, 330. defeats the *Turks* at *Zenta*, 363. marches into Italy, passes the *Mincio*, and routs the French near *Carpi*, 484, 485. his attempt upon *Cremona*, takes Marshal *Villery* prisoner there, 486. defeats the French at the battle of *Luzzara*, 567. visits the D. of *Marlborough*, and concert measures with him, 654. commands a separate army upon the *Rhine*, 655. his saying about the English forces, *ibid.* at the battle of *Hochstet*, 657. ten thousand men taken into the pay of England and Holland, to reinforce his army, 704. has a weak army in Italy, ill provided and ill paid, 705. has an engagement with the D. of *Vandamme*, *ibid.* money borrowed in England for his use, 729. marches to the relief of *Turin*, 758. joins the D. of *Savoy*, and defeats the French, *ibid.* commands the Imperial army at the siege of *Toulon*, IV. 25. he and the D. of *Marlborough* act with perfect unanimity, 72. his bravery at the battle of *Oudenard*, 74, 75. lays siege to *Lisle*, 80. wounded, 83. Q. *Anne* and the States-General desire that he may be sent to Spain to command in chief, 93. comes to Holland upon proposals of peace made by France, 124. chafes to serve in Flanders with the D. of *Marlborough*, 133. wounded at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 137. invests *Doway*, 171. concert at *Frankfort* the necessary measures with the Elector of *Mentz*, 209. comes to England, 236. receives an account of the D. of *Marlborough's* disgrace, *ibid.* conducted to *Leicester-house*, *ibid.* the Whigs glad, and the Jacobites displeased at his coming, 237. scandalous reflections in the *Post-Boy* on his mother, *ibid.* his compliment on the D. of *Marlborough*, *ibid.* in the note, said, the D. of *Marlborough* was always successful, 240. presents a memorial about the Emperor's conduct in the war, 244. loses his nephew, *ibid.* returns to the *Hague*, 245. the States give him the supreme command of their army, 255. besieges *Quefnoy*, 259. detaches troops to make an irruption into France, 276. refuses to give over the siege of *Quefnoy*, 277. resolves to attack *Londrécy*, 281. his memorial to the D. of *Ormond*, 282. his lines at *Denain* forced by the French, 284. marches to the relief of *Doway*, 286. defeats the *Turks*, 548.
Exchange, bills of, drawn from Genoa for Spain protested, IV. 193.
Exchequer bills, III. 336. false indentment on them inquired into by the Commons, 373. their currency, 730.
Exeter; disputes there about the Trinity, IV. 607.

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Eyles, Sir John, his speech at the General Court of the South-Sea Company, IV. 646
Eyles, Francis, expelled the House of Commons, IV. 641
Eyre, Robert, made Solicitor-General, IV. 105. advises only the imprisonment *Sacheverel*, and burning his sermon, 150. made one of the Justices of the *Queen's-Bench*, and knighted, 192

F.

Faction, one in the Church and State set up, III. 51
Fagel, one of the *Dutch* Generals, III. 654. commands the *Dutch* auxiliaries in *Portugal*, 665. upon no good terms with the *Portuguese* Generals nor *D. Schomberg*, 666. made *Velt-Marshal* General of the *Portuguese* forces, *ibid.* his sleeve taken off by a cannon-ball, 706. recalled, *ibid.* the not taking of *Badajoz* ascribed to him, *ibid.*
Falkland, Anthony Cary Lord Viscount, sworn of the Privy-Council, III. 195. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 236. accusation against him by the Admirals, 249
Falmouth, Hugh Boscowen, Lord Viscount, made one of the Treasurers of Ireland, IV. 69
Fellows, Sir John, Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company, IV. 624. ordered to be taken into custody, 634
Fenwick, Sir John, engaged in the Assassination-plot, III. 312. gets troops ready, 314, 315. seized, 336. his letter to his Lady, *ibid.* sets up a counter-plot, 337. examined by the House of Commons, 338. bill for attainting him, 339, &c. names of the Members of the House of Commons that were for and against attainting him, 343. beheaded, 344
Ferguson, Robert, enters into a plot against *K. William*, III. 118, 128. seized, 133. writes in defence of the *Yorkshire* plotters, 266. offers to make discoveries about the plot in *Scotland*, 630. discovers an intention of placing the Pretender on the Throne after the *Queen's* death, *ibid.* and 636. the Lords offended with his papers, 638, 639
Finch, Daniel Lord, speaks in behalf of *R. Steele*, IV. 343. made one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*, 402. impeaches the *E. of Carnwarth*, 482. removed from the place of one of the Lords of the Treasury, 487. his speech in Parliament, 523. his speech in behalf of the *L. Belingbroke*, 685
Findlater, James Ogilvie E. of, against the malt-tax being extended to *Scotland*, IV. 317. made Chancellor of *Scotland*, 328. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, 334
First-Fruits and Tenths given by the Queen for the augmentation of small livings, III. 641. an account of them, *ibid.* *Bp Burnet* instrumental in that, 642. *Sir John Halland* and *Sir Joseph Jekyll* were for taking them quite away, but *Sir Christopher Mulgrave*, &c. were for continuing them, *ibid.*
Fittou — a zealous Papist, Chancellor of Ireland, III. 77, 87. his character, *ibid.*
Flanders; campaigns there, III. 154, 182, 255
Flanders, if lost, *Holland* and *England* in danger, III. 189. the House of Commons send forces thither, 224
Fleet; the *English* cannot bring the *French* to a general engagement, III. 182. inquiries into the conduct of our fleets, 191, &c. 222. *K. James* endeavours to corrupt some of the Commanders of our fleet, 199, 200. miscarriages of the fleet inquired into by Parliament, 248. the *French* fleet avoids an engagement with the *English*, and goes into the *Mediterranean*, 253. the miscarriages of the fleet inquired into, 349. their proceedings much censured, 355. the *English* fleet bombards *Copenhagen*, 410. destroys the *French* fleet and galleons at *Vigo*, 570. great complaints about the management of it, 613. the *French* fleet beaten by the *English* near *Malaga*, 664. the *English* fleet goes to the relief of *Barcelona*, 752. keeps in the *Mediterranean*, and blocks up the *French* in *Toulon*, 756. takes *Alicant*, *ibid.* a fleet prepared with great expedition, upon the news of the Pretender's

intended descent in *Scotland*, IV. 58. a fleet sent into the *Baltic*, 525, 538. the King's message about the fleet, 561. a strong fleet fitted out by *England*, 562. the *Spanish* fleet sails to *Sicily*, 562. *English* fleet sent to the *Mediterranean*, 565. See *Bing*. they defeat the *Spanish* fleet, 568. the *Spanish* fleet sails for *England*, 583. but is dispersed, 584. an *English* fleet sent to the *Baltic*, 583, 618. joins the *Swedish* fleet, 619. the *Russian* fleet lands a body of men near *Uma*, *ibid.*
Fleetwood, William, Bishop of *St Asaph*, his Preface to his four Sermons burnt, IV. 270. his letter to *Bishop Burnet*, 272. the Queen called him her *Bishop*, *ibid.*
Folty, Thomas, appointed Auditor of the Imprest, IV. 328. seconds a motion made by *Mr Hungerford* against *R. Steele*, 342. another motion of his, 343
Fontenabie and Port-Passage taken by the *French*, IV. 603
Forces; foreign forces in *England*, debate about them, III. 227
Forfeited estates, IV. 547. bill for vesting them in Trustees, to be sold for the use of the public, 560
France, K. of. See *Louis XIV.*
France; war declared against her by the diet of *Ratisbona*, *Holland*, *Spain*, *Brandenburg*, &c. III. 88. and by *England*, 90. concert measures with the *Jacobites* to restore *K. James*, 139. resolution of the Congress at the *Hague* to employ 222,000 men against *France*, 165. famine in *France*, 244. tries to obtain a peace, *ibid.* and 257. makes a separate peace with the *D. of Savoy*, 329. endeavours to set the Prince of *Conti* on the throne of *Poland*, 353. tries in vain to retake the trade with *England*, 380. her intrigues to secure the Crown of *Spain*, 384. great rejoicings there upon the news of *K. William's* death, 542. reduced to ruins, 685. Court of *France* makes proposals for a peace, 763. their offers rejected, 764. apply to the Pope, *ibid.* suffers greatly by the frost in 1709, IV. 119. reduced to great extremities, particularly by the general decline of the public credit, 121, &c. renunciation of the Crown of *France* by the King of *Spain*, 263. the allies make an irruption into *France*, 276. peace signed between *England* and *France*, 310. the distressed condition of that Kingdom, 349, 371. the Court of *France* acknowledges *K. George* for King of *Great-Britain*, 398, 400. declares war against *Spain*, 582. four *English* Gentlemen murdered in *France*, 676. persecution there, 681. treaty between *France*, *England*, and *Prussia*, 690. and *Sweden* and *Denmark*, 705
Frederic IV. of *Denmark*, his manifesto against the *Czar*, IV. 539. makes preparations against *Sweden*, but at length agrees to a peace, 589, 616, 617
Frederic, Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, elected K. of *Sweden*, IV. 619
Frederic, Prince, inoculated for the small-pox, *ibid.*
Frederickstadt, the K. of *Sweden* killed before that place, *ibid.*
Freeman, Samuel, Dean of *Peterborough*, protests against the irregularities of the Lower-House of Convocation, III. 73
Friends, *Sir John*, engaged in the *Lancaster* plot, III. 365. and in the Assassination-plot, 312. had a Commission from *K. James*, 314. tried and executed, 324. absolved by *Jer. Collier*, &c. 325
Friend, Dr. his account of the *E. of Peterborough's* conduct in *Spain*, III. 707, &c.
French attack the *Spanish* Netherlands, III. 35. surprise *Courtray* and *Dismuyden*, and besiege and take *Luxemburg*, 36. invade *Germany*, and take *Philipsburg*, *ibid.* land in *Ireland*, and assist *K. James*, 79. annoy our trade, 102. their fleet enters the *Channel*, and engage the *English* near *Beauchy*, 139, &c. remain masters at sea, 141. burn *Tinmouth*, 143. endeavour to intercept the *Turkish* fleet, 182. lose several officers of distinction at *Steenkirk*, 209. surprise the *D. of Wirtemberg* in his camp, but are beaten by the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, 213. gain the battle of *Landen*, 238. take *Heidelberg*, and commit great barbarities in the *Palatinate*, 241. endeavour to raise commotions in *England* on

account of the coin, 303. their plot to invade *England*, 312. offer to make peace with *England*, *Holland*, &c. 327. resolve to make peace, 351. their preliminaries, *ibid.* and see *Ryswick*. slow in disbanding their army, 364. they bribe some of our Members of Parliament, 439. involve us in contentions at home, 447. their insolent behaviour towards the *Spaniards*, 484. corrupt most Courts, 486. try to engage the *Turks* in a new war with the Emperor, 508. encourage the troubles in *Poland*, 626. their lines forced by the *D. of Marlborough*, 699. and at *Hagenau* by *Prince Louis* of *Baden*, 703. take *Nice*, 705. defeated at the battle of *Ramillies*, 746, &c. before *Tour*, 752. defeated at the battle of *Turin*, 759, &c. make a descent on *Nevis* and *St Christopher*, 791. their great success on the *Upper Rhine*, IV. 13. lay several places under contribution, 14. retire with great precipitation before the *D. of Marlborough*, and cannot be brought to an engagement, 19, 21. their fisheries in *North America* damaged by *Capt. Underwood*, 30. the *French* design to recover by surprise and treachery, the places they had lost in the *Netherlands*, 70. take *Ghent* and *Bruges*, 71. defeated at the battle of *Oudenarde*, 74, 75. set on foot negotiations for a peace, 120, &c. their insincere offers, 125, &c. defeated at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 136, &c. make new overtures for a peace, 144. and 163, 219. See *Peace*, they insert the *E. of Sunderland's* removal in their *Gazette*, 190. their lines surprised by the *D. of Marlborough*, 210. their expedition to *Bresil*, and unsuccessful attempt on the *Leeward-Islands*, 214, 215. their proposals at *Utrecht* rejected with indignation by the Allies, 248, &c. defeat the Allies at *Delaunay*, and take *Arras*, *Dunoy*, *Quebec*, and *St. John's*, 284, &c. destroy the *Isle of Gorbou*, 293. debate in the House of Lords about their buying ships in *England*, 635
French Protestants encouraged to come into *England*, III. 89. Refugees petition the House of Commons and the King for relief, 102
Fulham, act for building a bridge between that town and *Putney*, IV. 666
Fund-Aid, IV. 535. aggregate, sinking, and South-Sea funds, 537

G.

Galleons; some *Spanish* ones destroyed, IV. 101
Galloway taken, III. 119
Galloway, — *de Rosigney E.* of, *K. William's* General, and Envoy into *Savoy*, III. 379. made one of the Lords-Justices in *Ireland*, 350. grant of lands to him there, 399. appointed Commander of the *English* forces in *Portugal*, 667. his exploits there, 705. loses his right hand, 706. his proceedings, and conquests in *Spain*, 752, 753. takes *Alcantara*, *ibid.* is joined by all the troops both *English* and *Dutch*, IV. 5, 6. his Narrative, *ibid.* is defeated at the battle of *Almanza*, 8, 9. wounded, 9. watches the *D. of Orleans's* motions, 11. that Duke makes him some proposals, in order to his being made K. of *Spain*, *ibid.* attempts the relief of *Lerida*, *ibid.* his list of the forces at the battle of *Almanza*, 53, 54. his conduct severely examined by the House of Commons, *ibid.* his bravery at the battle of *Caya*, where he has a horse shot under him, 141. orders forces to *Catalonia*, 142. returns home, 183. is removed from being Commander in *Portugal*, 192. blamed for the miscarriages in the war in *Spain*, 196, 197. was for an offensive war, *ibid.* examined by the House of Lords about it, *ibid.* blamed for the loss of the battle of *Almanza*, and censured for giving the precedence to the *Portuguese* in *Spain*, 199. appointed one of the Lords-Justices in *Ireland*, 478
Garrard, Sir Samuel, desires *Dr Sacheverel* to print his sermon, IV. 150. disowns it, 152
Garraway, Mr. his speech in the House of Commons, III. 97
Gayther, Francis, Bp of *Chester*, his speech at *Bp Atterbury's* trial, IV. 669
Gaulther, Abbot, makes overtures for a peace between *England* and *France*, IV. 219. employed

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

employed to convey Count *Tallard's* letters between *Paris* and *Nottingham*, *ibid.* Mr *St John* and *Mr Harley* had private meetings with him, *ibid.* betrays Count *Gallas*, and is made an Abbot, 224. his negotiations at *London*, 252, &c. comes from *London* to *Utrecht*, *ibid.* promoted the Pretender's interests, *ibid.* his memorial about the renunciation, 263. goes to *Paris* along with the *L. Bellingbrooke*, 288. swears falsely, 289. returns to *London*, 290. employed to transact the Pretender's affairs in *England*, 377, 378. leaves *England*, 399.

George Lewis, Prince of *Hannover*, afterwards *K. George I.*, comes and makes his addresses to the *Lady Anne*, III. 534. a report of *K. William's* intending to get him declared his immediate Successor, 550, 551. reasons for inviting him over, 553. dilauns the *D. of Wolfenbutel*, 558. installed Knight of the Garter, 590. does not readily come into the peace of *Utrecht*, IV. 312. concludes a treaty with the *States-General*, 347. a writ demanded for him to sit in the House of Peers as *D. of Cambridge*, 351. a rumour of his intention to come over to *England*, *ibid.* reasons and necessity of his coming and residing in *Great-Britain*, 357. orders given to the *Heralds*, &c. to be ready to proclaim him on the Queen's demise, 369. account of him, and his character before he ascended the *British* Throne, 393. is proclaimed in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, 394. receives the news of it with great ferocity, 401. arrives in *England*, *ibid.* makes his public entry, 402. was a powerful Prince, and had on foot a good number of troops, 404. expressed at his first coming a dislike of the *Tories*, and his attachment to the *Whigs*, *ibid.* absolute Master in his *German* Dominions, 405. his declaration in Council about Toleration, 405, 406. is crowned with great solemnity, 407. applies himself to get the article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, relating to *Dunkirk*, to be put in execution, 407, 408. and to have the faults in the treaty of *Spain* rectified, 408. his directions concerning *Preachers*, 413, &c. his proclamation for calling a new Parliament objected against in the House of Commons, 419. debates about his Civil List, 422. the *Duchies of Bremen* and *Verden* are made over to him, 424. receives more intelligence of the Rebellion, 433. the *E. of Mar's* letter to him, 436, &c. great intercession used with him in favour of the condemned *Lords*, but in vain, 485. his answer to the *Lords* addresses in their favour, 486. the clause in the act of Settlement against his going abroad repealed, 499. in what respect he was like the *D. of Orleans*, 506. the *K. of Sweden* plots to dethrone him, *ibid.* recommends to the Commons the lessening of the public debts, 526. his answer to the *Czar's* memorial, 540. guarantee of the neutrality in *Italy*, 549. tries to bring about an accommodation between the Emperor and the *K. of Spain*, *ibid.* difference between him and the Prince of *Wales*, 550. had, ever since his Accession to the Throne, declared for Toleration, 551, 578. consults the Judges about the dispute between him and the Prince, 555. a design upon his life by *John Sheppard*, *ibid.* publishes articles for the regulation and government of the army, 559. mediates a peace between the Emperor and the *Turks*, 565. his message to the Commons about declaring war against *Spain*, 581. and to the House of *Lords*, *ibid.* his message to the House of *Lords* about the *Petree*, 585. refuses the mediation of the *States* for a peace between *England* and *Spain*, 604. forms projects to take *Corunna* or *Peru*, *ibid.* intercedes for the Protestants in *Germany*, 605. his message about the *Royal and London* Alliances, 613. the *Czar's* memorial against him, 615. reconciliation between him and the Prince of *Wales*, 617. was well skilled in negotiations, and looked into every thing himself, 619. publishes a proclamation against the bubbles, 621. expresses sent to hasten his return to *England* upon the falling of the *South-Sea*, 628. his answer to the Commons address about the *South-Sea* Directors, 645. his proclamation about the *Hell fire Clubs*, 646. his directions about the *Trinity*, *ibid.* his message about the subsidy given to *Sweden*, 647. and about the

debt of the Civil List, 648. his message to the House of *Lords* about the Pretender's manifesto, 664. founds Professorships of Modern History in the two Universities, 680. his speech to the Commissioners of the Great Seal, 683. his message to the Commons about the *Masters in Chancery*, *ibid.* and about the debts of the Civil List, 684. the sole mediation at *Cambray* is offered him, which he refuses, 689. alarmed at the private treaty between the Emperor and *Spain*, 690. his answer to the Commons address about the treaty of *Hannover*, 694. his message to the Commons about an extraordinary supply, 695. his letters to the *Czarina*, 697. sets out for his *German* Dominions, is taken ill, dies at *Osnaabrug*, and is buried at *Hannover*, 711, 712. his circumstances and character, 712.

George Augustus, Prince, arrives in *England*, IV. 401. is declared Prince of *Wales*, 399, 406. the *Tories* move to have a hundred thousand pounds per ann. settled upon him, 422. is made Guardian of the Realm, 500. takes a progress through some part of the Kingdom, 502. difference between him and the King his Father, 550. is ordered to quit *St James's*, *ibid.* not appointed Regent, and retires into the country, 588. who promoted this difference, 609. the King is reconciled to him, 617.

Gertruydenberg; negotiations for a peace there, IV. 164, 165, 169. a motion to examine them, 262.

Ghent; a description of that place, IV. 70. surprized by the *French*, 71. by the Confederates, 91, 92. the *British* troops make themselves masters of it, and of *Bruges*, 283. and refuse to admit any *Dutch* troops, 297.

Gibraltar taken by the *English*, III. 664. besieged in vain by the *Spaniards* and *French*, 667, &c. 705. yielded to *England*, IV. 339, 392. the *Spaniards* desire to have it restored, 600, 605. *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, report of *Spain* giving some places in *Peru* in exchange for them, 620. those places absolutely yielded by *Spain* to *Great-Britain*, 650. the restitution of them insisted upon by *Spain*, 674, 690, 699. the *Spaniards* prepare to recover them, 694, 699. they make preparations for the siege of *Gibraltar*, and belieg it actually, 709. whether there was a promise to restore it, 701, 703.

Gillon, *Charles*, publishes a letter from *Sir Rowland Gwynne* to the *E. of Stamford*, for which he is fined, III. 722, &c.

Ginckle, Lieutenant-General, at the battle of *Byrne*, III. 137. at the siege of *Limerick*, 147. left Commander of the army in *Ireland*, 150. Commander in chief 174. is created *E. of Athlone*, and has lands granted him in *Ireland*, 181. is thanked by the House of Commons, *ibid.* President of the Court-Martial to try *Grandoval*, 210. General of the *Dutch* horse 288. invests *Namur*, 289, 295, 296. burns the *French* magazine at *Givet*, 326. commands a *Dutch* army, 560. repulses the *French*, 561. was inclined to cautious but feeble counsels, 562.

Gironne taken by the *French*, III. 256. IV. 182.

Gloucester, *William D.* of, his Household settled, III. 380. dies, 409.

Gadolpin, *Sidney* Lord, made one of the *Lords* of the Treasury, III. 40. his character, *ibid.* made first Commissioner of the Treasury, 163, 253, 437. removed, 504. is made Lord High-Treasurer, 544. is for the *Occasional Conformity*-bill, 581. but thought it unseasonable, 628. is for striking the flags in the ports of *Portugal*, 624. his proceedings reconciled many to him, *ibid.* is for settling the Succession in *Scotland*, 648. reflected upon for permitting the act of security in *Scotland* to pass, 651, &c. attacked by the *Tories*, and precluded by the *Whigs*, 652. is against tacking the *Occasional Conformity*-bill to the land-tax bill, 672. his speech in answer to the *E. of Rochester's*, against the exportation of *Coin*, 674. *K. Charles* writes a letter to him, 710. declares himself in favour of the *Whigs*, 716. the *Tories* very angry with him, 721. is against adjoining the Parliament of *Scotland*, and orders the Union to be completed, 776. created Viscount *Rialton*, and Earl *Gadolpin*, 780. his speech in the debate about the Union, 781. exerts himself in the affair of the Uni-

on, 790. threatened to be impeached, *ibid.* appointed Lord High-Treasurer of *Great-Britain*, 792. Mr *Harley* begins to act against him, IV. 34. and to create jealousies of him in the *Whigs*, 36. he threatens to quit the Queen's service, if Mr *Harley* had too much interest with her Majesty, *ibid.* promises that preferments should be bestowed on men well principled, *ibid.* backs the motion for encouraging trade to the *West-Indies*, 40. refuses to serve any longer, if Mr *Harley* was not removed, 55. the Queen not much concerned at it, *ibid.* it was part of Mr *Harley's* scheme to remove him, *ibid.* offers the Bank a considerable sum of money to preserve its credit, 61. the *Whigs* jealous of him, 110. adheres to the *Scottish* Ministers, and supports them, 112. described in *Sacheverell's* sermon under the name of *Felpeus*, 150, 151. speaks to the Queen about her recommendation of *Hill*, 185. the Queen's letter to him about the *D. of Shrewsbury* being made Lord-Chamberlain, 187. his letter to her Majesty upon that point, *ibid.* dismissed from the office of Lord-Treasurer, 190. his death and character, 208.

Gordon, *George D.* of, Governor of *Edinburgh-Castle*, III. 64. refuses to deliver it up to *K. William*, 67. amuses the Convention, 69. yields up *Edinburgh-Castle*, 76.

Gordon, *Duchess* of, sends the Faculty of Advocates a medal of the Pretender, IV. 217. *Gortz*, Baron, IV. 507. seized, *ibid.* his letters, 509, &c. forms the project of making a peace between *Sweden* and *Russia*, 530. his letters published, *ibid.* carries the *K. of Sweden* the plan of peace between him and the *Czar*, 540. had an interview with the *Czar* at *Loe*, 616. arrested and put to death, 541.

Gower, Colonel, the Commons advise the King to remove him, III. 225, 227. continued, 233.

Grafton, *Henry Fitz-Roy D.* of, at the siege of *Cork*, III. 150. killed, 151.

Grafton, *Charles Fitz-Roy D.* of, appointed one of the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, IV. 478. made Colonel of the royal regiment of horse-guards, 503. made Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 617. chosen Knight of the Garter, 651. made Lord-Chamberlain, 679. *Grabam*, *Richard*, one of the wicked Solicitors employed in the Reigns of *K. Charles II.* and *James II.* III. 96, 113. excepted out of the Indemnity, 132.

Grandaval, *Mr Bartholomew de Linieres* de enters into a plot to assassinate *K. William*, III. 209, &c. executed, 212.

Grants; bill to examine those made since the Revolution, IV. 245.

Granville, *George*, made Secretary at War in the room of *R. Walpole*, IV. 192. created Baron *Langdown*, 234.

Gregg, *William*, his treasonable correspondence with *France*, IV. 47. a Committee of *Lords* appointed to examine him, *ibid.* tried and condemned, 48. executed, 52. his dying speech said to have been drawn up by Mr *Harley*, *ibid.*

Griffin, *Edward* Lord, proceedings against him, III. 113.

Guernsey, *Heneage Finch E.* of, his speech in the debates about the Union, III. 786. urges to have the state of the Nation taken into consideration, IV. 40. speaks in Dr *Sacheverell's* behalf, 158, 159, &c.

Guernsey, *Heneage Finch* Lord, his speech in Parliament, IV. 227. created *E. of Aylesford*, 407.

Guiscard, *Marquis de*, account of him and his project for a descent into *France*, III. 761, &c. examined about it, *ibid.* expected to have found a great support in Mr *St John*, IV. 201. being disappointed he corresponds with the Court of *France*, *ibid.* apprehended, slays Mr *Harley*, and dies of his wounds, 202, &c.

Guy, *Henry*, Secretary of the Treasury, turned out of his place, and sent to the Tower for bribery, III. 268. concerned in corrupting the Members of the House of Commons, 276.

Guy, *Thomas*, founds an hospital for incurables, IV. 686.

Gwynne, *Sir Rowland*, removed from the place of Treasurer of their Majesties Chamber, III. 193. examined before the Council, 8 X for

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

for words reflecting on Lord Viscount Sidney, *ibid.* and 194.
Gwyn, Francis, one of the Committee for inspecting the books of the Chamberlain of London, &c. 260.
Gyllemburg, Count, the Swedish Resident, enters into a conspiracy to set the Pretender on the English Throne, IV. 506. secured, 507. author of a libel, *ibid.* scheme of his Conspiracy, 509. extracts of his letters, *ibid.* &c. released, 549.

II

Haddington, John Hamilton E. of, was for the Union, III. 771.
Hagenau, the French lines forced there, III. 703. taken by the Confederates, 704. a description of that place, *ibid.*
Hallifax, George Saville Marquis of, made Lord Privy-Seal, III. 38, 39. hated both by Whigs and Tories, *ibid.* addresses to remove him from the King's Presence and Councils, 97. quits the office of Speaker of the House of Lords, 112. resigns the Privy-Seal, 114, 115. joins with the Tories, *ibid.* opposes the Court, 231.
Hallifax, Charles Montague Marquis of left out of the Privy-Council, III. 545. one of the Managers against the Occasional Conformity bill, 581. his speech about the danger of the Church, 725. causes the public records and offices to be put into good order, and moves that the Queen should buy the *Canaan*, 731. speeches about the Union, 781, 785, &c. moves for a Committee to receive proposals for encouraging the trade to the *West-Indies*, IV. 40. his speech in relation to the affairs of Spain, 45. his speeches at Dr *Sacheverell's* trial, 158, &c. speaks against the resumption of *K. William's* grants, 245. moves for an address against the offers of France, 249. complains of the D. of *Ormond's* resolution, 250.
Hampden, Charles Montague Lord, has a *burlesque* chant, IV. 316. his speech about the Union, 318. represented the danger threatening the Protestant Succession, 345. his speech about the *Catalans*, 347. his speech about the *Lorrain*, 349. a consultation at his house, 351. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 366. created E. of *Hallifax*, 407. and Knight of the Garter, *ibid.* his character of *By Burnet*, 419. his death and character, 424.
Hamilton, William Douglas, or Hamilton D. of, President at the Scottish Lords meeting in London, III. 63. chosen President of the Convention in Scotland, 64. his character, 73. appointed High Commissioner, 74.
Hamilton, James Hamilton D. of, was for calling a new Parliament in Scotland, III. 556, 557. sets up for Patron of the Episcopal Clergy, 595. the Conspiracy in Scotland said to be a contrivance to ruin him, 634. his part in it, 637. keeps a correspondence with the Court at *St Germain*, 648. presents a resolve in Parliament for a treaty with England, 650. his motion for limitations of government, *ibid.* declares he should be one of the first to draw his sword against a Popish Successor, 651. is at the head of the Cavaliers, 690. presents against a resolve for a previous treaty with England, 691. moves for enforcing limitations, 692. makes a speech in his own vindication about the plot, 694. presents a clause about the Union, 695. declares the Cavaliers, 696. letters sent to him from the Pretender, 767, 768. was against the Union, 770. his debates about it, 771, &c. proposes the renewing of the motion for settling the Crown on the House of *Hanover*, 773, 774. encouraged the tumults against the Union, 775. does not oppose it at last, and makes his terms with the Court, 776. how far he went into the Pretender's interests, IV. 62, 63. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, 64. artfully saves himself and his friends, 66. sets himself in opposition to the D. of *Queensberry's* power, 110. created D. of *Brandon*, but a caveat is entered against his patent, 219, 229. his patent examined, 229. made Master of the Ordnance, and appointed Ambassador Extraordinary to France, 296. killed in a duel, 297.
Hamilton, Lieutenant-General, sent over to command in Ireland, III. 77. disappoints *K.*

William's expectations, and joins with his enemies, *ibid.* routs the Protestants in Ireland, 80. taken prisoner at the battle of the *Boyne*, 137.
Hampden, Richard, made Privy-Counsellor, III. 38. and one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 40. moves for a further supply, 97. made Chancellor of the Exchequer, 120. his speech about the negotiation of peace, IV. 246. moves for the Allies to guarantee the Protestant Succession, 272.
Hampden, John, moves for an address for a war with France, III. 89. account of his prosecution and fine, 114. concerned in the D. of *Monmouth's* affair, *ibid.* his character and speech, *ibid.* his speech against the Militia, 115, 116.
Hanmer, Sir Thomas, speaks for the treaty of commerce, IV. 315. causes the bill for approving it to miscarry, 319. moves for an address of thanks for the treaties of peace and commerce, *ibid.* chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, 338. his speech about the danger of the Protestant Succession, 354. his speech upon presenting the Civil List and Lottery bills, 397.
Hanover, House of, put into the Succession to the Crown, III. 55. raised to the Electoral dignity, 217. designed for the Throne of England, 410. *Hanover* Succession. See *Succession*. pretended design to bring them in before the Prince of Denmark, 502.
Hanover, George Elector of, commands the Imperial army, and beats the French, IV. 14. advises the Court of England to send the D. of *Marlborough* to the K. of Sweden, 15. commands again in the Empire, 100. acknowledged Elector of *Brunswick Lunenburg*, 101. commands on the *Rhine*, 140. his memorial, 225. his Succession secured at the treaty of *Utrecht*, 267. offers to maintain at his own expence, half of the troops he had in the service of Great-Britain, 287. refuses to come into the *British* measures, 294.
Hanover, George Augustus Electoral Prince of, his great bravery at the battle of *Quadrard*, IV. 74.
Harcourt, Simon, carries up to the House of Lords an amendment against the *Lords Somers, O. G. and Halifax*, III. 459. reports the Lord *Haverham's* speech, 467.
Harcourt, Sir Simon, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 545. and Solicitor-General, 554. draws up artfully the bill for enacting the *Bill of Attainder*, 792. tries to engage the Tories in the Queen's interests, 811. resigns his place, 561. is Counsel for Dr *Sacheverell*, 154. made Attorney-General, 191. and Lord-Chancellor, *ibid.* complained against by the E. of *Rochester*, 195. his speech to the E. of *Rochester*, when sworn Lord-Treasurer, 202. created Baron of *Stanton-Harcourt*, 219. author of the advice to the *October Club*, 234. declared Lord High-Chancellor, 311. rectifies a mistake concerning the Regency, 329. obtains a pardon for *L. Bolingbroke*, 674.
Hare, Dr Francis, his letter about the management of the war, III. 764. his pamphlet intitled, *The Allies*, &c. defended IV. 28. his thanksgiving-fermon, 70, 90. his book intitled, *Negotiations for a treaty of peace*, &c. 120. his letters to a Tory Member, 138, 144, 147, 168. vindicates the barrier-treaty, 241.
Harley, Robert, one of the Commissioners of the public accounts, III. 162. his character, 238. brings in the bill for frequent Parliaments, 260. was for the land-bank, 322. is against Sir *John Fenwick's* bill of Attainder, 343. chosen Speaker, 438. his character, *ibid.* moves for the settling of some conditions of Government, before the bill of Succession passed, 443. makes the E. of *Rochester* more submissive, 488. chosen Speaker again, 498. and 572. made Secretary of State, 647. in the Queen's confidence, 780. was for pacific measures, *ibid.* gains great credit with the Queen, and begins to set up for himself, without the Lord-Treasurer, IV. 34, 35. afflicted in that by Mrs *Molham*, *ibid.* created jealousies in the Whigs of the D. of *Marlborough* and *L. Godolphin*, 36. tries to engage the chief of the Tories in the Queen's interests, 38. was for having the Parliament to be an old one, 39. *Gregg's* affair does him a great prejudice, 52. re-

signs his place of Secretary of State, 55. the D. of *Marlborough* and *L. Godolphin* refuse to serve, if he continued any longer in that post, *ibid.* part of his new scheme was to remove the *L. Godolphin*, *ibid.* his intrigues with the Queen, 105, &c. his speeches at Dr *Sacheverell's* trial, 152, &c. cabals with Mrs *Molham*, 187, 188. made Commissioner, Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, 190, 191. sends Agents in the City of London to raise money, 193. his designs, *ibid.* the Tories are jealous of him, and form an opposition against him, 201. is stabbed by the Marquis de *Gulcard*, *ibid.* this attempt disconcerts the party formed against him, 202. becomes Prime-Minister, *ibid.* created Baron of *Wigmore*, and E. of *Oxford and Mortimer*, and made Lord-Treasurer, *ibid.* had private assurances of advantages from Spain, when he formed the *South-Sea* project, 219. resolves to make a peace, *ibid.* his speech in Parliament, 227. blamed by his friends for not displacing all the Whigs, 235. his speech about the resumption of *K. William's* grants, 246. his speech on the D. of *Ormond's* refusing to fight, 261. misunderstanding between him and the *L. Bolingbroke*, 295. Mr *Prior's* letter to him, 306. concerned in giving up the fillet of *Newfoundland*, *ibid.* &c. orders the *British* Plenipotentiaries to sign a peace with France, 310. his opposition to the Pretender's being removed out of *Lorrain*, 322. installed Kt of the Garter, 328. hated both by Whigs and Tories, and upon ill terms with *L. Bolingbroke*, notwithstanding which he brings his own scheme to bear, *ibid.* raises a million in two or three days, 329. *L. Bolingbroke*, Secretary *Bromley*, and Sir *William Wyndham*, gain the ascendancy over him, upon which he thinks of retiring, 335. endeavours to support the Bank, 336. moves for a bill to make it treason to bring any foreign troops into the Kingdom, 345. vindicates the peace, 349. and his paying a yearly sum to the *Highlanders*, 350. his letter to the Elector of *Brunswick*, 358. doubtful whether he was for or against the *Schism-bill*, which he had castrated, 360. kept to himself the principal direction of domestic affairs, and disposal of places, and advanced his children, 266, 267. endeavours to reconcile himself to the Whigs, to gain *L. Couper's* friendship, and to remove *L. Bolingbroke*, 367. his attachment to the House of *Hanover* the cause of his removal, *ibid.* goes to wait upon *K. George at Greenwich*, but is not taken notice of, 401. erects a Chamberlain's Court in Scotland, 403. attends at the King's Coronation, 407. his conduct very extraordinary, 418. takes his seat in the House of Lords, 421. impeached of high-treason, 427. his speech in his own defence, 431. he is carried to the Tower, 432. debate in the House of Commons on his answer, 434. presents a petition to the House of Lords, 541. his trial, *ibid.* he is discharged, 545. forbid the Court, *ibid.* excepted out of the act of Grace, 546. his speech upon the mutiny-bill, 557. and on the repeal of the *Schism-bill*, 579. is against the Peerage-bill, 585. he dies, 680. his character, *ibid.*
Haverham, John Thompson Lord, words of his at a Conference between the Lords and Commons excepted against, III. 466, 467. his answer to the Commons, 472. one of the Lords of the Admiralty, 480. his speech for inviting over the next Successor to the Crown, 719. moves that the miscarriages of the last campaign, occasioned by the Allies, might be inquired into, 723.
Haverham, Maurice Thompson E. of, his speeches in the debates about the Union, III. 783, 786. was an Occasional Conformist, 786. his speech about the state of the Nation, IV. 40. and the affairs of Spain, 45. his speeches about the *Scottish* Invasion, 112. his account of it, 113. his speeches at Dr *Sacheverell's* trial, 157, 159.
Havre de Grace bombarded, III. 255.
Heathcote, Sir Gilbert, Governor of the Bank, IV. 190. endeavours used to put off his being chosen Lord Mayor, but he is chosen notwithstanding, 192. insulted, 193. sworn in Lord Mayor, but insulted again, 194. is against addressing the Queen about the peace, 273.

AN INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Heidelberg taken and burnt by the *French*, III. 241
Hainfius, Pensionary, his speech against a peace, IV. 290
Herbert, Arthur, first Commissioner of the Admiralty, his character, III. 41. his engagement with the *French* at *Bantry-Bay*, 91. created E. of *Torrington*, 92. attempts to surprize *Cork*, 102
Herbert, Henry, made Baron *Herbert of Chersburg*, III. 252
Hiffe-Cassel, Landgrave of, beats the *French* before *Rhinfeld*, III. 213. commands part of the *German* army, 240
High-Church-men had a great confidence in the E. of *Rocheſter*, III. 481. complain of the Convocation not ſetting, 523
Highlanders in Scotland do not declare themſelves, but provide powder and ball, IV. 416. attempt to surprize *Edinburgh-Caſtle*, 438. cannot be perſuaded to enter *England*, 454. had been tutored by the E. of *Wintoun*, and told, that if they entered *England*, they would be all cut to pieces, or taken and fold for ſlaves, *ibid.* diſguſted at being joined with Papists in *Lancashire*, 456. See *Rebels*. Act for diſarming them, 686
High-Treason; bill for regulating trials in caſes of *High-Treason*, III. 191, 221, &c.
Hill, Aigail, account of her, and her father, and family, IV. 34. raiſed by the *Duchess of Marlborough*, *ibid.* married to *Mr Moſham*. See *Moſham*, *ibid.*
Hill, John, an account of him, IV. 34. raiſed and taken care of by the *Duchess of Marlborough*, *ibid.* the *Queen* writes to the D. of *Marlborough* to give him a regiment, 185. gives him a penſion, and makes him a General, 186. he commands the forces in the *Canada* expedition, 215. made Lieutenant of the *Tower*, 234. is Brigadier, and commands the forces that were to take poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, 280
Hilſory, Modern, Profeſſors of it founded, IV. 679, 680
Headley, Benjamin, his ſermon about reſiſtance, III. 726. his ſermon before the Lord-Mayor, IV. 150. ſeveral books written againſt him, *ibid.* Dr *Sacheverell* reflects upon him, *ibid.* votes of the Commons in his favour, 152. vindicates the Revolution, *ibid.* the mob threaten to pull down his Church and Houſe, 155. Biſhop of *Bangor* (now of *Wincheſter*) publiſhes his Prefervative and Sermon, 536. representation of the Convocation about them, with his answer, *ibid.* &c. his ſpeech in Parliament, 579
Hochſtet, a deſcription of that place, and of the battle near it, III. 657
Holland; account of its Government, III. 31, &c.
Holland, States of, require all that had been declared *Rebels in England* to depart their Dominions, III. 394. See *States*.
Holſtein, attacked by the *Danes*, III. 410
Holt, John, Lord Chief-Justice, his arguments in the Bankers caſe, III. 404. reſuſes the Great Seal, 406. ſworn of the Privy-Council, IV. 105. his death and character, 156
Hofier, Francis, ſails with a Squadron to the *West-Indies*, IV. 698
Howe, John, made Vice-Chamberlain to *Q. Mary*, III. 39. moves for an addreſs to the King to remove the Marquiſſes of *Caermarthen* and *Hollifax* from his Preface and Councils, 97
Hudſon-Bay left to the *Engliſh*, IV. 314, 391
Hume, E. of, letters ſent to him by the Pretender, III. 767. dies, 768
Hungary, a Conſpiracy there, III. 445. the inhabitants oppreſſed, *ibid.* an infurrection there, 622. malecontents there make a great progreſs, 653, 668. miſuſed by the Court of *Vienna*, 669. treaty with them, *ibid.* ſupported by *France*, *ibid.* routed, *ibid.* almoſt entirely ruined, 715
Huntingdon, Theophilus Hoſtings E. of, proteſts againſt the Succeſſion-bill, III. 445
Huy taken by the Confederates, III. 256. and 620. a deſcription of it, *ibid.* taken by the *French*, 698. and by the Allies, 699

I.

Jacobites concert measures with *France* for *K. James's* Reſtoration, III. 139. keep

out of the way for fear of being inſulted, 143. their Leaders ſeized, *ibid.* their plot for reſtoring *K. James*, 166. an artifice of theirs in *Scotland*, to induce the King to diſguſt the *Presbyterians*, 181, 182. take the oaths, *ibid.* ſome reſented ſuch put into places, 190. enter into a plot for aſſaſſinating *K. William*, 196. grow outrageous, 218. induttrious in their plots againſt the Government, 258. make rejoicings on the pretended Prince of *Wales's* birth-day, 281. endeavour to diſtreſs the Government, 303. eſpecially on account of the coin, 305. and on the King's diſowning the act for the *Scottiſh Eaſt-India* Company, 309. elevated at the thoughts of the Aſſaſſination-plot, 313. ready to take up arms, 314. divided into Compounders and Non-Compounders, 337. enraged at the K. of *France's* giving up *K. James's* intereſt, 361. addreſs of the Commons againſt them, 389. after that *K. William* was a Pa-piſt, 390. endeavour to make an advantage of the affair at *Darien*, 393, 407. buſy in *Scotland*, 407. their hopes revive on the D. of *Gloceſter's* death, and the Partition-treaty, 421, &c. flock into *Scotland*, 596. employed, which brings a jealouſy, 611. in the plot in *Scotland*, 629. their ſurmiſes with regard to the act of Succeſſion in *Scotland*, 648. pretend the Church was in danger, 715. are againſt the Union, 770. ſome ſaid there was noſe in the Nation, IV. 35, 60. talk of a new Invaſion on *Scotland* and *Ireland*, 108. encouraged, 186. run to Court, *ibid.* impudent in *Scotland*, 217. their deſign in preſenting the Pretender's medal to the Faculty of Advocates, 218. buſy in *England*, *ibid.* publiſh an oath to an Invader, &c. *ibid.* elated at the proſpect of a peace, and congratulated by the Dauphin upon it, 225. promote addreſſes for diſſolving the Union, 412. carry on their deſigns in *Scotland* with ſecrecy and order, 433. impuſtune the L. *Kenmare* to take arms for the Pretender, 445. their number increaſes, 501
K. James II. offered to throw himſelf into the E. of *Danby's* hands, III. 39. the annual revenue of the Crown during his reign, 51. lands in *Ireland*, 53, 80. letter of the Biſhops in *Scotland* to him, 58. a letter from him to the Convention in *Scotland*, 67, 68. his violation of the fundamental laws and conſtitutions of *Scotland*, 71, &c. Commiſſions from him brought to *Scotland*, whereupon the Convention there puts out a proclamation againſt him, 73. his reception at the Court of *France*, 78. reaſons for his not meeting with ſo much encouragement from *France* as he expected, 79. the K. of *France* lends him, however, troops and money, *ibid.* makes a ſecret treaty with him, 80. comes to *Cork*, and thence to *Dublin*, and publiſhes five proclamations, *ibid.* uſes the Proteſtants very ill, *ibid.* comes before *Londonderry*, *ibid.* goes to meet his Parliament at *Dublin*, 81. his ſpeech, 84, 85. his declaration to the *Iriſh*, 85. paſſes the bill of attainder in *Ireland*, 87. his proceedings againſt the University of *Dublin*, 88. ſome letters of his intercepted, 97. ſends a ſupply to his friends in *Scotland*, 121. a bill brought in for abjuring him, 130. a propoſal made for ſeizing him, 133. believed that *K. William* durſt not leave *England*, nor venture over to *Ireland*, 134. marches from *Dublin* to join the reſt of his forces, *ibid.* advances to the *Boyne*, *ibid.* calls a Council of war, and reſolves to oppoſe the enemy's paſſing that river, 135. orders a ſhip to be got ready at *Waterford* to ſecure his retreat, *ibid.* defeated at the battle of the *Boyne*, 136. retreats to *Dublin*, and makes a ſpeech to the Magiſtrates, 138. embarks at *Waterford*, and returns to *France*, *ibid.* and 145. the braſs-money coined by him in *Ireland* is cried down, 146. plot for reſtoring him, 166. his answer to the Jacobites, who ſent to aſk his leave to take the oaths, 182. prepares for a deſcent into *England*, 197. his letter to ſeveral Lords and others of his late Privy-Council, upon his *Queen's* approaching delivery, *ibid.* ſends his declaration over to *England*, *ibid.* the perſons excepted therein, 199. at *la Hogue*, with an army ready to embark for *England*, 200, 201. his ſorrowful letter to *K. Lewis*, upon the defeat of

the *French* fleet at *la Hogue*, 205. had prepared a declaration, but makes another in a different ſtrain, 246. a propoſal made to him, that he ſhould reſign his title in favour of his Son, *ibid.* he encourages the Aſſaſſination-plot, 313. grants the Plotters a Com-miſſion, *ibid.* and 315. particularly one written with his own hand to Sir *George Barclay*, 315, 319, 320, 324. the Earl of *Portland* and Marſhal *Beuſſiers* have a conference about the manner of diſpoſing of *K. James*, 360. his intereſt left unregarded at the peace of *Ryſwick*, *ibid.* whereupon he publiſhes a manifeſto, 361, &c. the K. of *France* reſuſes to remove him, 379. none of the *Engliſh* Noblemen in *France* will converſe with him, *ibid.* his letter, wherein he approved of aſſaſſinating *Oliver Cromwell*, 490. account of his behaviour the laſt years of his life, 489, &c. his death and character, 491. buried privately, *ibid.* his iſſue by *Anne Hyde*, 533. deſired to have the diſpoſal of his ſecond daughter Lady *Anne*, 533. memoirs of him voted ſeditious by the Houſe of Commons in *Ireland*, 611. his *Queen-Dowager* files a bill in Chancery for the arrears of her dowry, and has fifty thouſand pounds remitted to her, IV. 351
James. See *Pretender*.
Jaſſen, Sir *Theodore* writes againſt the treaty of commerce, IV. 315. had a hand in the *Britiſh Merchant*, 316. expelled the Houſe of Commons, and taken into cuſtody, 634. his information before the Committee of the Houſe of Commons, 638. *Horatio Walpole* and Sir *Richard Steele* ſpeak in his favour, 643
Jefferies, George, Lord-Chancellor, his caſe reported, III. 96
Jekyll, Sir Joſeph, was for taking away the firſt fruits and tenths, III. 642. one of the Managers of Dr *Sacheverell's* trial, IV. 152. ſpeaks in behalf of Bp *Fleetwood's* Preface, 271. ſpeaks againſt the treaty of commerce, 315. and againſt the *Schiſm-bill*, 360. his ſpeech in favour of the E. of *Oxford*, 427, 430. and of the D. of *Ormond*, 428. prepares a bill to attaint ſeveral of the *Rebels*, 483. is one of the ſelect Committee for the *South-Sea* affair, 632. made one of the Com-miſſioners of the Great Seal, 683
Jenningſ, Sir John, at the engagement near *Malaga*, III. 664. made Rear-Admiral of the Blue, 678. fails to the relief of *Barcelona*, 753. made Admiral, IV. 143. arrives with a fleet before *Barcelona*, 213. fetches the *Engliſh* troops from *Spain*, 296. made one of the Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, 406
Jerſy, Guernſey, &c. the Lords addreſs the King to put thoſe Iſlands into a poſture of defence, III. 96
Jerſy, Edward Villiers E. of, ſent Ambaſſador Extraordinary to *France*, III. 379. returns to *England*, 392. appointed Secretary of State, *ibid.* endeavours to diſpoſe *K. William* to change his Miniſtry, 404. ſent to demand the Great Seal from L. *Sommers*, 406. is one of the Plenipotentiaries at the ſecond Partition-treaty, 408. made Lord Chamberlain, 409. not queſtioned for the ſhare he had in the Partition-treaty, 457. his character, 509, 510. made Lord Chamberlain, 545. turned out, 647. his character, *ibid.* called upon by L. *Sommers* to vindicate *K. William*, 675. made Lord Privy-Seal, IV. 219. dies, *ibid.*
Jerſy, William Villiers E. of, votes with the Whig Lords, IV. 348. a warrant iſſued out to apprehend him, 439
Joy, Archibald Campbell E. of, choſen one of the ſixteen Peers, IV. 64. his ſpeeches about the malt-tax, 317. cauſes *K. George* to be proclaimed in *Scotland*, 394. ſaves *Inventory* from falling into the hands of the *Rebels*, 449. removed from all his employments, 500. made Lord Privy-Seal for *Scotland*, 649
Imperialiſts behave very ill, and do not join the D. of *Marlborough*, III. 698, &c. intrenched at *Lauterburg*, 703
Indemnity, act of, deſired by the King, III. 54. paſſed, 132. one proclaimed in *Scotland*, 596
Independents, an account of them, III. 45, 513, 514. are for a toleration, 515
Ingoldſby,

Ingoldby, Colonel, commands the forces in the Canada expedition, IV. 215. made one of the Lords-Justices of Ireland, 217

Inniskillin, the inhabitants of that place take arms, III. 77. resolve not to admit an Irish garrison, 84. proclaim K. William and Q. Mary, *ibid.* defeat the Irish in several encounters, *ibid.* join the D. of Schomberg, 100. rout the Irish, 101. their bravery at the battle of the Boyne, 136, 137

Innocent XI, Pope, dies, III. 104

Innocent XII, Pope, chosen, III. 186. the Court of France comes to an accommodation with him, 214, 215. persuades the K. of Spain to make a will in favour of the D. of Anjou, 418

Invasion; the intended French invasion, III. 212. of Scotland taken into consideration by the House of Lords, IV. 112. and by the House of Commons, 113. an invasion designed from Surden, 507, &c.

Inverness; the French propose landing there with the Pretender, IV. 61

Jones, Edward, Bp of St Asaph, prosecuted for Simony, III. 523

Joseph. See *Emperor*.

Ireland, K. James lands in that Kingdom, III. 53, 80. Protestants in Ireland oppressed, many of them fly into England, 77. the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland present an address to K. William, praying him to take that Kingdom into his protection, *ibid.* the miscarriages in Ireland inquired into by the Parliament, 96. money raised for the war there, 97. Clergy of that Kingdom, act for their relief, 98. expedition for the reduction of Ireland, 99. the miscarriages in the management of the war there examined by the House of Commons, 115. state of affairs before K. William's arrival there, 133. bill for sale of the forfeited estates there, and for attaining those who had been in the Rebellion, 161. the army there oppresses the country, and commit great outrages, 162. vacant Bishopsricks filled up, 163. continuation of the war there, 174. appeals of the Parliament in that Kingdom, 218, 219. the state of that Kingdom about forfeited estates, &c. examined by the English Parliament, 234. addresses to the King upon that head, 235. Parliament there, 247. great discontent in that Kingdom, in which the Natives were too much favoured, *ibid.* the Government of it put into the hands of three Lords-Justices, *ibid.* state of affairs there, and Parliament, 286, 287. address of the Commons in England against the woollen manufacture in Ireland, 376. linen manufacture there recommended, *ibid.* the forces in that Kingdom provided for by Parliament, 392. new Lords-Justices of that Kingdom appointed, *ibid.* forfeited estates there resumed by the Parliament, 398. proceedings of the Trustees for the sale of those estates, 487. two of them ordered to attend the House of Commons in England, 501. great oppressions committed by them, and they are complained of to the House of Commons, 504. a clause in a bill for sending the abjuration to Ireland, and obliging all to take it, 583. great discontents in that Kingdom, 605. divisions between Whig and Tory, *ibid.* the Trustees for the forfeited estates much censured, 606. raise a scandal upon the Irish, as if they designed to make themselves independent from England, 606, &c. uneasiness there fomented by the E. of Rochester, and connived at by the D. of Ormond, 688. bill for improving the hempen and flaxen manufactures in Ireland, *ibid.* some forces ordered to march towards the North of that Kingdom, IV. 60. bill to prevent the growth of Popery there, 148. Convocation there, 149. the Jacobite interest promoted there, 330. designs of new-modelling the army there, 346. the Schilm-bill extended to that Kingdom, 363. great number of Papists there to be dreaded, 403. *Irish* bill, see *above* for that Kingdom, and great uneasiness about them, 675

Judges in Scotland; debate concerning them, III. 75

John, P. of the *Irish*, his account of that book, III. 475

John, appointed to the King's absence, III. 280. their proceedings, 281

Justices of Peace; bill for qualifying them, III. 4

K.

Kilbilly, battle of, III. 763

Kilgobbin, — Chief Justice of Ireland, his speech, III. 78. draws up an address against repealing the act of Settlement, 87

Kilgobbin, Fort, taken by the French, III. 615. a description of it, *ibid.*

Kelly, Hugh and William, list in the Pretender's service, and are apprehended, IV. 24

Kelly, George, alias *Johnston*, taken up, IV. 660. burns his papers, *ibid.* employed in the Conspiracy, 667. bill to inflict pains and penalties on him, 667, 668

Kent, Thomas, Bp of Bath and Wells, refuses to take the oaths, III. 43

Kenmore, William Gordon Lord Viscount, takes up arms for the Pretender, IV. 445. his character, 448. taken prisoner at Preston, 459. brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and pleads guilty, 484. condemned, *ibid.* great intercession in his behalf, 485. executed, 486

Kennet, White, his advertisements about the Bp of Bangor's Sermon, IV. 539

Kent, Henry de Grey Earl of, made Lord-Chamberlain, III. 647. created Viscount Goderic, Earl of Harold, and Marquis of Kent, 780. his speech in the debates about the Union, 786. made a Duke, IV. 187. declines the employment of Ambassador to Hanover, 338. made one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, 407. Lord Steward of the Household, 504

Kentish petition, III. 472. the Petitioners imprisoned, 473. released and entertained at Mercers-Hall, 480. further votes against them, 504

Keserfwaert, put into the hands of the French, and besieged by the Allies, III. 504. besieged by the Elector Palatine, 500. a description of it, *ibid.*

Kidd, William, employed against the Pirates, turns Pirate himself, III. 396. seized, 397. tampered with by some of the Members of the House of Commons, 458, &c. executed, 460

Kidnapping of soldiers, III. 236

King, Sir Peter, his speeches against Dr. Sacheverell, IV. 151, &c. speaks in behalf of Bp Fleetwood, 271. speaks against the treaty of commerce, 315, 320, 341. made a congratulatory speech to K. George on his birth-day, 402. appointed Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, 412. made Speaker of the House of Lords, Lord-Keeper, and Baron of Ockham, 684

King's Evil, Q. Anne touches for it, III. 592. a new office for it, *ibid.*

Kingston, Evelyn Pierpoint E. of, created Marquis of Dorchester, III. 780

Kingston, William Pierpoint D. of, appointed Keeper of the Privy-Seal, IV. 504

Kinnoul, George Hay Lord, engaged in the Rebellion, IV. 436. imprisoned, 437

Knight, Robert, Cashier of the South-Sea Company, examined by the Lords, IV. 633. withdraws out of the Kingdom, *ibid.* proclamation to apprehend him, 634. his books and papers secured, and the whole account relating to him, 635—637

Knosque, Fort, surprized by the Allies, IV. 286

L.

Lambert, Sir John, ordered to be taken into custody, IV. 634

Lambert, Marquis de, the D. of Lorraine's Minister forbidden the Court, and goes to Oxford, IV. 410

Landshire-Plot, III. 166, 191, 196, 265. the Plotters tried, 266. bring their affair before the Parliament, 267. votes of the Commons about it, *ibid.*

Land-Bank erected, III. 322. fails, 334

Land-forces; debates in the House of Commons about them, III. 224. estimates for their maintenance, 225. debates upon the bill for regulating them, IV. 423

Land-tax bill, debate about the preamble of it, IV. 488

Landau; description of that place, III. 561. taken by the French, 621. besieged and taken by the Allies, 661, 662. by the French, 13

London, battle of, III. 248

London, attacked by the Allies, IV. 270, 271

London, George Granville Lord Viscount, Treasurer of the Household, IV. 348. taken into custody, 439

Lough, Count of intended to command the troops sent by France, into Ireland, III. 79. but does not go at last, *ibid.* K. James makes him Knight of the Garter, 80. advises K. James, at the battle of the Boyne, to retreat, 137. retires to France, 138

Lowe; bill for regulating proceedings at law, III. 731

Lowe, John, account of him, IV. 619. kills Beauclerk, 620. author of the *Mississippi* scheme, and made Comptroller of the Treasury of France, *ibid.* comes to England, and pleads his pardon, 653

Lawson, Sir Gilfrid, his speeches in Parliament, IV. 521, 576. made Groom of the King's Bed-chamber, 617

Lay Baptism, disputes about it, IV. 254

Loyer, Christopher, apprehended, and makes his escape, IV. 660. retaken and committed to the Tower, *ibid.* brought to his trial, and found guilty, 666. reprieved from time to time, *ibid.* examined by a Committee of the House of Commons, *ibid.* his trial published, *ibid.* report of the Committee appointed to examine him, *ibid.* executed, *ibid.*

Leake, Sir John, commands a fleet, III. 665. sent to relieve Gibraltar, 668. made Vice-Admiral of the White, 678. relieves Gibraltar a second time, and destroys several of the enemy's ships, 705. fails to the relief of Barcelona, 752. disperses a fleet of Tartars near Barcelona, IV. 94. assists in the conquest of Minorca, 95, 96. made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 143. carries to Dunkirk the English forces that were to take possession of that place, 280

Lechmere, Nicholas, speaks against the treaty of commerce, IV. 315. seconds a motion of General Stanhope about the Pretender, 323. had a hand in the *Griffin*, 335. finds fault with the lenity shewn to Mr. Bidford, 337. affirms the Protestant Succession to be in danger, 354. speaks against the Schilm-bill, 360, &c. moves to have the Toleration-bill extended to Ireland, 363. received by K. George with particular marks of favour, 402. made Solicitor General, 412. impeaches the E. of Derwentwater, 482. Chairman of the Committee to draw up articles against the seven impeached Lords, *ibid.* prepares a bill for attaining several of the Rebels, 483. moves for a proclamation, offering a pardon to those that were in arms in Scotland, 484. moves for a clause to exclude Pensioners from Parliament, 495. made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 541. made Attorney-General, 562. quarrel between him and Sir William Thompson, 610. is one of the Secret Committee, 632

Lede, Marquis de, takes Sardinia, IV. 549. lands in Sicily, 567. Admiral Byng's letter to him, 568. advances against *Alexander*, 572. raises some regiments in Sicily, 573. account of him, 590. retires to France, 591. is in the battle there, *ibid.* makes a show of attacking the Imperialists, but fortifies *Castro Giovane*, 598. being hard pressed by the Imperialists, he makes overtures for evacuating Sicily, 600. signs conventions for evacuating Sicily and Sardinia, 603

Leeds, Thomas Osborne Marquis of Carmarthen, and D. of, accused of taking a bribe from the East India Company, III. 270, 273, 277. speaks against the bill for obliging Sir Thomas Cooke to make a discovery, 273. motion for impeaching him, 278. his speech in the House of Lords, *ibid.* indicted by Mr. Lockhart with relation to the Pretender, 768. his speech at Dr. Sacheverell's trial, IV. 157

Leeds, Peregrine Osborne D. of, his protests, IV. 610

Lesdale, Frederic Alport Baron of, sent to Paris to discover the Assassination-plot, III. 210, 211

Legation,

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Leghorn, to remain a free port, IV. 563
Legion's humble address to the Lords, III. 647.
Leicester, John Sidney E. of, made Constable of Dover-Castle, IV. 548
Leinster, Meinherdt Schomburg D. of, is appointed Commander of the troops that were designed to make a descent in *France*, III. 205. the *English* forces under his command possess themselves of *Dixmude* and *Furnes*, 212
Leopold. See *Emperor*.
Leslie Charles, publishes a relation of the *Glencoe* business, III. 218. his account of the Pretender, IV. 357
Levellers in Scotland, IV. 682
Leeward-Islands ravaged by the *French*, IV. 293
Lewis XIV. K. of France, attacks the *Spanish Netherlands*, III. 35. resolves to extirpate the Reformed Religion in his Dominions, 36. dragoons the Reformed, and repeals the edict of *Nantes*, *ibid.* declares war against the Pope, *ibid.* invades *Germany*, *ibid.* sends troops into *Ireland*, for *K. James's* use, 79. his private treaty with him, 80. promises to send a fleet to *K. James's* assistance to *Ireland*, 134. orders *Mr de Taurville* to fight the *English*, 201, 205. his saying about the *English* rejoicing for the victory at *la Hogue*, 206. his letter of thanks to his army, for intrenching themselves near the *Schild*, 256. endeavours to restore *K. James*, 303. abandons him at the peace of *Ryswick*, 360. will not remove him at a greater distance than *St Germain's*, 379. forms the project of securing the Crown of *Spain* to his grandson the D. of *Anjou*, 382—384. his behaviour about the Partition-treaty, and the *Spanish Succession*, 418, &c. accepts the K. of *Spain's* will, though he feigned at the same time to be ready to observe the Partition-treaty, 427. notifies to the *States of Holland* his resolution of accepting that will, 429. proposals made to him by the Court of *England*, for securing the *Netherlands*, 446. his answer to those proposals, 447. reflected upon in the House of Lords, 451. his letter and memorial to the *States*, 481, &c. visits *K. James*, 490. owns the Pretender for K. of *England*, and causes him to be proclaimed, 491, 492, &c. presses all other Princes to own him, 491. his manifesto for proclaiming him, 492, &c. rejoices at the news of *K. William's* death, 542. expresses great resentment upon the *Dutch* declaring war against him, 548, 549. declares war against the Confederates, 560. arms part of the Empire against the Empire itself, 614. countenances a design of an insurrection in *Scotland*, *ibid.* his letter to the D. of *Savoy*, 623. declares war against him, *ibid.* had Pensioners at the Courts of *Denmark* and *Prussia*, 743. sends orders to *Villeroy* to fight the *Alles*, 744. had for his motto *Nec pluribus impar*, 752. makes advantageous offers to the D. of *Savoy*, 753. and to the *Allies*, 763. his letter to the Pope, 766. and to *Scotland*, 767. his enquiry carried off, IV. 32. resolves to send the Pretender to make a descent in *Scotland*, 56. goes to take leave of him, and presents him with a fine sword, *ibid.* writes a letter to the Pope upon that expedition, *ibid.* and a circular letter to his Ministers in *Rome*, *Switzerland*, *Geneva*, &c. about the same, and boasts of success too soon, 62. endeavours to unite the Princes and *States of Italy* in a league against the Emperor, 98. offers to come to a treaty of partition, by allowing *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to *K. Charles*, 121, 125, 126. rejects the preliminaries of peace, 129. writes to the K. of *Spain* that he would never abandon him, 147. sets on foot negotiations for a peace, 121, 144, 161. resolves to support his grandson *Philip K. of Spain*, notwithstanding he pretends the contrary, and sends him reinforcements, 179. aims at making a separate peace exclusive of *Spain*, 195. entertains *L. Bellingbrooke* with great magnificence, 287. demands great reparations for an insult offered to *Monfieur Mejnager's* servants, 290. a declaration of his Minister at the *Hague* concerning the Pretender, 346. his treachery, 370. forced to abandon the Pretender, 394. promises to maintain the *Hanover Succession*, 398. his answer about

the *Catalans*, *ibid.* and about the demolition of *Dunkirk*, 408. his distinction upon the spirit and the letter of treaties, *ibid.* his death, 437, 476
Lewis XV. K. of France, IV. 477. a marriage concluded between him and the Infanta of *Spain*, 674. he sends her back, 688, 689. takes the Government into his own hands, 690. marries *Mary* daughter of *K. Stanislaus*, 691
Lewis, Prince of *Asturias*, a marriage agreed on between him and the D. of *Orleans's* daughter, IV. 674. his Father the K. of *Spain* resigns his Dominions to him, 681. he dies, 688
Libellers; proclamation against them, III. 218
Liege, a description of it, III. 563. taken by the *Allies*, *ibid.* the *French* contrive to besiege it, 618. besieged by the *French*, and relieved by the D. of *Marlborough*, 698
Limburg taken by the *Allies*, III. 620. described, *ibid.*
Limerick besieged, III. 147. the siege raised, 149. besieged a second time, 179. surrenders, 181
Limerick, Bishop of, forms a Committee, to take care of things at *Dublin*, III. 139
Lines of the French forced, III. 618. by the D. of *Marlborough*, 699. those of *Buhl* forced by the *French*, IV. 13
Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland* encouraged, III. 376, 610
Lints taken by the *French*, III. 566
Lisle; description of that place, IV. 80. besieged by the *Allies*, *ibid.* a *French* officer wonderfully gets into that place during the siege, 82. the town surrenders, 87. the siege of the Citadel prosecuted, *ibid.* it capitulates, 90
Liturgy; a review of it, III. 106, &c. whence the Liturgy of the Church of *England* was taken, 513
Livonia taken by the *Czar*, IV. 183
Lloyd, William, Bp of *St Asaph*, answers *K. James's* declaration, III. 109. Bp of *Litchfield* and *Cowenry*, advises *Q. Mary* to establish a fund for Preachers and Schoolmasters among the *Yaulois*, 217. his discourses of *God's ways*, &c. complained of in Parliament, 231
Lloyd, William, Bp of *Worcester*, complaint in the House of Commons, and address to *Q. Anne* against him, III. 575. removed, *ibid.*
London, Lord-Mayor, &c. of, present an address to *Q. Mary*, III. 141. and to *K. William*, 219. entertain *K. William* and *Q. Mary*, *ibid.* Lieutenant of *London*, debates in the House of Commons about it, 233. changed, 252. the City condemns the violence and sloveness of the House of Commons, 471. inclined to draw up an address against the Parliament's proceedings, 478. their instructions to their Members, 497. Lieutenant there changed, IV. 192. the Tories get the election of Members there, 193. fifty new Churches ordered to be built in and about *London*, 208. their instructions to their Representatives, 415. riots and disorders committed there on the Anniversary of the Queen's Coronation, and on the D. of *Ormond's* birth-day, 421. on the King's birthday, and on the 29th of *May*, 424. and on the E. of *Oxford's* Commitment, 432
London Assurance, IV. 613
Londonderry takes arms, III. 77. besieged, 80. a little boy brings two letters to the besieged, 82. relieved, 83
Lonfdale, Lord Viscount. See *Louthier*.
Lords, House of, sign an Association, III. 321. the names of such as refused to sign it, 322. debates in that House about *John Fenwick's* Attainder, 341. their address of thanks to *K. William* upon disbanding the army, 388. their address on the King's speech about the Succession, 441. find fault with the partition treaty, 447. advise the King to enter into leagues offensive and defensive with the Emperor, 453. several messages between them and the House of Commons about the trial of the *Lords Sommers*, *Orford*, &c. 464. their resolutions previous to those trials, 465. dispute between them and the Commons about some words of the *L. Haversham*, 466, &c. their representa-

tion on the case of the *Aylesbury-men*, 684. address the Queen to settle the D. of *Marlborough's* honours on his posterity, 766. examine the Merchants complaint, IV. 41. lay the whole matter before the Queen in an address, 42. debates in that House about the affairs in *Spain*, and the management of the war there, 45, &c. resolve, that no peace could be safe, if *Spain* and the *Spanish West-Indies* were suffered to continue in the House of *Bourbon*, 46. debates about the elections of the sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, 109. their votes against the Ministry with relation to the war in *Spain*, 197, 198. proceedings in this House upon the Queen's laying the plan of peace before the Parliament, 269. debates about the *Catalans*, the Protestant Succession, removal of the Pretender out of *Lorraine*, and the late treaties, 347. vote an address against *Jesuits*, Priests, and against all such as bore arms against the late *K. William*, 350. move for a second address about the Pretender, 352. take into consideration the trade to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, 365. debate about the Conspirators against *K. William*, 426. petitions to them in behalf of the condemned Lords, 485. make some exceptions to the preamble of the land-tax bill, 488. debates about the *Oxford* riot, 516, &c. differences between them and the Commons about the E. of *Oxford's* trial, 541, &c. debates about the Mutiny-bill, 557, &c. and about the repeal of the *Schism* and *Occasional* acts, 578. their resolutions concerning the imprisonment of the Barons of the *Exchequer* in *Ireland*, 609, 610. debates about the *South-Sea* scheme, 611. their proceedings in the *South-Sea* affair, and *South-Sea* Directors, 632, &c. complaint in their House about *Law's* coming over, 653. take into consideration the treaty with *Spain*, 654. debates about the army, *ibid.* take into consideration the treaties of *Hanover*, and address the King thereupon, 694, &c. great debates on the King's speech, 701
Lorrain, Duke of, declares war against *France*, III. 157. poisoned by means of that perfidious Court, *ibid.* his character, *ibid.*
Lorrain restored to the Duke of that name, III. 328, 364
Lorrain, D. of, marries the D. of *Orleans's* daughter, III. 383
Lothian, William Ker Marquis of, presents the draught of an act for a treaty between *England* and *Scotland*, III. 692. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, IV. 64
Lotteries; bill against them, III. 235. encouraged, and money raised upon them, 251
Louvain taken by the *Allies*, III. 750. description of that town, *ibid.*
Lowat, Simon Frazer Lord, surprises *Inverness* for *K. George*, IV. 464, 472
Lowis dies, III. 209. had entered into the plot for assassinating *K. William*, 210
Low-Countries, a sudden Revolution there, III. 751
Lowndes, William, presents to the House of Commons several papers relating to the coins, IV. 553
Louthier, Sir John, resigns his place of Commissioner of the Treasury, III. 105. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 236. created Baron *Louthier*, and Viscount *Lonfdale*, 326. made Lord Privy-Seal, 392. raises the post of *Cumberland*, 455
Ludlow, Edmund, comes to *England*, and is forced to return back, III. 120
Lumley, Richard, created E. of *Scarborough*, III. 132
Lumley, Richard Lord, makes a motion about removing the Pretender out of *Lorraine*, IV. 343. speaks in favour of *Richard Steele*, 344. his speech about the reward for apprehending the Pretender, 397. made one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*, 402
Lumley, Charles Lord, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of *Wales*, IV. 617
Lunt — discovers the *Lancashire* plot, III. 265. his depositions, *ibid.* indicted for perjury, 267
Luteffring Company settled, III. 219, 371
Luxemburg, D. of, General of the *French*, III. 154. tries to surprise *Bruffels*, 182. attacks
8 Y tacks

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

had the direction of the plot for assassinating K. William, 210. commands in Flanders at the battle of London, 238. dies, 288
Lydall — has speech about the Septennial bill, IV. 495

Maclefield, Charles Gerrard E. of, assisted by the Jacobites, III. 267. divorced from his Countess, 375

Maclefield, Thomas Parker, E. of, complaints against him, IV. 683. impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, 684. his trial, *ibid.* committed to the Tower, and released upon paying his fine of 30,000*l.* *ibid.*

Maclean, Glencoe, III. 283
Macintosh, Brigadier, Laird of Borlum, crosses the Firth of Forth with a body of Highlanders, IV. 445, &c. his character, 449, &c. taken prisoner at Preston, 459. brought up to London, and sent to Newgate, 465. bill of high-treason found against him, 489. he makes his escape, 496

Macnair, Sir Humphry, the supposed Author of the memorial of the Church of England, III. 729. vote of the House of Commons against him, IV. 162

Madagascar, Pirates there suppressed, III. 791

Madrid possessed by the Allies, III. 754. they abandon it again, and K. Philip possesses himself of it, *ibid.*

Madame, Madam de, in a plot to assassinate K. William, III. 210. causes the K. of Spain's will to be accepted by the French Court, 427. her influence, 440. persuades K. Lewis XIV. to acknowledge the Pretender for K. of England, 491. the K. of France's counsels towards her, IV. 132

Malaga, engagement near it between the English and the French, III. 664

Malta, St. bombarded by the English, III. 323, 320

Malheur, battle of, IV. 136
Mal-tax extended to Scotland, of which the Scots highly complain, IV. 316. riots in Scotland about it, 687. petitions against it from several Shires, 695

Manchester, Charles Montague, E. of, attends K. William to Ireland, III. 133. sent Ambassador to Venice, 350. and to France, 392. ordered to leave the Court of France, 401. his letters to *Tory*, *ibid.* made Secretary of State, 504

Manchester, Robert Montague E. of, sent Ambassador to Venice, III. 792. takes Vienna in his way, IV. 21. letters to and from him about the reduction of Naples, *ibid.* &c. directed thence to him at Venice, 65, 66

Manifesto of the Pretender's adherents, IV. 430

Manresa; a description of that place, I. 11

Manst, Sir Thomas, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 190. created Baron Manst, 234

Mars, John Erskine E. of, presents a resolve to Parliament, III. 690. and a draught of an act for a treaty with England, 692. made Secretary of State, 697. his speech at *Sacheverell's* trial, IV. 160. tries to get the place of Secretary of State for Scotland, 219. against extending the malt-tax to Scotland, 317. made third Secretary for that Kingdom, 328. removed from his place of Secretary of State, 404. had made many professions of loyalty to K. George in a letter, 436. heads the Rebellion in Scotland, *ibid.* sets up the Pretender's standard at Brae-Mar, 437. assumes the title of Lieutenant-General of the Pretender's forces, and publishes a declaration to exhort the people to take arms, *ibid.* publishes a manifesto, 438, &c. his men commit great disorders, 449. receives three letters, which had been intercepted by Mr *Ford*, 451. &c. two letters of his intercepted, 451. sends a Commission to *T. Forsler* to act as General in England, 455. resolves to pass the Forth, and to march into England, 459. engages the D. of Argyll near Dumblain, 459, 460, &c. waits upon the Pretender at *Leipsic*, 465. his letter about the Pretender's proceedings, 467, &c.

March, William Douglas E. of, made Governor of Edinburgh-Castle, III. 595

Marchmont, Alexander Hume E. of, Commissioner in the Parliament of Scotland, III. 380. Chancellor of Scotland, 555. proposes the settling the Crown of that Kingdom on the House of Hanover, 557. turned out, 595

Marbury, IV. 408. to be demolished, 505, 508

Maria Teresa's renunciation, III. 418

Marion, Elias, one of the Prophets, IV. 47

Marischal, Earl, letters sent to him from the Pretender, III. 767, &c. was against the Union, 770, 772

Marischal, George Keith E. of, summoned to surrender himself at Edinburgh, IV. 445. joins the rest of the Rebels, 446. waits upon the Pretender at *Feteroffe*, 465. forms the rear of the Rebels in their retreat, 472

Marlborough, John Churchill E. and afterwards D. of, takes Cork and Kingale, III. 150, 151. sent by K. William into Flanders to prepare things against his arrival, 182. discontented, 189. disgraced and turned out of all his posts, 195. committed to the Tower, 200, 218. bailed, 218. a plot against him, *ibid.* complains of his commitment to the House of Lords, 221. the E. of Shrewsbury thought he was ungratefully and unjustly persecuted, 231. reformed to favour, made Privy-Counsellor, and Governor to the D. of Gloucester, 380. made General of the army abroad, 480. account of him, 536, &c. 537, &c. K. James's great resentment against him, *ibid.* writes a letter in the Queen's name to the States-General, 540, 541. made Knight of the Garter, Captain-General of the English forces both at home and abroad, and sent Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Holland, 541. his speech to the States, *ibid.* confirms the Dutch in their former resolution, and settles some points with them, 543. agrees with the States and the Imperial Minister, that war should be proclaimed against France, on the same day at Vienna, London, and the Hague, *ibid.* is reckoned a Tory, 544. made Master of the Ordnance, 554. declared Generalissimo of the Confederate army, 562. takes several places, particularly *Verlo*, *Raremond*, and *Liege*, 563. is taken by a French party, but gets out of their hands, *ibid.* comes to London, and a Committee of the Commons, wait upon him with the thanks of that House, 576. the Queen creates him a Duke, and intends to grant him a pension of 5000*l.* but it being disagreeable to the Commons, she drops it for the present, 577. he is for the Occasional Conformity bill, 581. loses his only son, and goes to Flanders, 615. takes *Bonne*, 617. forces the French lines, 618, 619. takes *Huy* and *Limburg*, 620. endeavours in vain to bring the French to an engagement, *ibid.* meets Charles K. of Spain at *Dusselaer*, who presents him with a sword, 624. returns to England, 626. sets out again for Germany, 654. defeats the enemy at *Schellenberg*, 655. defeats the French and *Imperialists* at *Hochstet*, 657, &c. returns to England, 663. his victories levelled by the Commons with those of Sir George *Rooke*, 671. some Lords take it ill that Prince Eugene should be named before him, 674. is complimented by the Lord-Keeper upon his coming to the House of Lords, 676. a Committee of the House of Commons gives him also the thanks of that House, 677. his friends offended at the Oxford address, *ibid.* the manor of *Woodstock* and the hundred of *Wooton* settled upon him and his heirs, 677. concludes a treaty with *Prussia*, 678. concert measures for carrying on the war upon the *Moselle*, 697. goes to Holland, and has Conferences with several Members of the States, *ibid.* his progress into Germany, where he is in danger of being killed, 700. designs to attack the French, but is opposed by the Dutch Generals, of which he complains to the States, 701, 702. goes to the Hague, and confers with the States upon the orders he had received to go to Vienna, 702. goes to Vienna, and confers with the Emperor, 704. comes back to England, *ibid.* his

conduct arraigned by the L. *Haverham*, 719. is thanked by the Commons for his great services, 729. defeats the French at *Romilles*, 746, &c. is in danger of being killed or taken prisoner, 748. K. Charles writes to him, 754. the D. of Bavaria lends proposals to him, for opening conferences for a peace, 763. his answer to them, 764. a report spread that he found his account in continuing the war, and therefore would not be for peace, *ibid.* returns to England, 765. invested with the Principality of *Mildenheim*, 766. receives the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, *ibid.* the Lords address the Queen to settle his honours on his posterity, which is done, *ibid.* *Woodstock* manor and *Blenheim* house ordered to go with the titles, *ibid.* 500*l.* per annum out of the Post Office settled on him and his posterity, *ibid.* the Lord-Keeper's speech to him and his answer, 767, 768. the Commons refuse to confirm the grant made to him of the Royal *Moselle*, 770. goes to the Hague, and has a conference with the Deputies of the States, IV. 14. goes to *All-Ranfadt* to the K. of Sweden, 15. follows the French army, but cannot bring them to an engagement, 19, &c. goes to Germany, and confers with the Electors of *Hanover* and *Alentz*, 21. returns to England, *ibid.* his letter to his Duches about Mrs *Majham*, 35. complaints of his too great power, *ibid.* his speech to shew the necessity of augmenting the forces in Flanders, 45. refuses to serve the Queen any longer, unless Mr *Harley* was removed, 55. offers the Bank a considerable sum of money to preserve its credit, 61. appointed again Commander in Chief of the Confederate forces in the N. *ibid.* 66. with great unanimity with Prince Eugene, 72. his bravery at the battle of *Quadrarde*, 74, 75. his letter to the E. of Manchester about it, 78. covers the siege of *Lisle*, 80. prepares to give the enemy battle, but they retire, 81. storms *Lisle*, 83. stops the Elector of Bavaria's design against *Brussels*, for which purpose he passes the *Scheld*, and comes to that City, 83, &c. retakes *Ghent*, 91, &c. the Queen's letter to him after the battle of *Quadrarde*, and his answer, 104. his interest with her begins to decline, *ibid.* two pieces published against him, 116. thanked by the Commons, with his answer to it from *Brussels*, *ibid.* comes to England, and is also thanked by the Lords, 117. sent to the Hague upon proposals of peace made by France, 121. convinces the States of the treacherous designs of France in that offer, *ibid.* besieges and takes *Tournay*, 133, 134. resolves to besiege *Mons*, 135. defeats the French at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 136, &c. passes the *Scarp* and forces the French lines, 170, &c. the Queen writes to him, to give the E. of *Essex's* regiment to J. Hill, 185. he desires to be excused, and not being able to prevail retires to *Windsor*, *ibid.* great uneasiness in the Nation on that account, *ibid.* he writes an expostulatory letter to the Queen, *ibid.* the Queen's answer, 186. the Parliament addresses the Queen to send the Duke into Holland, *ibid.* he lives in friendship with the D. of Shrewsbury, 187. writes a moving letter to the Queen upon the E. of *Sunderland's* removal, 189. had not promoted the address against Mr *Majham*, *ibid.* motion in the House of Lords to thank him *ibid.* 195. some Officers turned out for drinking his health, *ibid.* he returns from Holland to England, and is received with acclamations, 196. is visited by the new Ministry, but does not receive the thanks of both Houses as usual, *ibid.* desired by the Queen to live well with the new Ministry; resolves to be patient, in order to carry on the war; carries a surrender of all the Duches's places to the Queen, and retires to *Blenheim-House* on the Queen's birthday, *ibid.* his account in the House of Lords of the Ministry's proceedings with regard to Spain, 197, &c. is continued in the command of the British forces in Flanders, 208. no confidence between him and the new Ministry, *ibid.* the Queen's letter to the States of Holland about him, 209. he takes the field, *ibid.* amuses the French and surprises their lines, 210. besieges and takes *Bechain*, 211, 212. returns to England, *ibid.*

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

ibid. his speech in the House of Lords, 228. is turned out of all his employments, 232. his letter to the Commissioners about the present from Sir Solomon de Medina, *ibid.* the Queen sends him word of her intentions to resume all his employments, 233. his letter thereupon to her, *ibid.* he waits upon Prince Eugene, 236. that Prince's compliment on him, 237. censured for having taken large sums of money, 239. ordered to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, 240. many libels published against him, *ibid.* inquiries made into his conduct, but nothing material is found against him, *ibid.* Prince Eugene said he was always successful, *ibid.* bears all insults with patience, and prepares a vindication of himself, *ibid.* his speech on account of the D. of Ormond's being ordered not to fight, 261. sends E. Paulet a challenge for his reflecting speech on him, *ibid.* his speech about the plan of peace, 269. two suits commenced against him, 300. leaves England, and goes to *Six la Chapelle*, *ibid.* refuses to sign an association, 347. invited by the E. of Oxford to come over to England, 367. comes to *Ostend*, *ibid.* embarks for England, 368. had vowed never to be reconciled with the E. of Oxford, *ibid.* invited over by L. Bolingbroke, 402. lands at *Dover*, *ibid.* makes a public entry into London, but his coach breaks down, *ibid.* kindly received by K. George, *ibid.* made Captain-General, Master of the Ordnance, &c. *ibid.* his speech about regulating the land-forces, 423. reflected upon on account of the coarfeness of the soldiers' shirts, and his advertisement and speech thereupon, 425. has the nomination of the Officers of the new-raised regiments, with the D. of Argyle, and the Generals Stanhope and Cadogan, 433. is ill, and never perfectly recovers, 503. his death and character, 657, &c.

Marlborough, Sarah Jennings Countess and Duchesse of, made one of the Ladies of the Bed-chamber to the Princess Anne, and becomes her great favourite, III. 534. her character, *ibid.* and 535. persuades the Princess against consenting to have the Crown settled on K. William for life, 536. appointed Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy-Purse, 544. endeavours to moderate Q. Anne's zeal for the Tories, *ibid.* occasions the removal of Sir Nathan Wright, 717. reconciles the Whigs to the Queen, 719. compared to Alice Piers, *ibid.* her account of J. Hill, and Mrs. Masham, IV. 34. her great uneasiness at that Lady's great credit with the Queen, and her letters thereupon, *ibid.* &c. her letter to the Queen, 105, &c. charged with being the cause of some disagreeable votes passing in the House of Commons against Mrs. Masham, 185. is told that the Queen believed the often spoke disrespectfully of her, 186. the endeavours to vindicate herself in an audience she had of the Queen, *ibid.* &c. writes to the Queen upon the E. or Sunderland's removal, 189. the Duke her husband carries a surrender of all her places to the Queen, 196.

Marriners; act against marriages without licence or banns, III. 323.

Marlagie, battle of, III. 241.

Marfelles; a project to destroy that place, IV. 21. a plague there, 652.

Martin, Henry and David, had a hand in the *British* Merchant, IV. 316.

Q. MARY proclaimed, III. 25. her household settled, 39. uneasy at the settlement required for her sister the Princess of Denmark, 52, 120. an act passed to invest her with the administration of affairs during the King's absence, 132. shows great tenderness for her father's person, 133. her behaviour was very exemplary, and the read much, but did not meddle with public affairs, 139. was very charitable, *ibid.* takes upon her the administration of affairs, and has the right way of pleasing England, *ibid.* becomes universally beloved and admired, *ibid.* puts out two proclamations against the Papists, *ibid.* tho' much afraid of a descent from France, she conceals her own apprehensions, and inspires her subjects with resolution, 141. puts out a proclamation for the encouragement of seamen, 142. gives Commissions for putting the standing forces and the militia in the

West in a posture of defence, *ibid.* publishes a proclamation for apprehending the E. of Litchfield, &c. *ibid.* falls out with her sister the Princess of Denmark, because she would not dismiss the Countess of Marlborough, 196. prepares to defend England against the threatened invasion of K. James, 200. orders several discontented persons to be taken up, *ibid.* commands all Papists to depart from London and Westminster, *ibid.* causes the militia of Westminster, and the trainbands of London to be drawn up in Hyde-Park, *ibid.* establishes a fund for maintaining Preachers and Schoolmasters among the *Vaudois*, 217. issues out a proclamation against the exporting of corn to France, and orders the laws to be put in execution, 247. governs the Nation with great prudence, 258. had a particular esteem for Archbp. Tillotson, 260. seized with the small-pox, of which she dies, *ibid.* her character, 261. never guilty of an indiscretion, 262. remarks on her unusual gaiety at her coming to the Throne, 262. and on her quarrel with her sister the Princess Anne, *ibid.* addresses to the King upon her death, 264. she was a friend to the Dissenters, and for a Comprehension, *ibid.* the Jacobites exalted at the news of her death, 312. her great care in disposing of Church preferments, 523.

Masham, Mr Samuel, preferred by the Duchesse of Marlborough's means, IV. 34. marries Abigail Hill, *ibid.* made a General, 186. created Baron Masham, 234.

Masham, Mrs comes to be in great credit with Q. Anne, IV. 34. the Duchesse of Marlborough's great uneasiness at it, *ibid.* &c. was related to Mr Harley, 34. her intrigues with the Queen, 105, &c. she undermines the D. of Marlborough's interest, 185. motion intended in Parliament against her, 186. made Privy-Purse, 196. had part of the benefit of the *Assiento* trade, 366. reconciles the Favourites, 367. the Lord-Treasurer demurs about a grant made to her by the Queen, 368. severe reproaches between her and the Treasurer, when he was dismissed, *ibid.*

Master in Chancery; proceedings against them, IV. 683.

Maximilian Prince of Hanover joins Prince Eugene, III. 656.

Mazarin, Duchesse of, motion in the House of Commons against her, III. 44.

Mead, Dr Richard, attends Q. Anne in her last illness, IV. 369.

Meath, Henry Jones Bp. of, endeavours to stop the execution of some cruel acts against the Protestants in Ireland, III. 83. argues against the repealing of the act of Settlement, 86.

Mechlin submits to the Allies, III. 751.

Mechlenburg, D. of, marries the Czarina's niece, IV. 538.

Meeting-Houses; some pulled down, IV. 155.

Melfort, John Drummond E. of, King James's Secretary of State, III. 57, 68. odious to the Presbyterians in Scotland, *ibid.* letters brought from him to Scotland, 73. excepted out of the Indemnity, 132. his letter to the E. of Perth, 440. Tallard's saying about him, 442.

Melvil, — Lord, made Secretary of State for Scotland, III. 75. promises to moderate the violence of the Presbyterians in that Kingdom, but is not so good as his word, 105. his proceedings for settling Presbytery, *ibid.* a great zeal for Presbytery, 181, 182. made Privy-Seal, and most of his creatures laid aside, 194. President of the Council in Scotland, 555. turned out, 595.

Memorial of the Dutch communicated to the House of Lords and Commons, III. 440. of the French Ambassador to the States, 454. memorial by Daniel de Foe, 476. of the Church of England, 715, 716. presented as a libel, 717. the Publisher of it ordered to be prosecuted, 729. of the Elector of Hanover, IV. 225, &c. of the Dutch against the representation of the House of Commons, 242. of Prince Eugene and the Deputies of the States to the D. of Ormond, 282. of the Czar, 539, 615, &c. of Colonel Stanhope, 698. of the Marquis de Pozzobuono, 702. of Mr Pointz, 703. of Mr de Palmis, 704. of the British and French

Ministers at the diet of Ratisbon, 705.

Menin taken by the Allies, III. 751.

Montu, Elector of, confers with the D. of Marlborough, IV. 21.

Merchants design a fraud with regard to the goods imported into Scotland, III. 789. their petition, *ibid.* another petition of theirs, complaining of their great losses, IV. 40. and of the want of cruisers, *ibid.* &c. petition of the Scotch Merchants for relief, 43. French, Dutch, and Jewish Merchants, instead of calling in the money they had in the Bank, they carried in more, 61, 62.

Mercy, Count de, arrives at Naples, an account of him, IV. 589, 590. lands in Sicily, 591. his bravery at the battle of Franco-Filla, 591, &c. wounded there, 592. struck blind, 595. has a conference with Admiral Byng, 599.

Messenger, Monsieur, his negotiations at the Court of England, IV. 212, 221. delivers the French King's answer to the demands last sent over from England, *ibid.* signs the preliminaries of peace, 222. has a private conversation with the Queen, and speaks to her in favour of the Pretender, 223. one of the Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht, 247. his servants insult Count de Rechtern, which stops for a while the negotiations at Utrecht, 290, 306, &c.

Messina taken by the Spaniards, IV. 567. the English fleet come thither, 568. the citadel surrenders, 570. besieged by the Imperialists, the city surrenders, 595, &c. the citadel also surrenders, 598.

Methuen, Paul, Envoy to Portugal, III. 554. concludes a neutrality, 559. and a treaty, 624. procures the K. of Portugal to carry on his conquests in Spain, 753. Envoy Extraordinary to the D. of Savoy, 758. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, IV. 143. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 406. one of the Principal Secretaries of State, 499. resigns his places, 523, 525. made Comptroller of the Household, 617. made Treasurer of the Household, 687.

Middleton, E. of, starts up a difficulty when the Pretender was going to be proclaimed, III. 491. exhorted by K. James to embrace Popery, 492.

Middleton, Alan Broderick Lord, Lord-Chancellor of Ireland, dissent from some resolutions of the House of Lords, IV. 609.

Milanese; treaty for evacuating it, III. 765. IV. 3, 4. evacuated, 4.

Minas, Marquis des, assists at a Council of war, IV. 6. at the battle of Almanza, 8.

Ministers, distinction between the King and his Ministers, IV. 578.

Minorea, description of that Island, which is taken by the English, IV. 95, &c.

Mint suppressed, IV. 672.

Miremont, Armand de Bourbon Marquis de, goes to Utrecht, to take care of the interest of the French Refugees, IV. 245. intercedes for the Protestants in the galleys in France, 329.

Misson, Maximilian, one of the Prophets, IV. 47.

Modern History; Professors of it founded in our Universities, by K. George I. IV. 679, &c.

Mohun, Charles Lord, tried for the murder of William Mounfort, III. 232. and for the murder of Captain Richard Coote, 391. is against the Occasional Conformity bill, 628. carries E. Paulet a challenge from the D. of Marlborough, IV. 261. killed in a duel with D. Hamilton, 297.

Molesworth, William, reflects on the Convocation Houses in Ireland, for which he is removed from the Privy-Council, IV. 331.

Molesworth, Robert Lord, his account of Denmark quoted, IV. 557. Envoy to Turin, 617.

Molineux, William, his case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England censured, III. 376.

Money of brass, coined by K. James in Ireland, cried down, III. 146.

Monmouth, Charles Mordaunt E. of, goes with K. William to Holland, III. 164.

Mons taken by the French, III. 166. K. William endeavours to surprize it, 208.

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

tracks the rear of the Confederate army, 183
had the L.
rejection of the plot for assassinating K. Wil-
liam, 210. commands in *Flanders* at the
battle of *La Mar*, 211.
Liddel — his speech about the Septen-
nial bill, IV. 495

M.

Middlefield, Charles Gerrard E. of, af-
fected by the Jacobites, III. 267. di-
vorced from his Countess, 375
Macclesfield, Thomas Parker, E. of, com-
plaints against him, IV. 683. impeached for
high crimes and misdemeanors, 684. his tri-
al, *ibid.* committed to the *Tower*, and re-
leased upon paying his fine of 30,000*l.*
ibid.

Macdonald of *Glencoe*, III. 283
Macintosh, Brigadier, Laird of *Borlum*,
crosses the *Firth of Forth* with a body of
Highlanders, IV. 445, &c. his character,
449, &c. taken prisoner at *Prosen*, 459.
brought up to *London*, and sent to *Newgate*,
465. bill of high-treason found against him,
480. he makes his escape, 496

Macworth, Sir Humphry, the supposed
Author of the memorial of the Church of
England, III. 729. vote of the House of
Commons, IV. 162

Madagascar, Pirates there suppressed, III.
791

Madrid possessed by the Allies, III. 754.
they abandon it again, and K. Philip possesses
himself of it, *ibid.*

Maintenon, Madam de, in a plot to assas-
sinate K. William, III. 210. causes the K.
of Spain's will to be accepted by the French
Court, 427. her influence, 440. persuades
K. Lewis XIV. to acknowledge the Pretender
as King of England, 441. the K. of France's
coolness towards her, IV. 132

Malaga, engagement near it between the
English and the French, III. 664

Mala, St. bombarded by the English, III.
252, 300

Malplaquet, battle of, IV. 136
Anti-tax extended to Scotland, of which
the Scots highly complain, IV. 316. riots in
Scotland about it, 687. petitions against it
from several Shires, 695

Manchester, Charles Montague, E. of, at-
tends K. William to Ireland, III. 133. sent
Ambassador to Venice, 350. and to France,
392. ordered to leave the Court of France,
ibid. his letters to *Tory*, *ibid.* made Secretary
of State, 504

Manchester, Robert Montague E. of, sent
Ambassador to Venice, III. 792. takes *Venna*
in his way, IV. 21. letters to and from
him about the reduction of *Naples*, 654, &c.
disrespect shewn to him at Venice, 65, 66

Manifesto of the Pretender's adherents,
IV. 430

Manressa; a description of that place,
I. 11

Mansel, Sir Thomas, made one of the
Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 190.
created Baron Mansel, 234

Mar, John Erskine E. of, presents a re-
solve to Parliament, III. 690. and a draught
of an act for a treaty with England, 692.
made Secretary of State, 697. his speech at
Sackville's trial, IV. 160. tries to get the
place of Secretary of State for Scotland, 219.
is against extending the malt-tax to Scotland,
317. made third Secretary for that Kingdom,
328. removed from his place of Secretary of
State, 404. had made many professions of
loyalty to K. George in a letter, 436. heads
the Rebellion in Scotland, *ibid.* sets up the
Pretender's standard at *Brae-Mar*, 437. as-
sumes the title of Lieutenant-General of the
Pretender's forces, and publishes a declaration
to exhort the people to take arms, *ibid.* pub-
lishes a manifesto, 438, &c. his men com-
mit great disorders, 449. receives three let-
ters, which had been intercepted by Mr
Forster, *ibid.* &c. two letters of his inter-
cepted, 451. sends a Commission to T. For-
ster to act as General in England, 455. re-
solves to pass the *Forth*, and to march into
England, 459. engages the D. of *Argyle* near
Dumblain, 459, 460, &c. waits upon the
Pretender at *Peterhead*, 465. his letter about
the Pretender's proceedings, 467, &c.

March, William Douglas E. of, made Go-
vernor of *Edinburgh-Castle*, III. 595

Marchmont, Alexander Hume E. of, Com-
missioner in the Parliament of Scotland, III.
380. Chancellor of Scotland, 555. proposes
the settling the Crown of that Kingdom on
the House of *Hanover*, 557. turned out,
595

Mardyke, IV. 408. to be demolished,
555, 558

Maria Teresa's renunciation, III. 418

Mariam, Elias, one of the Prophets, IV.
47

Marischal, Earl, letters sent to him from
the Pretender, III. 767, &c. was against
the Union, 770, 772

Marischal, George Keith E. of, summoned
to surrender himself at *Edinburgh*, IV. 445.
joins the rest of the Rebels, 446. waits up-
on the Pretender at *Peterhead*, 465. forms the
rear of the Rebels in their retreat, 472

Marlborough, John Churchill E. and after-
wards D. of, takes *Cork* and *Kingale*, III.
150, 151. sent by K. William into *Flan-
ders* to prepare things against his arrival, 182.
discontented, 189. disgraced and turned out
of all his posts, 195. committed to the
Tower, 200, 218. bailed, 218. a plot ag-
ainst him, *ibid.* complaints of his commit-
ment to the House of Lords, 221. the E. of
Shrewsbury thought he was ungratefully and
unjustly persecuted, 231. restored to favour,
made Privy-Counsellor, and Governor to the
D. of Gloucester, 380. made General of the
army abroad, 480. account of him, 536,
&c. 537, &c. K. James's great resentment
against him, *ibid.* writes a letter in the
Queen's name to the States-General, 540,
541. made Knight of the Garter, Captain-
General of the English forces both at home
and abroad, and sent Ambassador Extraordi-
nary and Plenipotentiary to *Holland*, 541.

his speech to the States, *ibid.* confirms the
Dutch in their former resolution, and settles
some points with them, 543. agrees with
the States and the Imperial Minister, that war
should be proclaimed against France, on the
same day at *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague*,
ibid. is reckoned a Tory, 544. made Master
of the Ordnance, 554. declared Generalis-
simo of the Confederate army, 562. takes
several places, particularly *Yenlo*, *Raremond*,
and *Lige*, 563. is taken by a French party,
but gets out of their hands, *ibid.* comes to
London, and a Committee of the Commons,
wait upon him with the thanks of that House,
576. the Queen creates him a Duke, and
intends to grant him a pension of 5000*l.*
but it being disagreeable to the Commons,
she drops it for the present, 577. he is for
the Occasional Conformity bill, 581. loses
his only son, and goes to *Flanders*, 615.
takes *Bonne*, 617. forces the French lines,
618, 619. takes *Huy* and *Limburg*, 620. en-
deavours in vain to bring the French to an
engagement, *ibid.* meets Charles K. of Spain
at *Dusseldorp*, who presents him with a sword,
624. returns to England, 626. sets out a-
gain for Germany, 654. defeats the enemy at
Schellenberg, 655. defeats the French and
Bavarians at *Hochstet*, 657, &c. returns to
England, 663. his victories levelled by the
Commons with those of Sir George *Roke*,
671. some Lords take it ill that Prince *Eugene*
should be named before him, 674. is
complimented by the Lord-Keeper upon his
coming to the House of Lords, 676. a Com-
mittee of the House of Commons gives him
also the thanks of that House, 677. his
friends offended at the *Oxford* address, *ibid.*
the manor of *Woodstock* and the hundred of
Wooton settled upon him and his heirs, 677.
concludes a treaty with *Prussia*, 678. con-
siders measures for carrying on the war upon
the *Myfelle*, 697. goes to *Holland*, and has
Conferences with several Members of the
States, *ibid.* his progress into Germany, where
he is not joined by the Allies, 698. raises the
siege of *Lige*, and forces the French lines,
699. in danger of being killed, 700. de-
signs to attack the French, but is opposed
by the Dutch Generals, of which he com-
plains to the States, 701, 702. goes to the
Hague, and confers with the States upon the
orders he had received to go to *Vienna*, 702.
goes to *Vienna*, and confers with the Empe-
ror, 704. comes back to England, *ibid.* his

conduct arraigned by the L. *Haverham*, 719.
is thanked by the Commons for his great
services, 729. defeats the French at *Ramilles*,
746, &c. is in danger of being killed or
taken prisoner, 748. K. Charles writes to
him, 754. the D. of *Bavaria* sends propo-
sals to him, for opening conferences for a
peace, 763. his answer to them, 764. a
report spread that he found his account in
continuing the war, and therefore would not
be for peace, *ibid.* returns to England, 765.
invested with the Principality of *Mildenheim*,
766. receives the thanks of both Houses of
Parliament, *ibid.* the Lords address the Queen
to settle his honours on his posterity, which
is done, *ibid.* *Woodstock* manor and *Blen-
heim* house ordered to go with the titles, *ibid.*
5000*l.* per annum out of the Post Office
settled on him and his posterity, *ibid.* the
Lord-Keeper's speech to him and his answer,
767, 768. the Commons refuse to confirm
the grant made to him of the Royal *Messy*,
770. goes to the *Hague*, and has a confer-
ence with the Deputies of the States, IV.
14. goes to *Alt-Randstadt* to the K. of *Swed-*
den, 15. follows the French army, but can-
not bring them to an engagement, 19, &c.
goes to Germany, and confers with the Elec-
tors of *Hanover* and *Mintz*, 21. returns to
England, *ibid.* his letter to his Duchesse
about Mrs *Albany*, 35. complaints of Lis
too great power, *ibid.* his speech to shew the
necessity of augmenting the forces in *Flan-
ders*, 45. refuses to serve the Queen any
longer, unless Mr *Harley* was removed, 55.
offers the Bank a considerable sum of money
to preserve its credit, 61. appointed again
Commander in Chief of the Confederate
forces in the Netherlands, 69. acts with
great unanimity with Prince *Eugene*, 72. his
bravery at the battle of *Oudenarde*, 74, 75.
his letter to the E. of *Manchester* about it,
78. covers the siege of *Lisle*, 80. prepares
to give the enemy battle, but they retire,
81. forms *Lisle*, 83. stops the Elector of
Bavaria's design against *Brussels*, for which
purpose he passes the *Scheldt*, and comes to
that City, 83, &c. retakes *Ghent*, 91, &c.
the Queen's letter to him after the battle
of *Oudenarde*, and his answer, 104. his in-
terest with her begins to decline, *ibid.* two
pieces published against him, 116. thanked
by the Commons, with his answer to it from
Brussels, *ibid.* comes to England, and is also
thanked by the Lords, 117. sent to the
Hague upon proposals of peace made by
France, 121. convinces the States of the
treacherous designs of France in that offer,
ibid. besieges and takes *Tournay*, 133, 134.
resolves to besiege *Mons*, 135. defeats the
French at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 136, &c.
passes the *Scarp* and forces the French lines,
170, &c. the Queen writes to him, to give
the E. of *Essex's* regiment to J. Hill, 185.
he desires to be excused, and not being able
to prevail retires to *Windsor*, *ibid.* great
uneasiness in the Nation on that account,
ibid. he writes an expostulatory letter to the
Queen, *ibid.* the Queen's answer, 186. the
Parliament addresses the Queen to send the
Duke into *Holland*, *ibid.* he lives in friend-
ship with the D. of *Shrewsbury*, 187. writes
a moving letter to the Queen upon the E. of
Sunderland's removal, 189. had not promoted
the address against Mr *Albany*, *ibid.* motion
in the House of Lords to thank him
dropped, 195. some Officers turned out for
drinking his health, *ibid.* he returns from
Holland to England, and is received with ac-
clamations, 196. is visited by the new Mi-
nistry, but does not receive the thanks of
both Houses as usual, *ibid.* desired by the
Queen to live well with the new Ministry;
resolves to be patient, in order to carry on
the war; carries a surrender of all the
Duchess's places to the Queen, and retires
to *Blenheim-House* on the Queen's birth-
day, *ibid.* his account in the House of
Lords of the Ministry's proceedings with re-
gard to Spain, 197, &c. is continued in the
command of the British forces in *Flanders*,
208. no confidence between him and the
new Ministry, *ibid.* the Queen's letter to
the States of *Holland* about him, 209. he
takes the field, *ibid.* amuses the French and
surprizes their lines, 210. besieges and takes
Bechain, 211, 212. returns to England,
ibid.

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

the Commons in his favour, 635. his account of the Conspiracy in Scotland, 637, &c. presses the Queen to dismiss the D. of Somerset and Devonshire from the Cabinet Council, 647. resigns his place of Secretary of State, *ibid.* reflects on K. William with regard to the Partition-treaty, 675. thoughts of fending him to the Tower, *ibid.* urges the ill consequences of the act of security in Scotland, *ibid.* was for inviting over the Princess Sophia, 719. seconds the E. of Rochester in the debates about the affairs of Spain, IV. 45. the Court endeavours to gain him on their side, 226. offers a clause to be inserted in the address of thanks to the Queen, 227. brings in the Occasional Conformity-bill, 230. moves for an address to the Queen to desire her to consult with the Ministers of the Allies in Holland, before the opening of the Congress, 231. advertisement in the *Post-Boy* reflecting on him, 240. speaks against the resumptions of K. William's grants, 246. his speech on occasion of the D. of Ormond's being ordered not to fight, 261. and about the peace, 269. his speech about the Union, 318. supports the motion for addressing the Queen to press the Duke of Lorraine to remove the Pretender out of his Dominions, 323. reflected upon in the public spirit of the Whigs, 340. represents the danger that threatened the Protestant Succession, 345. his speech upon the Lord Treasurer's motion, for bringing in a bill to make it treason to bring any foreign troops into the Kingdom, *ibid.* his speech about the peace with Spain, 352. speaks against the Schism-bill, 362. moves for an address of thanks for the Queen's proclamation against the Pretender, 365. his speech about the Spanish trade, *ibid.* receives particular marks of favour from K. George, 402. made President of the Council, 404. a letter of his to the D. of Roxburgh intercepted, 449, 450. is for receiving and reading the petitions of the condemned Lords, 486. the removal from his place of President of the Council, 487. speaks against the bill for Septennial Parliaments, 490, 494. the pension of 2500*l.* per annum taken from him, 504. makes a complaint in the House against the growth of profaneness and immorality, 646. thanked by both Universities and the Clergy, for his answer to Mr Whiston, *ibid.*

O.

OATES, Titus, debates about the judgment against him, III. 94. a conference thereupon, *ibid.*
Oath; Coronation-oath fettered, III. 44.
Oaths of Allegiance ordered to be taken, but refused by several, III. 43. oaths fettered, 45. debates about them, *ibid.*
Occasional Conformity; bill against it, III. 578. brought in again, 627, &c. 671. endeavours used to tack it to the land-tax bill, 672. thrown out by the Lords, 673. brought in again by the E. of Nottingham, IV. 230. the act repealed, 578, &c.
Orange, account of that illustrious Family, III. 30, &c.
Orange William III., Prince of, born, III. 33. comes into the world under great disadvantages, *ibid.* was of an infirm constitution, 34. the French King seizes his Principality of Orange, *ibid.* the Prince is chosen chief Nobleman in Zealand, and introduced into the Council, *ibid.* comes to visit K. Charles II. *ibid.* is declared Admiral and Captain-General, *ibid.* and Stadtholder, *ibid.* makes a stand against the French, *ibid.* retakes Narden and seizes Boene, *ibid.* beats the French at the battle of Seaflott, *ibid.* offers the K. of France battle when before Bouchain, 35. marries Princess Mary, *ibid.* looked upon as the head of the Protestant Interest in Europe, and the greatest check to the power of France, *ibid.* forms the league of Austria against France, 36. his character, 37, 38. See K. William III.
Ordinations of Dissenters, III. 107, 108
Orford, Edward Russell E. of, concerned in Kidd's affair, III. 396. impeached by the Commons, 459. their address against him, 460. articles against him, 461. his answer, *ibid.* acquitted, 470. his accounts examined, 643. received with great favour by K. George,

IV. 402. made First Commissioner of the Admiralty, 406. resigns that place, 525
Orkney, Elizabeth Villiers Countess of, grants to her in Ireland, III. 399. K. William regards her, 509. the cause of L. Sommers and E. of Portland's disgrace, *ibid.*
Orkney, George Hamilton E. of, made Governor of Edinburgh-Castle, IV. 346
Orleans, D. of, is wounded at the battle of Turin, where he behaves bravely, III. 760. wanted to be made K. of Spain, and offers some proposals to the Lord Galway for that purpose, IV. 11. suspected of having poisoned the two Dauphins, 246. had formed a project to make himself K. of Spain, 247. made Regent of France, 476. restores a just privilege to the Parliament of Paris, 477. reasons of his acting towards England as he did, *ibid.* and 499. ready to contend for the Crown of France, 504. concludes a treaty with K. George and Holland, 505. murmurs in France against this treaty, *ibid.* guarantee of the Neutrality of Italy, 549. enters into the Quadruple-alliance, 562. Alberoni's plot against him, 582. declares war against Spain, *ibid.* offers K. George numerous forces, 584. offers his mediation to Sweden, 588. gives Admiral Byng leave to confiscate all French ships in the service of Spain, 589. refuses the Marquis de Sotti a passport, 604. gives K. George I. notice of the plot against him, 659. projects a marriage between his daughters and the Princes of Spain, 674. dies, 676
Ormond, James Butler D. of, sent to secure the quiet of Dublin, III. 145. wounded at the battle of Landen, 240. attends K. William in his last moments, 506. named Commander of a land army, 545. Commander in Chief of the forces at Cadiz and Vigo, 568. lands at Vigo, 570. rides to St Paul's on the thanksgiving-day, amidst loud acclamations, 574. thanked by the Lords for his services at Vigo, *ibid.* they address the Queen to order him to lay before them an account of his proceedings, *ibid.* he complains of Sir George Rooke's conduct at Cadiz, 575. is made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, *ibid.* and 584. directed by the E. of Rochester, 605. his speech to the Parliament of Ireland, *ibid.* &c. uneasy at the inspection of the public accounts, 609. foment the divisions raised by the E. of Rochester, 688. desires the Parliament of Ireland to adjourn, *ibid.* addresses presented to him by the Dissenters, *ibid.* favours the Pretender's friends, IV. 216. his speech in the Parliament of England about the necessity of a peace, 228. made Commander in Chief of all the forces at home and abroad, 234. had orders not to engage neither in siege nor battle, 253. his instructions, 255. assures the Dutch of his intention to carry on the war vigorously, *ibid.* receives orders from the Queen not to venture a battle, 256. his letters thereupon, 256, 257—259. refuses to fight, 258. receives a letter from Villars, 257. corresponds with him, 274, 279. declares his orders about the cessation of arms, 274. desires Prince Eugene to give over the siege of Quefnoy, 277. conference between him and one of the Dutch Deputies, 296. returns to England, 297. promotes Dr Swift to the Deanery of St Patrick's, 325. made Governor of Douer, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports, *ibid.* a pension of 5000*l.* per annum settled upon him, *ibid.* L. Halifax's compliment on him, 352. sends for Dr Ratcliffe to attend the Queen, 396. not admitted into the King's bed-chamber, 401. dismissed from his office of Captain-General, but the King sends him word, he should be glad to see him at Court, 404. made one of the Privy-Council in Ireland, *ibid.* riots in London on his birth-day, 421. cry of High-Church and Ormond, 425. his popular behaviour, 427, &c. attempt upon his Duchies, 428. impeached of high-treason, *ibid.* flies out of England, *ibid.* the articles against him, 434. his name and coat of arms razed, and inventories taken of his personal estate, 436. resigns the place of Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 442. comes towards England, 450, 453. returns from the coast of England, 473, 475, 478. bill for attainting him in Ireland, 478. his letter to Baron Gortz, 511. comes to Spain, and falls with the Spanish

squadron for England, 583. a proclamation against him, *ibid.* concerned in Loyer's plot, 666. some designs formed by his instigation in favour of the Pretender, 698
Orphans of the City of London; their affairs examined by Parliament, III. 269
Orrey, Charles Boyle E. of, created Baron Boyle of Marlton, IV. 219. sent to the Hague to redress some disorders, 302. committed to the Tower, 660. admitted to bail, 674
Osborne, Thomas, E. of Danby, impeached, III. 14, 15. instrumental in the marriage of the Princess Mary with the Prince of Orange, 35. created Marquis of Caermarthen, and made President of the Council, 38. K. James had offered to put himself into his hands before he went away, 39. cool with regard to the Settlement, *ibid.* brings a storm on the Marquis of Halifax, 39. an address proposed in the House of Commons, to desire the King to remove him from his Prefecture and Councils, 97. chief author of the change made in the Lieutenantcy of London, 125. in great credit with the King, 131. a design to impeach him, 162. blamed for the ill success of our fleet, 244. created D. of Leeds, 253
Osborne, Pezrevigne, Marquis of Caermarthen, at the attempt upon Breff, III. 254. his discovery to the House of Lords about a letter of the E. of Nottingham, 192
Ossulton, Charles Bennet Lord, created E. of Tankerville, IV. 407
Ostend and Newport; proposal to put them into the hands of the English, III. 446
Ostend, taken by the Allies, III. 751. description of it, *ibid.* yielded by the Dutch, IV. 337. not to be alienated from the Netherlands, *ibid.* See East-India Company.
Oudenard; description of that town, IV. 72. invested by the French, *ibid.* the French quit the siege, 73. battle near Oudenard, 74
Overall, Bishop, his book published, III. 521
Oxford; that University unhappily successful in propagating anti-revolutional principles, III. 646. its decree burnt, IV. 161. the Mayor receives a letter ordering him to proclaim the Pretender, 394. riots there, 433. a letter from a Gentleman there to his friend at London, about drinking the Pretender's health, 442. debate about the riot there, 519
Oxford, Robert Harley E. of, See Harley.
Lord-Treasurer, his opposition to the Pretender's being removed out of Lorraine, IV. 322. intalled Knight of the Garter, 328. hated both by the Whigs and Tories, *ibid.* upon ill terms with the L. Bolingbroke, *ibid.* notwithstanding which he brings his own scheme to bear, *ibid.* raises a million in two days time, 329. L. Bolingbroke, Secretary Bromley, and Sir William Wyndham, gain the ascendancy over him, upon which he thinks of retiring, 335. endeavours to support the Bank, 336. moves for a bill to make it treason to bring any foreign troops into the Kingdom, 345. vindicates the peace, 349. and his paying a yearly sum to the Highlanders, 350. his letter to the Elector of Brunswick, 358. was for inviting him over, 359. doubtful whether he was for or against the Schism-bill, 360. bred among Schismatics, *ibid.* had caltreated the Schism-bill, *ibid.* is for examining into the Spanish trade, 365. kept to himself the principal direction of domestic affairs, and the disposal of places, 366. has great quarrels with L. Bolingbroke, 367. endeavours to reconcile himself to the Whigs, and to remove L. Bolingbroke, *ibid.* sends the Queen an account of public affairs, *ibid.* and 385. causes of his disgrace, 367. his attachment to the House of Hanover, *ibid.* removed, *ibid.* goes to wait upon K. George at Greemwich, but is not taken notice of, 401. attends at the King's Coronation, 407. his conduct very extraordinary, 418. appears unconcerned, and boasts of the great things he had done for securing the Hanover Succession, *ibid.* takes his seat in the House of Lords, 421. his letter to Queen Anne, 426. impeached of High-treason, &c. 427. comes to the House of Peers, and soon after retires, *ibid.* articles of impeachment against him, 429, &c. ordered to be committed to safe custody, 431. his speech in his own defence, 8 Z

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England:

- fense, *ibid.* attended by a mob, *ibid.* brought to the bar of the House, and receives a copy of the articles against him, *ibid.* put a few days in the custody of the Black-Rod, *ibid.* carried to the Tower, 432. additional articles against him, 434. debate in the House of Commons on his answer, *ibid.* presents a petition to the House of Lords, 541. his trial, *ibid.* discharged, 545. forbid the Court, *ibid.* excepted out of the Act of Grace, 546. his speech upon the Mutiny-bill, 557. and on the repeal of the Schism-bill, 578. is against the Peerage-bill, 585. dies, 680. account of him and his family, *ibid.* &c.
- P.
- P. A. Kington**, Sir John, exhibits petitions against the Bp of Worcester, and his son, for endeavouring to prevent his election, III. 575. his speech in the debate about the danger of the Church, 728. speaks against the Union, 784. makes a complaint in the House of Commons against Dr Ratcliffe, IV. 396. taken into custody, 439. honourably discharged, *ibid.*
- Paget**, William Lord, sent to Constantinople, to mediate a peace between the Turks and the Imperialists, III. 214. mediator of the peace of Carlowitz, 385. appointed Envoy Extraordinary to Hanover, but declines it, IV. 352. created E. of Uxbridge, 407.
- Paget**, Henry, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 190. created Baron of Burton, 234.
- Palatine**, Elector, the Upper Palatinate restored to him, IV. 69, 101. furnishes the Emperor with troops, 69.
- Palatines** come over to England, IV. 148. a brief for them, *ibid.* sent over to Ireland and New-York, *ibid.* votes of the Parliament of Ireland about them, 149. the relief granted them causes great uneasiness, 152. inquiry of the House of Commons about them, 200.
- Paleotti**, Marquis of, executed for murder, IV. 556.
- Palms**, Mr ae, his memorial, IV. 704. censured in Parliament, *ibid.* ordered to depart the Kingdom, 701.
- Paper-Credit** in Scotland rejected, III. 691.
- Papists** excluded from the Crown, III. 55. gainers in some respect by the Revolution, 90. address for disarming them, 96. and for securing them, 97. ordered to repair to their places of abode, 133. fly out of Dublin, 138. two proclamations against them in England, 139, 200. resort to London, an address of the Commons against them, 389. act against them, 401, &c. their scheme of Religion, 511. excluded from being Members of the Estates of Scotland, 601. bill against them in Ireland, 610. and in England, 685. pretend that the Church was in danger, 715. proclamation for putting the laws in execution against them, IV. 202. a proclamation for disarming them in Ireland, 394. and in England, 398. espouse the abdicated Family, 402. a tax upon them, 665.
- Parker**, Sir Thomas, his behaviour at Dr Sacheverell's trial, IV. 154. made Lord Chief Justice, 156. causes a mistake relating to the Regency to be rectified, 329, &c. one of the Lords Justices, 394. his speech at the E. of Oxford's trial, 543. made Lord Chancellor, 562. See *Macclefield*.
- Parliament**, bill for Triennial Parliaments, III. 6. of K. William, reverse attainders of them, 132, &c. passed, 160. Members taken off by places and pensions, 190. bill for the frequent meeting of them, 265. act against treating at elections of parliament-men, and for regulating those elections, 323. the business of the Lancashire plot laid before them, 267. their proceedings against bribery, 267. and about the Orphans and East-India Company's affairs, 269, &c. take into consideration the reckoning of the money, 305. restores the public credit, 334. prosecutes the French smugglers, 371. order of the House of Commons against written protections from Parliament-men, 434. a party for France in the Parliament, 439. both Houses meet upon K. William's death, 539. go to St Paul's on the thanksgiving-day for the victory at Vi-
- go, 574. both Houses give the D. of Marlborough thanks for his eminent services, 766. first Session of the Parliament of Great-Britain, IV. 39. address the Queen not to make Peace without the restitution of all Spain, 46. proceeds with great unanimity in their resolutions for the support of the Government against the Pretender, 58. a faction among the Scots in the second Parliament of Great-Britain, 110. both Houses address the Queen to order the D. of Marlborough over into Holland, 186. the Queen's message to them of her resolution to support the House of Austria, 203, &c. act for Septennial Parliaments, 490, &c.
- Parliament** in Scotland inquires into the Glencoe affair, III. 283. sign the Association, and grant K. William a Supply, 332. the East-India Company lay their grievances before it, 380, &c. their address and petition to the King thereupon, 380, &c. passes an act for keeping a land-force, and another for a land-tax, 425. great disputes whether the Parliament should be continued, or a new one called, 556, &c. the Queen's letter to them, 649. debates about the bill of Succession, 650, &c. and the Supply, 651. desire to have all the examinations, relating to the plot, laid before them, 652. grants a cess for the pay of the army, *ibid.* address the Queen that the evidence and papers relating to the plot might be laid before them against the next Session, 653. their proceedings about the treaty with England, 690, &c.
- Parliament** in Ireland raises a maintenance for the army in that Kingdom, III. 392. votes a Supply, 688. uneasiness between them and the Convocation, *ibid.* their votes in favour of the Protestant Succession, *ibid.* and 689.
- Parma**, D. of, his memorial at the Congress of Cambray, IV. 650.
- Parma** and Placentia to be settled on the Q. of Spain's son, IV. 549, 563, 605. the investiture of them granted to him by the Emperor, 711.
- Parties** at the Revolution, III. 25. three parties formed in Scotland, 70. a party formed against K. William, 189, 237.
- Partition-Treaty**; negotiations about it, III. 383, &c. second Partition-treaty, 407. greatly disliked by the Spaniards and Emperor, 411, &c. and by the English, 420. censured in the House of Lords and Commons, 447, &c. papers relating to it laid before the House of Commons, 457.
- Pastrowitz**; treaty signed there, IV. 565.
- Pateson**, William, forms the project of the West-India and African Companies in Scotland, and the Darien Settlement, III. 283, 308, &c.
- Patkul**, Count, III. 792.
- Patrick**, Simon, made Bp of Chichester, III. 103. reviews the Liturgy, 106, &c. translated to the See of Ely, 173. dies, IV. 37.
- Patronages** restored in Scotland, IV. 244.
- Patten**, Robert, his account of the Rebellion, and of the heads of it, IV. 448.
- Paul**, William, tried and condemned, IV. 498. executed, *ibid.* his dying speech makes a great impression on many persons, 501.
- Paullet**, John Earl, made First Commissioner of the Treasury, IV. 190. visits the D. of Marlborough, 196. made Steward of the Household, 219. his reflecting speech on the D. of Marlborough, for which he is challenged, 261. installed Knight of the Garter, 328. was for admitting the Presbyterians to be heard against the Occasional Conformity-bill, 362. removed from his place of Steward of the Household, 404.
- Peace**, proposed by France, III. 327. a separate one between France and the D. of Savoy, 328. the preliminaries of a peace, 351. conferences at Ryswick about it, 352, 357. signed by England, Spain, and Holland, 360. and by the Emperor and the Empire, 365. peace of Carlowitz, 385. overtures made by the French for a peace, 763. rejected, 764. Dr Hare's thoughts upon it, *ibid.* &c. negotiations for one, IV. 120, &c. the preliminaries of it, 128, rejected by France, 129. but ratified by Great-Britain, 130. and by Holland, 131. they were contrived only to divide the Allies, 132. new overtures for a
- peace, 144. negotiations for one begun by Gaulier, 219. new ones made by *ibid.* the preliminaries of peace signed, 223. made public, and severely reflected upon, 224. communicated to the States, who are alarmed at them, *ibid.* conferences for a peace opened at Utrecht, *ibid.* and 247. conclusion of several Peers against a peace, 226. the French proposals for a peace, 248. the demands of the Allies, 251. the French Plenipotentiaries give a plan for a general peace, 252. not communicated to the States, 253. negotiations are carried on directly between England and France, 263. the plan of it communicated by the Queen to the Parliament, 267, &c. a new scheme proposed by the Dutch, 295. another proposed to the States by the E. of Stafford, 300. the French try to elude the preliminaries they had entered into with Great-Britain, 303. the English Ministry sign a separate peace with France, 304, 308, 310. they scruple to do it a while, 309. peace signed, 310. the treaty brought to London, 311. addresses about it, 312, &c. proclaimed, 313. thanksgiving for the peace, 324. debates about it, 352. between England and Spain the chief articles of it, 339. faults of it, 401. peace between Enguena and Sarden, 588.
- Peace-bill**, debates about it, IV. 580. dropped, 587. brought in again, 608. debates about it, *ibid.* dropped a second time, *ibid.*
- Peers**, sixteen, for Scotland to be elected, and the manner of it settled, III. 777. twelve new ones made at once in England, IV. 234. left of them, 235.
- Pelham**, Thomas, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, III. 163. resigns that place, 195.
- Pelham**, Sir Thomas, created a Baron, III. 781. made E. of Clare, IV. 407.
- Pelham**, Thomas, made one of the Commissioners of trade, IV. 548. made Secretary of War, 679. his speech in the debate about the treaties of Hanover and Vienna, 693, &c.
- Pembroke**, Thomas Herbert E. of, made Privy-Seal, III. 103. made one of the Lords Justices, 280. Plenipotentiary at the treaty of Ryswick, 350. made Knight of the Garter, 409. Lord President, and Lord High-Admiral, 504. dismissed, and refuses pension, 545. is for declaring war against France, *ibid.* Master of the Horse and President of the Council, 572. against the Occasional Conformity-bill, 628. Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, his speech to the Parliament of that Kingdom, IV. 33. made Lord High-Admiral, 104. resigns, 143. put up for Chancellor of the University of Oxford, 444.
- Penn**, William, enters into a plot to restore K. James, III. 166. proclamation for apprehending him, 171.
- Perth**, James Drummond E. of, comes to Scotland with the Pretender, IV. 62, 63. comes to Spain with the Pretender, 583.
- Peru**; the English project to take it, IV. 605.
- Peterborough**, Henry Mordaunt E. of, impeached, III. 113. advises Sir John Fenwick to set up a counter-plot, 337. encourages Smith, 348. his odd behaviour in that affair, *ibid.* sent to the Tower, and turned out of all his places, 349.
- Peterborough**, Charles Mordaunt E. of, his speech on the Occasional Conformity-bill, III. 673. sworn of the Privy-Council, 683. goes to Catalonia, 706. publishes a manifesto, 707. lays siege to Barcelona, *ibid.* &c. highly commended by K. Charles, 710. jealous of Count Cifuentes, 711. marches into Valencia and Aragon, 711, 712. raises the siege of St Mattheo, 712. makes a shew of pursuing the enemy, *ibid.* his letter from Alcala to K. Charles, 713. possesses himself of Nules, and forms his cavalry, which preserves Valencia, *ibid.* recruits the diminished English and Spanish dragoons, and forms a new regiment of dragoons, 714. raises jealousies of Brigadier Magoni in the Spanish officers, *ibid.* makes himself master of Mahiedo, *ibid.* marches thence without disturbance to Valencia, *ibid.* goes to the relief of Barcelona, 752. comes with a small body to assist K. Charles, 755. uneasy at not having

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

- having the chief command, *ibid.* &c. appointed Ambassador Extraordinary, but is unacceptable to K. Charles, 756. withdraws to Genoa, *ibid.* assists at a General Council, 763. recalled, *ibid.* gives his opinion against an offensive war, IV. 4. his answers to the question of the Committee of the House of Lords, 6. debates in the House of Lords about his conduct in Spain, 45, 53. his speech, 45. his conduct in Spain examined into by the Parliament, 53, &c. he is made Knight of the Garter, 328. sent Ambassador to the K. of Sicily, 335. made Governor of Minorca, 346. his proceedings about the Catalans, 379, and 380. returns to England, 398. the French King alleges him that he would acknowledge K. George, *ibid.* returns to England, appears at St James's, and is forbid the Court, 421. is seized at Bologna, 549, &c. his speech about the bill against blasphemy, 647.
- Petition*, it is voted in the House of Commons, that it is the undoubted right of the People of England to petition or address the King, III. 503. against the Septennial bill, IV. 495. of the London Clergy against the Quakers bill, 655.
- Petit*, Brigadier, assists at the conquest of Minorca, IV. 95. made governor of fort St Philip, 97.
- Philip V.*, K. of Spain, declared Spanish, III. 425, 427, 428. sets out for Spain, 428. notifies his accession to all the Courts, except that of England, 431. a delinquency for an address from the House of Commons to own him for K. of Spain, 439. gives K. William notice of his accession to the Crown, who owns him for K. of Spain, 453, 454. marries the D. of Savoy's second daughter, 486. falls into an ill habit of body, *ibid.* has disputes with the States of Catalonia, *ibid.* acknowledges the Pretender for K. of England, 491. goes into Italy, 554. to Naples, and is at the battle of Luzzara, 566, 567. seizes the Merchants plate at Vigo, 572. proclaims war against, and invades Portugal, 667. takes several towns, *ibid.* forms a large body near Madrid, 713. goes from Madrid to besiege Valencia and Girona, 752. besieges Barcelona, *ibid.* comes to Madrid, but soon leaves it again, 753. returns thither, 755. marches up to the E. of Galway, *ibid.* See Spain. a project made by the Ministry to yield to him Spain and the West Indies, IV. 204. uneasy at the D. of Berry's marrying the D. of Orleans's daughter, 247. negotiations about his renunciation of the Crown of Spain, 263, &c. his Ministers not admitted at the congress of Utrecht, 287, 290, 304. his renunciation of the Crown of France, 295. extorts a donative from the English Merchants, 399. pretends to have numberless complaints against the Emperor, 504. ready to contend for the Crown of France, *ibid.* offended at the alliance between England and the D. of Orleans, 505. falls upon the Emperor's Dominions, 549. the Courts of England and France endeavour to bring about an accommodation between him and the Emperor, *ibid.* rejects all proposals, and continues his warlike preparations, 562. his declaration in favour of the Pretender, 583. attempts to relieve Fontarabia, 604. abdicates the Crown, 681. resumes it upon his Son's decease, 688. concludes two treaties with the Emperor, 689, &c. remits great sums to Vienna, 690.
- Phipps*, Sir William, made Governor of New-England, III. 195.
- Phipps*, Constantine, Council for Dr Schachervill, IV. 154. knighted and made Lord Chancellor of Ireland, 195, 196. thanked by the Clergy, 216, 217. made one of the Lords Justices, *ibid.* promotes the Jacobite interest in Ireland, 330. the Commons there resolve upon an address to the Queen for removing him from the Chancellorship, 331. the Bishops vote a contrary address in his favour, *ibid.* reflected upon in the Conduct of the Purse, 332. appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, 333. causes K. George to be proclaimed in Ireland, 394. removed from being Lord Justice and Lord Chancellor, 404. created Doctor of the Civil Law at Oxford, 407. presents a petition to the Court at the Old Bailey in favour of Bp Atterbury, 661.
- Picardy*, plundered by the Confederates, IV. 79.
- Pickard*, Captain, destroys several French ships in Bertram-Bay, III. 253.
- Pierrepont*, Jervaise, created Baron Pierrepont of Ardglass, in Ireland, III. 590.
- Pignerol*, besieged by the D. of Savoy, III. 241.
- Piper*, Count, the D. of Marlborough waits upon him, IV. 15, 16.
- Pittis*, William, prosecuted for the sale of the Church of England's memorial, III. 792.
- Placemen*; a question in the House of Commons about their being Members of that House, III. 116. bill for excluding them from the House of Commons, 226, 227. the King refuses to pass it, 250. motion for disabling Placemen and Pensioners from serving in Parliament, 722. Place-bill lost, IV. 244.
- Placentia* attacked by the English, III. 611.
- Plague* in Poland, IV. 101. at Dantzick, 142. at Copenhagen, 214. at Marfaillen, a proclamation upon that occasion, 652. bill to prevent the spreading of the plague, 654.
- Plate*; bill for encouraging the bringing of it to the Mint, III. 307, 334.
- Plays* and *Play-houses*, scandalous, an order against them, III. 391.
- Pluckian*, the, a pamphlet against the Peerage-bill, answered by Mr Addison in the Old Whig, IV. 586, 587.
- Plot*; Lancashire plot, III. 265. Assassination-plot, 312. a plot in Scotland, 629. not duly inquired into, 647. all the examinations relating to it not sent down to the Parliament as desired, 652. taken again into consideration, and the examinations sent down, 694. a plot discovered, IV. 659. addresses thereupon, 659, &c.
- Plunket*, John, apprehended, IV. 660. had travelled to Rome, 667. votes of the House of Commons against him, *ibid.* bill to inflict pains and penalties upon him, 667, &c.
- Points*, Mr de, takes Carthagena, III. 354. escapes the English fleet, *ibid.* and 355. comes with a squadron before Gibraltar, 668. some of the ships destroyed by the English, 705. returns with a stronger squadron, but is forced to fly, and several of his ships are destroyed, *ibid.*
- Points*, or *Poyntz*, Stephen, his memorial to the K. of Sweden, IV. 703.
- Poland*, Augustus K. of, invades Pomerania, III. 410. defeated by the K. of Sweden, 486. See Augustus K. of Poland. the Protestants oppressed in that Kingdom, IV. 605.
- Poland*, John Sabieski K. of, dies, III. 331. France endeavours to place the Prince of Conti on that Throne, 355. but the Elector of Saxony is chosen, 356. See Augustus, K. of. A war there, 559, 568, 626. continuation of the troubles there, IV. 101.
- Pelignac*, Abbot de, one of the French Plenipotentiaries, IV. 164, &c. his speeches there, 248. Mr Vanderduffen's smart saying to him about the French Protestants, 251. made a Cardinal, 307.
- Polish*, David, imprisoned for the Kentish petition, III. 474.
- Poll-Tax* in Scotland, III. 282, &c. in England, 334, 368.
- Pouley*, John, Bp of Raphoe, protests against the meeting of the Parliament on a holy-day, for which he is taken into custody, IV. 148.
- Pope*; the French King's letter to him, III. 766. his mediation for a peace desired, 764. the French King writes a letter to him, upon the Pretender's expedition into Scotland, IV. 56, 57. Clement IX. sides with the House of Bourbon against that of Austria, 98. countenances the Pretender's expedition into Scotland, *ibid.* difference between the Emperor and him, *ibid.* he raises an army, 99. at length he agrees with the Emperor, 100. delays acknowledging K. Charles, 140. Clement XI. causes the E. of Peterborough to be seized, 549.
- Popey*; petition from several in Lancashire against it, III. 730. bill to prevent the growth of it, *ibid.*
- Popple*, Mr, Secretary of the Commissioners of Trade, III. 327.
- Porter*, Captain, concerned in the Assassination-plot, III. 312, 320. his character, 320. an evidence, 325, 337, &c.
- Porter*, Sir Charles, Chancellor of Ireland, motion to impeach him, III. 287. made one of the Lords Justices, 332. dies, *ibid.*
- Portland*, William Bentick E. of; a great favourite of K. William, made Groom of the Stole, and Privy-Purse, III. 39. created Baron of Crenkester, Viscount Woodstock, and Earl of Portland, 45. refuses to take money from the East-India Company, 275, 277. begs of the King the Lordships of Denbigh, &c. in Wales, 310. it is opposed by several Gentlemen, and an address presented to the King by the Commons about it, *ibid.* and 311, &c. the Assassination-plot is discovered to him, 317. entertains Smith as a spy, 348. has an interview with Marshal Bouffiers, 359. his solemn embassy to France, 378. can obtain nothing in favour of the Protestants in France, 379. supplanted by the E. of Albemarle, and at his return, resigns all his places, *ibid.* grant of lands to him in Ireland, 399. one of the Plenipotentiaries at the second Partition-treaty, 408. communicates to the House of Lords his share in that affair, 451, &c. commits a mistake in his accounts, 457. impeached by the Commons, *ibid.* but no articles are drawn against him, 462. attends K. William in his last moments, 507. who was the cause of his disgrace, 509. stops by his diligence the redemption of K. William's grants, IV. 246. ordered to part with his place of Colonel of the first troop of Horse-guards, 325. receives particular marks of favour from K. George, 402. created Marquis of Titchfield, and D. of Portland, 500. made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, 548. his speech at a Court of the South-Sea Directors, 624.
- Port-Mahon*, the Spaniards desire to have it retored, IV. 605.
- Portmore*, Daniel Collyer Earl of, made Commander in Chief of the Queen's forces in Portugal, IV. 912. Guiscard corresponds with France, under cover to him, 201.
- Portocarrero*, Cardinal, thought to have forged the K. of Spain's will, III. 425.
- Port St Mary* plundered by the English, III. 569.
- Portugal*, Don Pedro K. of, accedes to the Partition-treaty, III. 412. enters into an alliance with France, 487. afraid of the naval preparations in England, 554. concludes a neutrality with England, 559. enters into a treaty with Q. Anne and the States-General, 623, &c. insists upon the honours of the flag from the English Admiral, when in his ports, 624. the auxiliary forces of England and Holland land there, 665. their ill success, *ibid.* not furnished with horse by the King, *ibid.* the King governed by French Counsels, 666. his Kingdom invaded by the Spaniards, *ibid.* the King comes to the army with a design to invade Castile, 667. lived privately in a little house at Alcantara, 762. has an intrigue with a beautiful English Lady, *ibid.* dies, *ibid.*
- Portugal*, Don John, K. of, signs a treaty of alliance, III. 762. marries the Emperor's sister, IV. 31, 32.
- Portugal*; bill for encouraging the trade there, IV. 43. the trade of that Kingdom prejudiced by the treaty of commerce, 315.
- Powis*, William Herbert Marquis of, falls from Ireland into France with King James, III. 138, 145.
- Powis-house* burnt, IV. 326.
- Pozzobono*, Marquis de, quits England, leaving a memorial behind him, IV. 702. his letter to the D. of Newcastle, 703.
- Premunientes* clause, III. 525.
- Pragmatick Sanctions*, IV. 689. guaranteed by England, 711.
- Preachers* at Whitehall, IV. 680.
- Presbyterians*; a bill of toleration and comprehension in their favour, III. 44, 49. account of them, 45. their haughty carriage in Scotland, 75. demand to have the King's Supremacy, and the Right of Patronage taken away, *ibid.* use the Episcopal Clergy in Scotland with great severity, 105, 124. their violent proceedings, 181. their character, 182. offend K. William, 194. jealous of him, 195. desirous of recovering his favour, they manage with more temper, 245, &c. join with the Jacobites, 286. the origin of the Presbyterians, 513. many embarked for New-England are stopp'd, 515. are against

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

against a Toleration, *ibid.* would not allow K. Charles to have the Common-Prayer read in his family, 516. their propoals at the Restoration, *ibid.* were ready for an Union, 520. those in Scotland, jealous of the Union, 770. act for securing their government, 772.

Prefton, Richard Graham Lord, proclamation for apprehending him, III. 142. enters into a plot for restoring K. James, 166. taken, *ibid.* tried and condemned, 169. pardoned, 170.

Pretender, acknowledged K. of England by the K. of France, III. 491. and by the K. of Spain, the Pope, and the D. of Savoy, *ibid.* but the Kings of Portugal and Denmark refuse to own him, 491, 492. the English Nation highly angry at his being proclaimed King, 495. act for attaining him, and for abjuring him, 501. a design to place him on the Throne after the Queen's death, 630. his interest protected in Scotland, 767. letters of his sent to several Noblemen in that Kingdom, *ibid.* tells Captain Stratton that he longs to be among his Scots friends, 768. his birth-day kept publicly in Scotland, IV. 34. account of his intended descent on Scotland, 56, &c. the French King gives him a sword, and takes leave of him, *ibid.* his motto upon his colours and standards, *ibid.* he and his adherents are proclaimed traitors, 57. serves in the French army, 68, 69. his cowardly behaviour at the battle of Oudenard, 75. the Pope favoured his expedition into Scotland, 98. the French offer to abandon him, 125, 129. Bp Burnet warns the Queen about her espousing his interest, 163. his friends openly show themselves in Scotland, 217. his medal, *ibid.* Leslie was to convert him, 218. transactions relating to him, 252, &c. ill of the small-pox, 254. his Sister dies of it, *ibid.* various reports about him, 289. his protestation, 313. declaration of the French Minister at the Hague, about him, 346. account of him by C. Leslie, 357. question whether Q. Anne knew any thing of the design of bringing him in, 372. pofts to Versailles upon the news of the Queen's death, but Lewis XIV. desires him to quit his dominions, 400. his manifesto sent to several of the English Nobility, 409. is in Lorrain, 416, 417. a reward of a 100,000 l. to such as should seize him, 433. rebellion in Scotland in his favour, 436. proclaimed at Castle-toun, and his standard set up at Brae-Mar, 437. his adherents publish a manifesto, 438, 439, &c. his health drank at Oxford, 442. proclaimed in Cornwall, 443. his declaration, 453. lands at Peterhead in Scotland, 455. is proclaimed, and receives the homage of the Episcopal people at Aberdeen, *ibid.* attacked with an ague, 466. forms a Council, and publishes six proclamations, *ibid.* issues out an order for burning some villages, 467. imarks at Montreuil, and lands at Gravelin, 471. complains of disappointment, 472. his paper to General Gordon, *ibid.* the E. of Stair presents two memorials to the Court of France relating to him, 474, 475. removes the L. Bolingbroke from being his Secretary of State, 475, 476. bill in the Irish Parliament for attaining him, and giving a reward for his head, 478. sends a letter to the Lord-Mayor of London, with orders to proclaim him King of Great-Britain, 485. the Jacobites wear white robes on his birthday, 500. removes into Italy, 505, &c. conspiracy to set him on the Throne by means of Sweden, 506. K. of Sweden's project in his favour, 539. a marriage proposed between him and the Czar's daughter, 540. Cardinal Alveroni projects something in his favour, 575, 582. enters into that Cardinal's scheme, 583. comes to Spain, *ibid.* the K. of Spain's declaration in his favour, *ibid.* marries Prince Sibirski's daughter, 584, 585. Sweden engages not to give him any assistance, 614. Pope Clement XI, very kind to him, 651. the Pretender's declaration, 664. burnt, 665. treaty in his favour between the Emperor and Spain, 690. designs formed in his behalf, 699, &c. mentioned in Palm's memorial, 705.

Prior, Matthew, his witty repartee to one of the French King's officers, III. 379. Secretary to the embassy in France, 415. removed from the board of Trade and Plantations, 792. sent Ambassador into France, IV. 220. writes the Examiner, 221. comes back to England, *ibid.* Matt's peace, 125. named a Plenipotentiary at the treaty of Utrecht, but set aside, 247. goes to Paris along with L. Bolingbroke, 288. left there to take care of some private affairs, 290. L. Bolingbroke's letter to him, 292, &c. left Plenipotentiary at Paris, 293. has a private audience of the K. of France, *ibid.* comes over to England, and returns to France, 293. L. Bolingbroke's letters to him, 303, 305, 306. his letters to L. Bolingbroke and the E. of Oxford, 306, 307. his negotiations about the Pretender, 378, &c. the Lords Dartmouth and Bolingbroke's letters to him, 381. notifies the Queen's death to Lewis XIV., who assures him that he would maintain the Hanover Succession, 398. that King's answer to him concerning the Catalans, *ibid.* his memorial to him about the demolition of Dunkirk, 408. ordered home from Paris, 415. lands at Dover, and promises to reveal all he knew, 418. is introduced to the King, and entertained at dinner by the L. Townshend, *ibid.* taken into custody, 426. examined and closely confined, 427. prevaricates, *ibid.* and 435. report of the Committee of Secrecy concerning him, 435. excepted out of the act of Grace, 546. dies, 651.

Privilege Places disfranchised, III. 349.

Privileges of Members of Parliament, III. 479.

Privy-Council, but one ordered in Great-Britain, IV. 54. settled, and who the Members of it were, 67.

Prizes; proclamation for the distribution of them, IV. 68.

Protestant Succession; measures taken to secure it, IV. 347. acknowledged at the treaty of Utrecht, 390. debates about the security of it, 348. voted to be out of danger, *ibid.* and 354.

Protestants in Ireland oppressed, III. 77. a massacre of them designed, *ibid.* many Protestants against the present Settlements, 303. French Protestants, 15,000 l. granted for them by Parliament, 305. Protestants adhering to K. James, 314. the case of the French Protestants not taken into consideration at the treaty of Ryswick, 362. nor the Lutherans, 363. in Silesia have their Churches restored to them, IV. 18. act for naturalizing foreign Protestants, 110. repealed, 200, 243. they present a petition about the Occasional Conformity-bill, 231. their interest but faintly insisted upon at the treaty of Utrecht, 250, 305. recommended to Q. Anne by the K. of Prussia, 302. in the French galleys released by the mediation of the Queen, 329. a clause inserted in favour of the French Protestants in the Schiff-bill, 362. Protestants in Germany oppressed, 605.

Prussia; the D. of Marlborough negotiates with that Court for sending forces into Italy, III. 662, 678. Sophia Charlotte Q. of Prussia dies, *ibid.*

Prussia, Frederic K. of, the Principality of Neuchâtel adjudged to him, IV. 36. the Royal dignity acknowledged in him, 130. demands of arrears due to his troops, and the Succession of the late K. William, 209, 214. comes to the Hague for that purpose, 214. offers to maintain his own troops, 287. refuses to come into the peace, 294. his death and character, 302.

Prussia, Frederic K. of, the French propose to set him on the British Throne immediately after the Queen's death, IV. 400. included in the treaty between France and the Czar, 540. see p. 589. very rich, 615.

Pulteney, William, his speech in the House of Commons about the peace, IV. 263. about the reward for apprehending the Pretender, 397. made Secretary at War, 404. impeaches L. Widdrington, 482. is against offering a pardon to those that were in arms in Scotland, 484. resigns his places, 523. his speech on the supply against Sweden, *ibid.* about the army, 526. about the proposal of the South-Sea Company, 534. kisses the King's hand, 617. his speech at a Court of the South-Sea Company, 625. moves for an address, 629. is Chairman of the Committee to examine Loyer, 666. made Coffer of the Household, 673. begins to be dissatisfied,

684. turned out of his places, 687. is against addressing the King upon his speech, 701.

Pulteney, Daniel, made one of the Commissioners of Trade, IV. 548. his speech in Parliament, 693.

Puritans; origin of that name, III. 2. State and Church Puritans, 3. increase, 4. abandoned in the Parliament of 1640, 5. doctrinal and discipline Puritans, *ibid.* account of the Puritans, 513, &c.

Q

Quadruple Alliance; IV. 549, 562. Spain signs it, 600, 605.

Quakers; account of them, III. 45, 516.

Keith forsakes them, 520. do not join in the address to the Queen, 540. bill for taking some words out of their affirmation, IV. 655. petition against it, *ibid.* some pretend they were no Christians, *ibid.* bill for accepting their affirmation, instead of an oath, passed in Ireland, 676.

Quebec; expedition there, IV. 215.

Queensbury, James Douglas D. of, III. 69. Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, 406, 424. made Knight of the Garter, 425. Lord Privy-Seal of Scotland, 555. made High-Commissioner, 556. Secretary of State, 595. and High-Commissioner again, 596. deserts the Cavaliers, 598, 600. ingroffles every thing, 605. draws out the Session of Parliament to a great length, *ibid.* Frazer discovers a plot to him, 629. some thought it a contrivance of the Duke's, 634. he is dismissed from the management of affairs in Scotland, 648. some of his friends move, that the Queen should be desired to communicate a letter of that Duke's to her, *ibid.* exposed thereby to the Parliament's resentment, *ibid.* serves the D. of Argyle, and promotes the act of Succession in Scotland, 689. arrives at Edinburgh, where he makes a public entry, 692. nominates the Scottish Commissioners for the Union between England and Scotland, 737. High-Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, 768. the tumults there about the Union make him despair of succeeding, and he apprehends his life to be in danger, 776. goes in great State to the Parliament, after the conclusion of the Union, 779. his speech at the end of the Session, *ibid.* goes to London, and is met by great numbers, *ibid.* made Baron of Rippon, Marquis of Beverley, and Duke of Dover, III. 68. sworn of the Privy-Council, 105. introduced into the House of Peers as D. of Dover, *ibid.* thought he had still a right to vote as a Peer of Scotland, 109. but at length not admitted to have a vote in Scotland, after he was created D. of Dover, *ibid.* had a party in the Parliaments, 110. made third Secretary of State, *ibid.* and 119. dies, 218, 219.

Queensbury, Charles Douglas D. of, made one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, IV. 617.

Quefney; resolution to besiege it, IV. 256. description of it, 259. besieged, *ibid.* and 274. surrenders, 277. retaken by the French, 286.

Quietists; III. 529.

Quo-Warranto's, III. 96, 114. the Marquis of Hallifax concerned in them, 114. against the City of London reversed, 132.

R

Ratcliffe, Charles, arraigned, IV. 497. tried and found guilty, 498. escapes, 501.

Radnor, Charles Roberts E. of, sworn of the Privy-Council, III. 504.

Radstadt taken by the French, IV. 13. conferences there, 337.

Ragotski, Prince, at the head of the disaffected Hungarians, III. 622. aims at the Principality of Transylvania, 669, 715. possesses himself of that Principality, IV. 4. encourages the Hungarians to stand out, 184.

Rain surrenders to the Allies, III. 656. a description of it, *ibid.*

Ramilles; description of that place, III. 746. battle there, *ibid.* the standards taken there carried to Guild-hall, 780.

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Ranelagh, — *Jones*, E. of, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 190. his character, *ibid.* made Receiver and Paymaster-General of the forces, 572. his accounts examined by the Commons, 584, 643. quits his place, and is expelled the House of Commons, 584. the Commons address the Queen that she would order him to be prosecuted, 643.

Ranelagh, Richard Jones, E. of, sworn of the Privy-Council, IV. 105.

Ranter, III. 516.

Ratcliffe, Dr John, complained of in the House of Commons for not attending Q. Anne, IV. 396.

Rates, book of, reviewed by the Commons, III. 228, 232.

Ratisbone; a description of it, III. 616. the Elector of Bavaria takes possession of it, *ibid.* and 617. a declaration delivered to the diet there by Mr Le Heup, IV. 705.

Rawlinson, Sir William, made one of the Commissioners of the Great-Seal, III. 40.

Raymond, Robert, made Solicitor-General, IV. 192. made a Judge of the King's-Bench, 679. and one of the Commissioners of the Great-Seal, 683.

Rebellion in 1715, IV. 433. breaks out in Scotland, 436. progress of it in England, 443, &c.

Rebels, English and Scotch joined, IV. 455, &c. defeated at Preston, 456. some executed there, and at *Wigan* and *Manchester*, 485. about a thousand submit to the King's mercy, and petition to be transported, *ibid.* some more arraigned 497, &c. several of them discharged, 501. some executed, 503.

Recheren, Count de, one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Utrecht, IV. 247. his servants insulted by Monsieur Mesnager's, 290, 306.

Recognition, act of, III. 597, 598.

Records in the Tower, &c. examined and put in order at the instance of the E. of Halifax, III. 731.

Reformation, III. 511, &c.

Reformers, made St *Augustin's* notions the standard of Religion, III. 511.

Refugees, French, petition the House of Commons for relief, III. 182. apply to the King, *ibid.* their address to Q. Anne in favour of their persecuted brethren in France, 791, &c. petition for a bill to preclude the subjects of the French King from claiming any estates here, IV. 162. present a petition to Q. Anne for her interposing at the treaty of Utrecht in favour of their persecuted brethren in France, 245.

Regale; what it is, III. 36.

Regency; act for it, III. 720. a dangerous mistake relating to it rectified, IV. 329.

Regent of France. See Orleans, D. of.

Rehearsal; a paper by *Lefley* against the lawfulness of resistance, IV. 150.

Remonstrance of the state of the Kingdom, III. 6, &c.

Remonstrants, III. 511, &c.

Renou, Hilary, causes the French smugglers to be prosecuted, III. 371, 372. naturalized gratis, 373.

Renunciation of the Crown of France by the K. of Spain, IV. 263. memorial about it, *ibid.* and 295. of the Crown of Spain by the Princes of France, 308.

Reports of the Committee of Secrecy, IV. 636, &c. of that appointed to examine *Lager*, 666.

Representation of the Lords to Q. Anne, III. 632. of the Lower-House of Convocation, 645. of the Lords about the *Aylesbury* affair, 683, &c. of the Lower-House of Convocation, 686. of the Commons about the debts of the Navy, IV. 205. and about the Dutch, 242. of the Convocation to Q. Anne, 207.

Republicans, III. 10. Republican Quigs, 27.

Reresby, Sir John, his memoirs quoted, III. 38, &c.

Retrieved; debate about that word in an address to the Commons, III. 574.

Revenue of the Crown, III. 51. the several branches of it, *ibid.* &c. appropriation of it, 129, &c.

Revolution principles, far from being universally embraced, IV. 402. the Revolution talked and preached against, 405.

Reynolds, Edward, made Bp of Norwich, III. 519.

Rhinburg taken, III. 617.

Rich, Sir Robert, made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, III. 236.

Richardson, — one of the accomplices in the Assassination-plot, III. 318.

Richelieu, D. of, the French Ambassador at Vienna brings about a peace between Great-Britain and the Emperor, IV. 710.

Richmond, Charles Lenox D. of, his estate in France secured, IV. 391. made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, 407. presents a petition in behalf of the condemned Lords, 486.

Ridge, Thomas, censured by the House of Commons for his management about victualling the Navy, IV. 199.

Riga besieged by the Poles, III. 410. relieved by the K. of Sweden, 438.

Rights and Liberties of the Subjects; bill for settling them, III. 55.

Riots at Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, Reading, &c. IV. 407, 408. proclamation for suppressing riots, 409. riots in London, 424, 425, 500, &c. act against riots, 432.

Ripperda, Baron and Duke de, negotiates two treaties between the Emperor and Spain, IV. 689. dismissed, 698. flies to the Dutch Ambassador, who carries him to Colonel Stanhope's house, *ibid.* taken away from there by force, and confined in the Castle of Segovia, *ibid.* some expressions he dropped, 690, 694.

Rivers, Richard Savage Earl, commands the land-forces that were to make a descent in France, III. 761. strictly examines *Guiscard*, *ibid.* has manifestly ready, 762. waits on the K. of Portugal, who receives him with his hat off, *ibid.* refuses the command of the forces in Spain, 763. made General of the Horse, IV. 67. sworn of the Privy-Council, 105. sent to the Court of Hanover, 195. sent to that Court again to assure the Elector that care would be taken of the Succession in his Family, 225. made General of the Ordinance, and Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse-guards, 234.

Robertson, Monsieur de, attends K. George to England, IV. 401. infuses jealousies into His Majesty of the L. Townshend, 503.

Robinson, John, head of the Independents, III. 513.

Robinson, John, made Bp of Bristol, IV. 192. and Lord Privy-Seal, 219. designed for Plenipotentiary at the treaty of peace, *ibid.* appointed one of the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, 222. comes there and appears in a black velvet gown, 247. his speech at the opening of the Congress, *ibid.* his letters to Secretary St John, 253. fresh orders sent to him, *ibid.* his answer to the expostulation of the States about the D. of Ormona's refusing to act, 260. threatens them with the English making a separate peace, *ibid.* proposes to the Allies a suspension of arms for two months, in order to treat with the French, 275, &c. he and the E. of Strafford scruple to sign a separate peace, 309. they sign it at last, 310, &c. translated to the See of London, 328. votes against the Court, 352. his speech about the peace, 353. says that the Schiffm-bill was necessary, 362. made one of the Privy-Council, 404. his speech about an address to the King, 417. his behaviour at the Congress of Utrecht, 429. votes for the E. of Oxford, 431. his speech about the Septennial Parliament, 493. his answer to a reflecting speech of L. Coningsby about the peace, 512, &c. his speech in the debate about the repeal of the Schiffm-bill, 580. is for the bill against blasphemy and profaneness, 647.

Rochequade, Marquis de, speaks to Q. Anne in behalf of the French Protestants in the galleys, IV. 329.

Rocheater, Lawrence Hyde, E. of, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 190. his character, *ibid.* his great credit with Q. Mary, 244. moves a doubt about the legality of the Parliament's continuance, 264. protests against the vote for acknowledging the reality of the *Lancashire* plot, 267. represents the bad state of the coin to the House of Lords, 275. is set at the head of affairs, and engages to bring the Tories into the King's service, 436, 437.

Rocheater, Lawrence Hyde, E. of, made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 437. animadverts upon some in the House of Lords, who had reflected on the K. of France, 451. the King's distrust of him, at which he is offended, 454. the King is uneasy with him, 471. thought to be the promoter of all violent motions, 488. several books published against him, *ibid.* delays his going to Ireland, *ibid.* perceives the King's heart was not with him, *ibid.* the King complains of his imperious temper, *ibid.* expostulates with him, *ibid.* goes to Ireland, *ibid.* his behaviour there, *ibid.* asks leave to come to England, 504. brings over complaints against the Trustees for forfeited estates, *ibid.* declared again Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 544. was for an intire change in the Administration, 545. a rivalry between him and the D. of Marlborough, *ibid.* was against declaring war against France, *ibid.* quits his place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 583, &c. set up as the only man that deserved to be Prime-Minister, 628. seconds the L. *Hauersham's* speech, and complains of the exportation of the coin, 674. urges the ill consequences of the act of Security in Scotland, 675. moves the bringing the Electress Dowager of Hanover to live in England, 679, 719. moves for a clause in the act of Regency, that the Regents should not repeal any part of the act of Uniformity, 721. opens the debate about the danger of the Church, 724, &c. his speech in the debate about the Union, 781, 783, 786. on the state of the Nation, IV. 40. was for laying the blame of the miscarriages of the Admiralty on the Ministry, 42. his speech in relation to the affairs of Spain, 45. speaks in Dr *Sacheverel's* behalf, 158, 160. made President of the Council, 191. complains of the Lord-Keeper *Harcourt*, for introducing the Scots Lords to Q. Anne, 195. visits the D. of Marlborough, 196. dies suddenly, 202.

Rochester, Lawrence Hyde E. of, his speech on the debate on the Navy-debt, IV. 653.

Rochester, Thomas Sprat Bp of, taken into custody, III. 200. *Young's* plot against him, 218. See *Sprat*. is against Lay-Baptism, IV. 255.

Rochester, Bishop of. See *Atherbury*.

Rochford, William Henry de Zuylenstein E. of, a grant made to him in Ireland, III. 399.

Rockingham, Lewis Watson Lord, created E. of Rockingham, IV. 406.

Romney, Henry Sidney E. of, concerned in *Kidd's* affair, III. 396. grants of lands to him in Ireland, 399. made Groom of the Stole, 409.

Rooke, George, Rear-Admiral, III. 174. subscribes an address to Q. Mary, 200, 201. knighted, and made Vice-Admiral of the Red, 237. his engagement with the French, 242, &c. examined by the Commons, 248. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 253. with a squadron at Cadix, 313, 331. resigns the command to L. *Berkley*, *ibid.* examined by the House of Commons, 349. bombards Copenhagen, 411. commands the English fleet, 486. one of the Council to Prince George, 545. sent to attack Cadix, 568. averse to that undertaking, *ibid.* burns the galleons and French fleet at Vigo, 570. the Commons vote him thanks, 575. and address the Queen to order him to lay before them an account of his proceedings, 574. his conduct examined and approved, 575. sworn of the Privy-Council, *ibid.* sent with a fleet, to alarm the coast of France, 611. convays Charles K. of Spain to Lisbon, 626. comes in sight of the French fleet, but does not engage them, 664. takes Gibraltar, *ibid.* his victories paralleled by the Commons with the D. of Marlborough, 671. he is laid aside, 678.

Ross, taken by the French, III. 241.

Ross, Robert Lord, presents an address from Scotland, III. 407.

Ross, William Lord, offers a resolve in Parliament, III. 651.

Ross, General, his speeches in Parliament, IV. 427, 428. ordered to sell his regiment, 433. is one of the Secret Committee, 632. his speech about the South-Sea affair, 634.

Rother, John Lefley E. of, presents a resolve to the Parliament of Scotland, III. 650. is made Privy-Seal, 653. removed 689. was

for the Union, 771. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, IV. 64. High-Admiral of Scotland, and the King's Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 421. zealous against the Rebellion, 438. tries to secure Perth, 446. marches to *Seaton-house*, 447. the Rebels break into the burial place of his family, 449. attempts in vain to make himself master of Falkland palace, 449.

Rouille, Monsieur de, comes to Holland, under pretence of negotiating a peace, IV. 120, &c. 125. departs from Holland, 131. *Roux*, Nicholas, Under-Secretary of State, IV. 120.

Roxburgh, John Ker E. of, desires that the act of Security should be read, III. 651. made Secretary of State, 653. removed 689. was for the Union, 771. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, IV. 64. sets himself up in opposition to the D. of Queensberry's power, 110. his speech in Parliament, 431. acts against the Rebels in Scotland, 438. made Secretary of State, and Keeper of the Signet in Scotland, 504. is for the Petreage bill, 586.

Royal Assurance Company erected, IV. 613.

Rügen, Isle of, restored by Denmark, IV. 615.

Ruremond taken, III. 563.

Rufhout, Sir John, sent Ambassador to Turkey, III. 350.

Ruffel, William Lord, his attainder reversed, III. 92. Committee appointed to examine who had been his prosecutors, 114.

Ruffel, Admiral Edward, conveys the Q. of Spain, III. 139. appointed Commander of the English fleet, 172. conveys the Turkey fleet safe into England, 182. examined in the House of Commons about the conduct of the fleet, 192. sends up an address to Q. Mary from the fleet, 200. defeats the French at *la Hogue*, 201, &c. fails very opportunely out of the Thames, 205. being provoked at some awkward orders, he does not pursue his victory, *ibid.* thanks voted him by the House of Commons, 221. examined by them about the conduct of the fleet, 222. letters of his, 224. his answer in the House of Lords to the E. of Nottingham's papers, wherein his orders and neglects were aggravated, 227. 228. vote of the House of Commons in his favour, *ibid.* dismissed, 237. put again at the head of the fleet, 252. and made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, *ibid.* and 253. falls into the Mediterranean, 253. 256. goes towards the coast of France, upon the discovery of the plot, 319. desires the House of Commons to read the papers relating to *Pemwick*, 338. made E. of Orford, 350. had the management both of the Admiralty and the fleet, 355, 378, 390. resigns all his places, 390. very popular, 391. See *Orford*, Edward Ruffel E. of.

Ruffians, advance against *Vishnar*, IV. 538. and against *Schonen*, *ibid.* See *Czar*.

Ruth, Monsieur de St, commander of the Irish forces, III. 151. reduces *Savoy*, 154. *Rutland*, John Manners E. of, made Marquis of Granby and Duke of Rutland, III. 590. waits upon K. George at his first coming, and is graciously received, IV. 402. made Knight of the Garter, 407.

Ruvigny, Marquis of, his conduct in Ireland, III. 174. created E. of Galway, and sent to command the English forces in Piedmont, 252. See *Galway*.

Rye; K. George lands there, IV. 691. *Ryfwick*, Congress of, III. 350. negotiations there about a peace, 352, &c. peace signed there, 360.

S.

SACHEVEREL (*William*) refuses the place of one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, III. 41.

Sacheverel, Henry; account and character of him, IV. 149. preaches his famous sermon, 150. 40,000 of it sold, *ibid.* reflects on Bishop Burnet and Benjamin Hadley, *ibid.* impeached by the Commons, 151. his trial, 153, &c. it causes great uneasiness, 152. the managers at his trial, 153, 154. the Peers who voted for and against him, 159. the censure passed upon him, 161. his ser-

mons burnt, 160. addresses on account of his trial, 185. his progress, 191. ferment raised among the Clergy by his trial, 193. rejoicings upon the expiration of his suspension, 325. he is made Rector of *St Andrew's Halibourne*, *ibid.* preaches at *Sutton*, 407. the cry about him, 408. he dies, 681. leaves Dr Atterbury a legacy, *ibid.*

Sacramental-Toll; attempts to repeal it, III. 512. a letter against it ordered by the Commons to be burnt, IV. 120.

Saint Albans, Charles Beauclerk, D. of, made Captain of the Band of Pensioners, IV. 474.

St Germain; the Court there encourages the Plot in Scotland, III. 629.

St Januarius's blood, IV. 590.

St John, Henry, appointed Secretary at war, III. 647. Guiscard becomes intimate with him, 761. tries to engage the leaders of the Tories in Q. Anne's interest, IV. 38.

St John resigns his place of Secretary at war, 50. made Secretary of State, 191. delivers a message to the Commons about the affairs of Spain, 196. Marquis de Guiscard's intimacy with him, 201. has private meetings with Gaultier, 219. transmits the proposals of France to Lord Raby, *ibid.* his letter to the Earl of Strafford, 224, &c. 253, 291. his answer to the Dutch memorial, 243. his speech when the negotiation of peace was reflected on, 246. his letters about the peace, 249. and to Torcy, 252. to the Duke of Ormond about not venturing a battle, 256.

his speech in the House of Commons about a peace, 263. his letter to Torcy about the renunciation, *ibid.* &c. created Viscount *Bolingbroke*, 282. goes incognito to France, 288. impowered to conclude a separate peace between England, France, Spain, and Savoy, *ibid.* goes to Fontainebleau, where he is magnificently entertained by the King of France, who makes him a present of a fine diamond ring, 289. returns to England, 290. his letter to the British Plenipotentiaries, 291. about the ravaging of the Sugar-Islands, 293. misunderstanding between him and the Earl of Oxford, 295. his letters to the Duke of Shrewsbury, 304, &c. sends the British Ministers orders to sign the peace, 309. arrives at Whitehall with the treaties of peace and commerce, 311. forms a scheme to put himself and Lord Harcourt at the head of the High-Church party, 328. he, and Secretary Bramley, and Sir William Wyndham, gain the ascendant over the Lord Treasurer, 335, 346.

his design of new modelling the army, 346. pushes on his design of bringing in the Pretender, *ibid.* his speech about the Catalans, 347. made a private agreement in France about the dower of King James's Queen, 351. lays before the Commons an account of the treaties of peace and commerce, 353. causes the publisher of the Queen's letter to the Elector of Hanover to be apprehended, 358. is against inviting that Prince over, 359. promotes the Schism-bill, 361. is against allowing the Dissenters schools to teach their own children, 362. was bred among Schismatics, 360. brings in a bill to make it High-Treason to lift or be enlisted in the Pretender's service, 365. is against examining into the Spanish trade, *ibid.* had the conduct of foreign affairs, 367. was bold, a man of pleasures, and had the public odium, *ibid.* falls out with the Treasurer and is supported by the Queen, *ibid.* causes the Treasurer to be removed and is likely to succeed him, *ibid.* resolves to strike in with the Whigs, 368. his proceedings about the Pretender, the Catalans, &c. 377—386. his schemes baffled by the Duke of Shrewsbury being made Treasurer, 369. obliged to stand at the door of the Council Chamber, 395. removed from his office, 399, 404. attends at the King's Coronation, 407. his speech about the addresses to the King, 417. his conduct very extraordinary, 418. appears every where and speaks in Parliament with great freedom, but his heart beginning to fail him he goes over to France in disguise, *ibid.* his letter, *ibid.* impeached of Treason, 427. the articles against him carried up to the House of Lords, 434. his name and coat of arms are razed, 436. is Secretary to the Pretender, 475. removed, 476. his letters upon that occasion, *ibid.* &c. he is pardoned, and returns to

England, 674. his attainder reversed, 685, &c. *St John*, Henry, created Viscount *St John*, IV. 499.

St Quintin, Sir William, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 406. displaced, IV. 525.

St Sebastian taken, IV. 604.

Salisbury, — Cecil, Earl of, sent to the Tower, III. 44. admitted to bail, *ibid.* impeached, 113.

—, James Cecil, E. of, Young's plot against him, III. 218.

Salustri, battle of, III. 153.

Sample, John, taken up for High-Treason, and escapes, IV. 660.

Saneroff, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, tried and acquitted, III. 20. meets the Lords at Guild-Hall, and invites the Prince of Orange, 22. made one of the Privy Council, 38. refuses to consecrate Bishop Burnet, 41. absents himself from Parliament, and refuses to take the oaths, 43. his character, *ibid.* suspended *ab Officio*, 105. was for a comprehension, 106. dies, 513. published Bishop Overall's book, 521.

Saragoza; description of that place, IV. 179. battle near it, 178. King Charles comes thither, *ibid.* the Duke of Vendôme takes possession of it, 182.

Sardinia, reduced, IV. 64. secured by Sir John Norris, 176. conquered by the Spaniards, 549. given to the D. of Savoy, *ibid.* and 563. his Minister claims the ships in the harbour of Messina, 566. the troops designed for the expedition to Saranina are sent to Sicily, *ibid.* Sardinia evacuated, 600. and given to the D. of Savoy, 603.

Savoy, Amadeus II. D. of, accedes to the Grand Alliance, III. 152. defeated at the battle of Salustri, 153. applies to K. William and the States-General, 154. most of his towns taken, 184. K. William and the States of Holland allowed him 100,000*l.* a year, *ibid.* his affairs restored by D. Schomberg's assistance, 183. makes a great progress in Dauphiny, takes Ambrun, &c. 215. falls ill of the small-pox, 216. beleges Pignerol, 241. defeated at the battle of Marfaglia, *ibid.* &c. makes a separate peace with France, 328, &c. his daughter given in marriage to the D. of Burgundy, 331.

Savoy, Victor Amadeus II. D. of, refuses to have one of his sons brought to England, and educated in the Protestant Religion, III. 445. his Dukes profess against the bill of Succession, *ibid.* that Duke commands the French army, 485. grows cold and backward, 486. his second daughter married to the K. of Spain, *ibid.* owns the Pretender, 491. the Allies jealous of him, 566. comes into the Grand Alliance, 622. the French discover it, *ibid.* their unreasonable demands of him, 623. the K. of France's letter to him, *ibid.* gives notice of his proceedings to Q. Anne and the Dutch, *ib.* Count Starnberg brings him forces, *ibid.* the French King declares war against him, *ibid.* loses his towns, and continues firm, though not duly assisted by the Emperor, 668, 703. has but a very small army, and resolves notwithstanding to adhere to the Grand Alliance, 703. admits none of the Clergy into his Councils, *ibid.* fortifies Turin, 758. refuses the French King's offers, *ibid.* raises the siege of Turin, and defeats the French, 759. undertakes to march an army into France, and Q. Anne makes a treaty with him, IV. 4, 21. forms a project of invading Provence, 21. enters Provence, and advances towards Toulon, 26. comes before that place, *ibid.* is obliged to retire, which he does in very good order, *ibid.* recovers Suza, *ibid.* the Lords address Q. Anne to strengthen his army, he having suffered so well, 46. takes Exilles, fort la Peralu, the valley of St Martin, and Fensarella, 93. makes also a diversion in favour of K. Charles, *ibid.* receives the investiture of the Mantuan and Monferrat, 101. France offers to restore Savoy to him, 120. and endeavours to draw him off from the Grand Alliance, 132. he refuses to take the field, 140. indisposed as well as his son and brother, 175. has an interview with the Emperor Charles, who grants him the investiture of the fiefs in Monferrat, 214. penetrates as far as the Rhine, *ibid.* his Ministers angry at the report of their

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Master's agreeing to a suspension of arms, 276. one of his Plenipotentiaries insulted, 290. account of the difference between him and the Court of Vienna, 293. *Sicily* offered to him, 294. the arrears of his subsidies paid, *ibid.* how nearly his House is allied to the English Crown, 393. is persuaded to change *Sicily* for *Sardinia*, 504. enters into a Convention with the Emperor about *Sardinia*, 571. put in possession of that Island, 603

Sawbridge, Jacob, expelled the House of Commons, IV. 634. bill to make his estate answerable for 250,000*l.* to the South-Sea Company, 640

Saxe-Gutha; some of their troops in the pay of Great-Britain, IV. 521

Sayer, — taken into custody, IV. 660

Scarborough, Richard Lumley E. of, attends K. William to Ireland, III. 133. sworn of the Privy-Council, IV. 105. his speech at Dr Sachverd's trial, 157. is against the bill for limiting the number of officers, 162. moves for the thanks of the House of Lords to be given to the D. of Marlborough, 195. Lord Lieutenant of Northumberland, repairs to Newcastle to secure that place, 445. his speech in Parliament, 696

Seafdale, — Leake E. of, proclamation for apprehending him, III. 200. complains of his commitment to the House of Lords, 221

Schellenberg, battle of, III. 655
Schism formed by Nonjuring Clergy, III. 512, &c.

Schism-bill; proceedings and debates upon it, IV. 360. extended to Ireland, 363. a design to repeal it, 524. it is repealed, 578
Schlick, Count, enters Bavaria, III. 616. makes himself master of several places, *ibid.* defeated, *ibid.* takes *Wiltzboven*, *ibid.*

Schomberg, Frederic, Duke and Marshal of, relieves *Maestricht*, III. 35. comes over with K. William, and is Master of the Ordnance, 39. elected Knight of the Garter, 45. the Parliament gives him 100,000*l.* which is converted into 5000*l.* a year, 52, 99. has the command of that army in Ireland, 99. his campaign there, 100. a plot in his army, 100, 101. his conduct in Ireland, 115. his army reinforced, 121. takes a fatherly care of the English army, 133. takes *Charlemont* Castle, 134. opposes the passing of the *Boyne*, and advises the sending part of the army towards *Slainbridge*, which not being done, he is discontented, 135. his bravery at the battle of the *Boyne*, 136. is slain there, *ibid.* his character, 137. his saying about attacking the French in the Netherlands, IV. 45

Schomberg, Charles D. of, commands the horse at the battle of the *Boyne*, III. 136. at the siege of *Limerick*, 148. goes to *Turin*, 185. and retrieves the D. of Savoy's affairs, that were in a desperate condition, *ibid.* publishes a declaration, 215. is wounded at the battle of *Marjoglio*, and dies, 242

Schomberg, Maynard D. of, made Privy-Councillor, III. 281. commands the land-forces sent to Spain, 626. Velt-Marshall General of the Portuguese forces, 666. some disputes between him and the Portuguese Generals and Ministers, 665. insists that the auxiliaries may keep in a body, 666. Captain-General of the Queen of Great-Britain's forces in Portugal, *ibid.* publishes a proclamation about the *Irish*, *ibid.* refuses his command, 667. made a Privy-Councillor, IV. 68

Schut, Baron, in the House of Lords, IV. 349. demands a writ for the Elector of Hanover, as D. of Cambridge, 351. forbid the Court, *ibid.*

Schulenberg, a Protestant, General of the Venetian army, IV. 502, 503

Scot, Dr John, his account of Lord Chancellor *Tyffert*, III. 96

Scotland's the English Common-Prayer and Discipline attempted to be introduced there, III. 4. a Convention meets there, 64. the Throne declared vacant, 70. K. William and Q. Mary proclaimed there, 72. a faction springs up in the Parliament, 75. an insurrection headed by Dundee, 76. the establishing Presbyterianism there casts a great load on K. William, 105. the Rebels there under

Colonel Cannon retire to the Isle of Mull, and the Highlanders renew their incursions, 121. many that had been concerned in the plot there take out pardons, 181. and are put into the chief posts in the Government, 194. many in the Ministry there enemies to the King and Government, 245. letters intercepted between Scotland and France, *ibid.* proceedings of the Parliament of that Kingdom, *ibid.* and 281. disgusted about recalling the act for their East-India Company, 308 and 380. great discontent there upon the loss of the Settlement at *Darien*, 393, 406, 407. petition drawn up there for a Parliament, 406. a Session of Parliament there, *ibid.* bill for uniting England and Scotland, *ibid.* K. William's letter concerning that Union, 504, 505. bill for the Union, 550. Q. Anne's letter to the Privy-Council there, 554. affairs begin to be imbroiled in that Kingdom, *ibid.* Q. Anne takes the Coronation-oath for that Kingdom, *ibid.* at her accession, the Government was in the hands of persons entirely of Revolution principles, 555. struggle there about the fitting of the Parliament, *ibid.* alterations in the Ministry there, 595. a new Parliament chosen, *ibid.* its proceedings, 596. an indemnity proclaimed, *ibid.* act for the security of that Kingdom, 600. another for the Succession, 603. the disorders in that Kingdom rise to a great height, 604. a plot there discovered, 629, 648. Settlement made there by K. Charles I. 648. treaty between that Kingdom and England demanded, 650. a new Commission there made up entirely of Scots Revolutioners, 653. the L. *Haversham*'s speech about the proceedings in that Kingdom, 673, &c. debate in the House of Lords thereupon, 674, &c. bill for a Union, 676. the Commons bring in a bill for preventing the dangers that might arise from some acts passed in Scotland, *ibid.* &c. change in the Ministry of that Kingdom, 689. three parties there, 690. proceedings for the Union with England, *ibid.* &c. Commissioners appointed for it, 736. the Pretender's interest promoted there, 766. the Cavaliers resolve to oppose the ratification of the Union, 768. debates in the Parliament there about it, 771. tumults there to defeat the Union, 774. completed at last, 777. land-tax there, 785. frauds designed by the Merchants with regard to goods imported into Scotland, 789. a Commission for a new Council sent into Scotland, 791. two different parties formed in that Kingdom, *ibid.* the affairs relating to it neglected, IV. 33, &c. the act for the security of that Kingdom, and about peace and war, repealed, 43. debates in the Committee of the House of Lords, about the bill for rendering the Union of that Kingdom with England more entire, 54, &c. Justices of Peace and an Exchequer settled in that Kingdom, 55. account of the Pretender's descent into Scotland, 56. Privy-Council of Scotland dissolved, 67. the Peers of Scotland's eldest sons incapacitated to sit in Parliament, 108. debates about the election of the sixteen Peers, 109. bill concerning trials for treason there, 114, &c. bill for a toleration of the English Clergy there, 243. the Kirk presents a remonstrance against it, *ibid.* act for discharging the *Tule Vacance*, and for restoring patronages, 244. the interest of the Pretender promoted there, 329. three or four thousand pounds a year remitted to the Highland Clans, 345, 349, 350. disaffected with the Union, and considered itself as degraded to a province of England, 402, 403. addresses set on foot there for dissolving the Union, 412. endeavours used there for a remonstrance against it, 416. some Members of the General Assembly of the Church there had instructions to move for an address against the Toleration of the Episcopal Preachers, and against Lay-patronages, 422. the designs of the Jacobites carried on there with secrecy and order, 433. act for encouraging loyalty there, 436. some ships land there from France, with officers, arms, &c. 437. several Peers there shew their loyalty to K. George, 438. some villages burnt by the Pretender's order, 467. motion for offering a general pardon to those that were still in arms in Scotland, 484. a few Spaniards

land there, 584. some suspected persons secured there, 660. commotions there occasioned by some Levellers, 682. riots there about the malt-tax, 687

Scots; resolutions for declaring them Aliens, III. 676. proceedings against that, 695, &c. the act which declared them aliens, repealed, 723, &c. oppose the malt-tax, and are very uneasy, IV. 316. move for an act for dissolving the Union, *ibid.* motion for investing the revenues of the Bishops in the Queen, 360. begin to shew their discontent, 403. See Scotland and Rebels.

Scots Highlanders appear in arms, IV. 403
Scottish East-India Company, III. 283, 308, 380. account of its settlement at *Darien*, 392, &c.

Scottish Lords in London, K. William's speech to them, III. 62. their proceedings thereupon, 63. desire his Majesty to take upon him the administration of affairs in Scotland, *ibid.* another speech of K. William to them, 63, 64

Scottish Peers serviceable to the Ministry, IV. 226. very uneasy at D. Hamilton's patent being disallowed, 229. their representation thereupon, 230. the Queen's message to the House of Lords about it, 238. debates upon that point, *ibid.* they are promised and obtain satisfaction, 239. resolutions about them, in the intended Peerage-bill, 586

Screw-Plot, IV. 194

Seabright murdered in France, IV. 676

Seaford, — Lord, Secretary of State for Scotland, III. 382

Seaford, James Ogilvie E. of, made Chancellor of Scotland, III. 595. made Secretary of State, 653. reinstalled Chancellor, 689. was for the Union, 771. chosen one of the sixteen Peers, IV. 64

Seaford, James Finlater E. of, sworn a Privy-Councillor, IV. 105

Seal, the Great, thrown by K. James II. into the Thames, III. 22. put in Commission, IV. 191

Scamen; regulations about them, III. 732. more employed than provided for by Parliament, IV. 654

Seckendorf, Count, reduces the Island of Lipara, IV. 591. and *Sacca*, 600. wounded, 603

Security, act of, in Scotland, III. 651, 652

Septennial Parliament; act for them, IV. 490. petitions against it, 495. passed, *ibid.*

Serpa taken by the Spaniards, IV. 12

Settlement, act of, in Ireland repealed, III. 86

Seville, treaty of, IV. 711

Seymour, Sir Edward, proposes an association, III. 22. is against the validity of the Convention, 42. presents an address against *Ludlow*, 120. made a Privy-Councillor and Commissioner of the Treasury, 190. his character, *ibid.* at the head of the opposition to the Court, 237. bribed by the East-India Company, 270, 276. dissuades the King from putting out a proclamation for coin to be received by weight and not by tale, 274. opposes the Association, 321. is against the bill for attaining Sir John Fenwick, 343. discovers to the Parliament the practices of the new East-India Company, 439. reflects severely on the Partition-treaty, 451, 452. tampers with *Kidd*, 458. his opinion of *Melfort*'s letter, 474. his character, 509. made a Privy-Councillor, and Comptroller of the Household, 545. lays Q. Anne's Convention for declaring war against France before the Commons, *ibid.* treats the Scots with great scorn, 550. his account as Treasurer of the Navy, 585. moves for leave to bring in a bill to resume all the grants made in K. William's Reign, 587. his youngest son, Francis Seymour Conway, made Baron Conway, 588. Sir Edward is against the Place-bill, 587, 588. dismissed from his place of Comptroller, 647. his death and character, IV. 66

Shadwell, Dr, gives the D. of Sbrewsbury an account of Q. Anne's ill state of health, IV. 332, 336, 346. attends her in her last illness, 368, &c.

Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of, author of the Characteristics, his speech for allowing Council to State Prisoners, III. 304

Shaits,

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Shales, John, Purveyor of the army in Ireland, III. 99. his misconduct, is ordered to be removed, and had been Purveyor to King James's army, 115.

Sharp, John, appointed to review the Liturgy, III. 106. made Archbishop of York, 173. preaches *Q. Anne's* Coronation-Sermon, and is her chief Counsellor, 544. made a Privy-Counsellor, 590. his speech about the Occasional Conformity-Bill, 673. and about the increase of Dissenters, 726. speak to *Q. Anne* in behalf of the French Protestants, IV. 329. dies, 338.

Shepherd, James, forms a design upon *K. George's* life, IV. 555. executed, 556.

Sheriffs of London; dispute at the election of them, IV. 67.

Sherlock, Dr William, takes the oaths, III. 172. made Dean of *St Paul's*, 173. writes about the Trinity, 520. one of the Committee to examine Bishop *Hoadley's* books, IV. 536. writes against him, 538, &c. removed from being the King's Chaplain, 539.

Sherard, Bennet, Lord, created Baron of *Harborough*, IV. 407.

Ship-Money, III. 4. abolished, 6.

Shippin, William, one of the Commissioners for examining public accounts, IV. 232. moves to examine the debts of the army, 313. his speech about the arrears due to the *Hanover* troops, and about the reward for apprehending the Pretender, 397. about the bill for regulating the forces, 425. in favour of the Earl of *Oxford*, 435. about the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, 482. in behalf of the condemned Lords, 486. upon the Septennial bill, 494. about supply, 521. about an address, 526. upon the Earl of *Oxford's* impeachment, 542. about the King's speech, for which he is sent to the Tower, 553. about the repeal of the *Schilm-Bill*, 581. moves for an addition in an address, 629. a speech of his gravels Secretary *Craggs*, 632. Mr *Pulteney* calls him a traitor, 671.

Shovel, Cloudiffe, knighted, III. 92. takes the only frigate *K. James* had left, 134. subscribes an address to *Q. Mary*, 201. made one of the Commanders of the fleet, 237. bombards *Calais*, 326. ordered to lay the copies of his papers before the House of Commons, 349. has a regiment of Marines given him, 359. sent to assist in destroying the fleet at *Figo*, 570, &c. his letter about the engagement near *Malaga*, 665. made Rear-Admiral of England, and Commander in chief of the fleet, 678. some letters from the Prince of *Hesse* to him, 709, &c. commands the fleet that was to invade France, 761. and at the attempt upon *Toulon*, IV. 25. chagrined at the miscarriage of that expedition, upon which he had set his heart, 28. cast away on the *Bishop and Clerk*, 29. account of him, and his character, *ibid.* a letter of his, 27.

Sbretbury, Charles Talbot, E. of, made Secretary of State, III. 40. his character, *ibid.* prefiles the Abjuration Bill, 131. retires from Court, *ibid.* designs to impeach the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, 162. brings in the bill for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, 231. opposes the Court, *ibid.* made again Secretary of State, 252. created a Duke, *ibid.* made one of the Lords-Justices, 280. practices of Mr *Smith* against him, 347. his letter about it, 348. Secretary *Fernon* communicates to him the King's letter, 383. hurt by a fall from his horse, and resigns the place of Secretary of State, but is made Lord Chamberlain, and goes to Italy, 392. concerned in *Kidd's* affair, 396. refuses the place of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 402. resigns the place of Chamberlain, 409. taken again into the Ministry, IV. 163. votes in favour of Dr *Sacheverell*, 187. made Lord-Chamberlain, *ibid.* a secret management between him and Mr *Harley*, *ibid.* sent Ambassador to France, though Lord *Bolingbroke* was against it, 300. part of his instructions, 303. Lord *Bolingbroke's* letters to him, 304. made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 328. encourages the Protestant Interest there, 330. his speech to the Parliament there, *ibid.* returns to England, 333. is against extending the *Schilm-Bill* to Ireland, 363. does not join either of the contending parties, 364, 367. made Lord-Treasurer, 369. received

with great favour by *K. George*, 402. his speech about the address to *K. George*, 417. against the Septennial Bill, 493.

Shute, Barrington, his speech in vindication of *K. George's* Government, IV. 524.

Sicily; the Imperialists design the conquest of that Island, IV. 25. offer of giving it to the D. of *Savoy*, 294, 301. yielded to him, 339, 392. project for exchanging it for *Sardinia*, 504. given to the Emperor, 549, 563. the K. of Spain makes great preparations for the recovery of it, 562. retaken by the English and Imperialists, 590. the Emperor sends more troops thither, 596. evacuated by the Spaniards, 600, 603.

Sidney, Henry, afterwards Earl of *Romney*, made Gentleman of the Bedchamber, III. 39. his character, *ibid.*

Sidney, Henry, Lord Viscount, made one of the Lords-Justices of Ireland, III. 150. one of the Secretaries of State, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 193. was thought partial, 247. recalled, and made Master of the Ordnance, *ibid.* and Colonel of the first Regiment of foot-guards, 252.

Silesia; the Protestants in that country have their Churches restored to them, IV. 18. but they receive no benefit from *Q. Anne's* Interposition in their favour, 101. the Imperial Court refuses to grant the inhabitants the exercise of the Protestant Religion, 184, &c. Loan to the Emperor of the revenues of that Province, 237.

Silk-Weavers petition against the bill for wearing woollen manufactures, III. 98.

Silk Trade, very advantageous to England, IV. 315.

Sinking-Fund constituted, IV. 535, &c. 707, 708.

Smalridge, George, made Dean of *Christ-Church*, IV. 325. refuses the Bishoprick of *Bristol*, 335. accepts of it, and is made Lord Almoner, 338. votes against the Court, 352. votes in favour of the Earl of *Oxford*, 431. refuses to sign a declaration testifying an abhorrence of the rebellion, 452. removed from the office of Lord Almoner, *ibid.* is a against the Universities addressing *K. George*, 516, 517. his speech in the debate about repealing the *Schilm-Bill*, 580.

Small-Pox inoculated, IV. 680.

Smith, John, Chancellor of the Exchequer, III. 394. chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, 717, and IV. 39. made Under-Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer and a Privy-Counsellor, 68. his speeches at *Sacheverell's* trial, 153. is one of the managers, *ibid.* made a Teller of the Exchequer, 191. his speech about the peace, 319. in behalf of the Whig Ministry, 321.

Smyrna fleets comes in safe, III. 182. another damaged, 242, 249.

Snape, Dr, debate in the House of Commons, about his preaching on the 29th of May, IV. 536. publishes an answer to Bishop *Hoadley's* sermon, *ibid.* and a second letter to him, 358. removed from being the King's Chaplain, 359.

Sobieski, John, King of Poland dies, III. 331. his character, 355.

Society for Reformation of Manners, III. 374. for propagating the Gospel in foreign parts, 375.

Scandinavians publish books, III. 238.

Soldiers; exactions of their Colonels and Agents upon them, III. 268, &c.

Solmes, Count, at the siege of *Limerick*, III. 148, 149. the command of the army in Ireland left with him, 150. his ill conduct at the battle of *Steenkirk*, 208. taken notice of for the same in the House of Commons, 223. killed at the battle of *Landen*, 240.

Somerset, Charles Seymour, Duke of, refuses to attend on the Pope's Nuncio, III. 19. is for declaring war against France, 545. made Master of the Horse, 572. has a meeting with some of the eminent Members of the House of Commons, IV. 37. refuses to proceed to business in the Privy-Council, after the D. of *Marlborough* was gone, 56. offers the Bank a sum of money, 61. alienates *Q. Anne's* mind from her old ministry, 192. Master of the Horse, and refuses to fit any more in Council, *ibid.* his Duchesse made Groom of the Stole, and Mistress of the Robes, 296. a consultation about removing him, 234. re-

moved, *ibid.* Pamphlets against him, 235. made Master of the Horse, and one of the Privy-Council, 404. offers to be Sir *William Windham's* bail, and is removed from his place of Master of the Horse, 440. moves for the Peerage-Bill, 585.

Sommers, John, made Solicitor-General, III. 41. draws up the proclamation of war against France, 90. distinguishes himself in the House of Commons, 130. made Attorney-General, 193. and Lord-Keeper, 237. his character, *ibid.* his proposal for preventing clipping, 277. made one of the Lords Justices, 280. made Lord Chancellor, and Baron of *Eversham*, 350. writes for a standing army, 365. his good conduct, 377, &c. *K. William* communicates to him the Partition-Treaty, 383. two letters of his, *ibid.* and 387. concerned in *Kidd's* affair, 396. attempts to displace him, 401. the Tories endeavour to remove him, 403. his argument in the bankers case, *ibid.* &c. the King demands the Great-Seal of him, 404. he delivers it up, 406. his character, *ibid.* he is blackened about *Kidd's* affair, 458. debate concerning him in the House of Commons, 458, &c. gives that House a particular account of the Partition-Treaty, 459. impeached by the Commons, *ibid.* their address against him, 460. articles against him, with his answers, 462. acquitted, 469. his advice about the conquests in the *West-Indies*, 487. a tract of his, 488. had a hand in *K. William's* last speech, 498. who was the author of his disgrace, 509. left out of the Privy-Council, 545. is against the Occasional Conformity Bill, 581. draws up the Lords address, 639. his answer to the Earl of *Nottingham* about the Partition-Treaty, 675. his speech in the debate about the danger of the Church, 727. moves for a bill to correct some of the proceedings in the Common-Law and Chancery, 731. and for discouraging the great number of private acts, *ibid.* had the chief hand in promoting the Union between England and Scotland, 740. speaks in behalf of the Union, 781, 786. his speech about the state of the nation, IV. 40. made President of the Council, 105. supports the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montrose*, and *Roxburgh*, 110. moves for an amendment of the act of Treasons, 116. moves for an address for demolishing *Dunkirk*, 117. removed from the place of President of the Council, 191. received with great favour by *K. George*, 402. dies, 496.

Sophia, Princess, put into the Succession of the Crown, III. 55. See *Succession*. her name ordered to be put into the public Prayers, 550. a motion for bringing her over to live in England, 679, &c. 719. writes a letter to the Archbishop of *Canterbury* intimating her readiness to come over, 722. acts for naturalizing her, 724. called an unbaptized *Lutheran*, 725. *Q. Anne's* letter to her, IV. 357. her death and character, 358, &c.

Sophia, Dorothy, wife of King *George I.* dies, IV. 712.

South-Sea Trade and Company, IV. 204, 205. Stock, 329. Company, 339, 366. debts due to them from the Government, 531. *K. George* chosen Governor, 557. present their scheme to the Government, 610.

South-Sea Scheme, *ibid.* acts for increasing their capital stock, 612. whence that scheme took its rise, 619, &c. the stock falls, 620. account of the proceedings of the Directors, 620, &c. they make some secret advances towards an union with the *East-India* Company, 624. a Committee of them, meet a Committee of the Bank, and draw up the *Bank Contract*, 625. Proceedings of the Commons in the *South-Sea* affair, 630. Mr *Walpole's* scheme for ingrafting one million of *South-Sea* Stock, into the Bank of England, 631. Bill to restrain the Sub-Governor, &c. from going out of the Kingdom, 632. the Directors removed from all places in the Government, 633. reports of the Committee of Secrecy about them, 636, &c. allowance to the Directors out of their own estates, 641, &c. resolutions of the Commons in favour of the sufferers by the *South-Sea* Scheme, 642. what the Capital Stock of the Company was at the year 1720, 645. Petitions and Pamphlets against the Directors, *ibid.* &c. General Court of

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

of the Company, 646, 672. acts to enable the South-Sea Company to dispose of the effects in their hands, 656. and for hearing claims upon the estates of the South-Sea Directors, *ibid.* two millions of their stock transferred to the Bank, and two millions of their stock revived, 672.
Southwell, Thomas, created Viscount Southwell, IV. 548.
Sout-Lewis attacked and taken by the Allies, III. 702. a description of that place, *ibid.*

Spain accepts the neutrality of Italy, III. 331. K. of Spain dangerously ill, 382, 384. intrigues of the Court of France, to secure the Crown of Spain, 384. sends a memorial against the Settlement at *Darien*, 393. the Succession to that Kingdom secured by the French, 407, 408. that Court offended at the Partition-Treaty, 413, 416. great want of money there, 484. K. Charles II. of Spain makes a will in favour of the Emperor's second son, 416. and another in favour of the D. of Anjou, 418. dies, 425. his will is accepted by the Court of France, 427. war declared against Spain, 546. their Settlements in America plundered by the English, 594. Spain invaded by the Portuguese and their Allies, 705. the Spaniards invade Portugal, and take several towns, 667. besiege Gibraltar in vain, *ibid.* &c. 705. debate in the House of Lords about the affairs of Spain, IV. 45. they address the Queen for the restitution of it to the House of Austria, 46. an inquiry begun in both Houses about the affairs of Spain, 53. the service of the English there is denied, 54. campaigns there, 93, & 141. the French offer to give Spain to K. Charles, 121, 163, &c. K. Philip gets his son, the Prince of Asturias, acknowledged heir of that Monarchy, 129. publishes a manifesto against all that should be done at the Hague to his prejudice, 145. heads his army, 176. the Spaniards defeated at the battle of Almaraz, *ibid.* &c. and at *Saragosa*, 178. and at *Villaviciosa*, 181. the prosecution of the war there a favourite project, 195. conduct of affairs there taken into consideration by the Parliament, 196. campaign there, 212. the Emperor demands Spain, 250. English forces there called home, 296. peace between that Kingdom and England signed, 337. proclaimed, 339. debates about it, 352. the Spanish trade examined by the Lords, 365. the K. of Spain pretends to have numberless complaints against the Emperor, 504. ready to contend for the Crown of France, *ibid.* offended at the alliance between England and the Duke of Orleans, 505. great preparations made in Spain, 548. a great fleet fitted out to recover Sicily, 562. that fleet destroyed by the English, 568. the English Merchants in Spain secure their best effects, 567. are ill used, 570. several grievances upon them, 574. war declared by England against Spain, 581. and by France, 582. the Spanish Squadron fails from Cadiz for England, 583. Spain accedes to the Quadruple-alliance, 600, 605. makes overtures for a peace, 605. peace and alliance between Great-Britain and Spain, 649. taken into consideration in the House of Lords, 654. two treaties between Spain and the Emperor, 689. private treaty between them, 690. makes great preparations for war, 698, &c. the Spaniards cavil about the preliminaries, 710.

Spanheim, Baron, Ambassador from the K. of Prussia, III. 678. demands a reparation for the arrest of the Russian Ambassador, IV. 103. See also p. 117.
Sparta, Baron, in a plot to set the Pretender on the English Throne, IV. 506. extracts of his letters, 509, &c.
Spirbach, battle of, III. 622.
Spires burnt by the French, III. 103.
Sprat, Thomas, Bishop of Rochester, refuses to sign the Association, III. 322. did not think a Bishop could be deprived by the Archbishop, 523. his character, 529. his death and character, IV. 325.
Squadrons, or flying Squadrons in Scotland, III. 690. promoted the Union, 771. few of them are chosen Representatives in Parliament, 778. were against allowing some unreasonable debts, *ibid.*

Squadrons, three fitted out, IV. 697.
Stage; liberty of it scandalous, III. 391.
Stair, Lord, Secretary for Scotland, his letter about the *Glencoe* affair, III. 284. dismissed from his office, 285.
Stair, John Dalrymple Viscount, created an Earl, III. 604. heartily concurs in the Union, 737. was for the Union, 771. dies, 777.

Stair, John Dalrymple E. of, detached to provide corn for the army, IV. 87. ordered to sell his regiment, 346. sent Ambassador to France, 407. made one of the Lords of the Bed-chamber, *ibid.* sent Ambassador to Paris, 415. has several Conferences with Marquis de Torcy about *Mardyke*, *ibid.* chosen one of the sixteen Peers of Scotland, *ibid.* presents two memorials to the Court of France concerning the Pretender, 474.

Stamford, Thomas Grey E. of, made Commissioner of Trade, III. 792. his speech about the State of the Nation, IV. 40.

Standards taken at *Ramillies* carried to *Guild-Hall*, III. 780.

Standing Army; papers for and against it, III. 365. debates about one, IV. 552.

Stanhope Alexander, his proceedings at the Court of Madrid, III. 411, &c. 413. and at the Hague, 419, &c. 427, 433. his proposals to the Court of France for securing the Netherlands, 446. Ambassador to Holland, 541. his memorial to the States, 578.

Stanhope, James, made Secretary of State, IV. 404. lays before the House of Commons the papers relating to the late negotiations of peace and commerce, 420. supplies *R. Walpole's* place as Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, 421. impeaches the D. of Ormond of treason, 428. his letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor of Oxford, 442. communicates to the Privy-Council the informations the King had received of a Conspiracy, 506. he and Mr *Melbuen* write a circular letter upon the seizing of Count *Gyllenborg*, 507. made Chancellor of the Exchequer, 525. a quarrel had like to arise between him and *R. Walpole*, 534. created Baron *Elvaston*, and Viscount *Mahon*, 548. sent Ambassador to Spain, 549. made one of the Secretaries of State, and created an Earl, 562. delivers articles to the Court of Madrid, 574. gives the House of Lords an account of the treaties lately concluded, 576. moves for the repeal of the Test-act, 578. his answer to the Czar's memorial, 616. dies, 635.

Stanhope, Brigadier and afterwards General, taken prisoner with his regiment, III. 667. at the siege of *Barcelona*, 768. and at the taking of *Montjuic* fort, 709, &c. offers to furnish K. Charles with what he wanted, 754. Envoy Extraordinary to the K. of Spain, 763. had orders to go and seek the enemy, IV. 4. concludes a treaty of commerce with K. Charles, XII. frames a bill about the vassalage of the Clans in Scotland, 58. Commander in Chief of the Queen's forces in Spain, 94. forms the design of conquering *Minorca*, which he accomplishes, 95, &c. is for the bill for limiting the number of officers, 162. is surprized at *Brihuega*, 181. endeavours an exchange of prisoners, but continues confined to the end of the war, 213. writes against the treaty of commerce, 315. had a hand in the *British Merchant*, 316. moves for an address to the Queen, to press the D. of Lorraine to remove the Pretender out of his Dominions, 323. speaks in *R. Steele's* behalf, 343. endeavours to secure the Protestant Succession, 347. maintains that it was in danger, 354. speaks against the Schism-bill, 360, 363. dines with *L. Bolingbroke*, 368. receives particular marks of favour from K. George, 402. one of the Cabinet-Council, 404.

Stanhope, Colonel, the present E. of *Harlington*, Envoy Extraordinary to Madrid, IV. 566. causes several fires in the ports of *Biscay* to be destroyed, 570. presents several memorials to the Court of Spain, 581. Ambassador at Madrid, 691. the D. of *Ripperda* flies to his house for shelter, 698. his memorial upon that Duke's being taken by force out of his house, 699. leaves Madrid, 709.

Stanhope, Charles, great quantities of South-Sea stock given him, IV. 637. his name erased in the book, *ibid.* and 640. his case

taken into consideration by the House of Commons, 639. made Treasurer of the Chamber, 649.

Stanian, Abraham, Envoy Extraordinary to the Protestant Cantons, promotes the K. of Prussia's interest to the Principality of *Nimshchotel*, IV. 31.

Stanislaus Leszinski chosen K. of Poland, III. 669. crowned, 715. acknowledged K. of Poland, 763. forced to fly into Saxony, IV. 15. introduced to the D. of *Mariborough*, 16.

Staremburg, Guido de, commands the infantry at the battle of *Luzzara*, III. 567. his remarkable march, 623.

Staremburg, Count, sent to Spain, IV. 46. appointed Commander in Chief there, 93. the best General of the age for the defensive, 97. commands in Spain, 213. Torcy desires that Q. Anne should put a stop to his projects, 287.

States of Holland, their charges for K. William's expedition into England repaid, III. 54. 600,000 l. granted them, 98. treaties with them, 91, 102. their memorial upon Lewis the XIV's accepting of the K. of Spain's will, 429. pressed hard by him to declare themselves, 431. their memorial laid before the Parliament, 440. the French King's answer to them, 453. they refuse to treat but in conjunction with England, 454. their answer to K. William's speech, 481. and to the French King's memorial, 482. augment their army, and regard their fortifications, 484. alliance between them, Great-Britain, and Denmark, *ibid.* and between them, Great-Britain, and the Emperor, 487. in great conformation upon K. William's death, 540. Q. Anne's letter to them, 541. publish an answer to *de Barre's* memorial, 542. declare war against France, 546. conclude a treaty with Portugal, 624. some of the States were against sending an army to the *Mojelle*, 654. their Deputies do not consent, that the D. of *Mariborough* should attack the enemy in their posts, 702. the D. of *Bavaria* makes proposals to them for holding Conferences for a peace, 763. their Deputies have a Conference thereupon with the Ministers of the Allies, *ibid.* treaty between England and K. Charles how communicated to them, IV. 13. their memorial against the conquest of *Naples*, 22. give Q. Anne intelligence of the preparations made at *Dunkirk* for the Pretender, and concert measures for assisting her, 56. the Court of France makes proposals of peace to them, but the D. of *Mariborough* convinces them of the treacherous designs of that Court, 121. resolve to enter into no separate treaty, 122, &c. their resolution about *Petkum's* journey to France, and the paper he brought from thence, 147. do not approve of the offers of peace made by France, 164, &c. desire to have the D. of *Mariborough* sent over, 164. interpose in favour of that Duke, 190. their Deputies propose to hazard a battle with the French, 211. were against the siege of *Bouchain*, *ibid.* will not agree that *Queigny* should be besieged, 212. alarmed at the preliminaries of peace signed by the English, 224. the Emperor's letter to them, 225. the Imperial Plenipotentiaries present a memorial to them, *ibid.* were against opening a Congress, 226. barrier-treaty concluded with them, 240. the Commons pass several votes injurious to them, 242. write a letter to the Queen about the Barrier-Treaty, *ibid.* publish a memorial against the Commons representation, *ibid.* &c. their Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht*, 247. Q. Anne consents that they should have *Dendermond* and *Ghent*, 253. give Prince *Eugene* the supreme command of their army, 254. jealous of the English, 255. memorial of their Deputies upon the D. of Ormond's refusing to fight, 258. expostulate with Bishop *Robinson* upon it, 260. write a letter to the Queen upon that subject, *ibid.* and 269. the resolutions of the Commons about that letter, 272. resolve to entertain the auxiliaries in *British* pay, 274. assemble on the D. of Ormond's declaration about a cessation, 275. have a Conference with the E. of *Stratford* and Bp *Robinson*, but will not agree to a cessation, 277, 287, 290. take upon themselves the payment of most of the auxiliaries

in British pay, 287. propose a new scheme of a peace, 295. the E. of *Stafford* proposes to them a new plan, which they except of, 300, &c. they write a letter to Q. *Anne*, 302. her answer to it, 305, 306. their Plenipotentiaries sign the treaty of *Utrecht*, 311. the answer of the *States* to the E. of *Stafford*, concerning the conferences at *Radstadt*, 337. conclude a treaty with the Elector of *Hanover*, 347. called upon to be ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant Succession, 370. their letter to Q. *Anne*, June 5, 1712, 387. their answer to *Klingrafe's* memorial, 399. K. *George* thanks them for it, 400. a treaty concluded between them, K. *George*, and the D. of *Orleans*, 505. suspend their consent to the Quadruple Alliance, 564. accede to it, 565. K. *George* demands of them two thousand men upon the rumour of an invasion, which they fend, 583, 584. mediators of peace between *Spain*, &c. but K. *George* and the Emperor will not accept their mediation, 604. the Spanish Ambassador delivers to them a plan of peace, 605. accede to the treaty of *Hanover*, 699.

Steele, Richard, his reflections about *Dunkirk*, IV. 327. is chosen a Burgess for *Stockbridge*, and resigns his place of one of the Commissioners of the Stamp-duty, 335. publishes the *Crisis*, *ibid.* reflected upon in the Public Spirit of the Whigs, 340, &c. obnoxious to the Ministry, and complained of in the House of Commons, 342. his motion about *Dunkirk*, 343. his trial in the House of Commons, *ibid.* expelled, 345. offers a petition in behalf of the condemned Lords, 486.

Steenkirk, battle of, III. 208

Stetin given up to *Prussia*, IV. 615

Stevens, William, prosecuted for a pamphlet, III. 793

Stillingfleet, Edward, made Bp of *Worcester*, III. 105. talked of for the See of *Canterbury*, 260

Strum, Count, defeats the *Bavarians*, and takes *Newmark* and *Amberg*, III. 616. attacks and defeats the Marquis d'*Offon*, 621. mortally wounded at the battle of *Schellenberg*, 655

Storm; the dreadful one in 1703, III. 625

Stromont, Lord Viscount, letters sent to him by the Pretender, III. 768. brought prisoner to London, IV. 65

Strafford, Thomas Wentworth Lord Raby, created Viscount and E. of *Stafford*, and sent Ambassador to *Holland*, IV. 219. Mr *St John* communicates to him *France's* proposals of peace, *ibid.* his instructions communicated to the French Minister by Mr *St John*, 223. communicates the preliminaries of peace to the *States*, 224. is appointed Plenipotentiary for the peace of *Utrecht*, *ibid.* his letter to Captain *Desborough* relating to Prince *Eugene*, 236. comes to *Utrecht*, 247. his speeches at the Congress there, 248. is sent for to *England*, 253. goes to the *Hague*, and presses the *States* to come into the Queen's measures, 255. declares her intentions, and has a conference with Prince *Eugene*, *ibid.* his speech in Parliament about the negotiations at *Gertrudenberg*, 262. and on the plan of peace, 269. sent to the *Hague* to induce the *States* to accept the offers of *France*, 277. insists that the *States* should withdraw their forces from *Spain* and *Portugal*, *ibid.* goes to the D. of *Ormond's* army, 378. goes incognito to the French camp, to concert measures with Marshal *Villars*, 282. makes himself obnoxious to the Dutch by his haughty carriage, 290. the mob break his windows, and set up a wheel before his house, *ibid.* his letter to Mr *Prior*, 291. refuses to sign the treaty of *Utrecht*, without the cession of *Tournoy* to the *States*, 293. comes to *England*, 295. various conjectures about his coming, *ibid.* returns to *Holland*, 300. proposes a new plan of peace to the *States*, *ibid.* &c. goes incognito to *Amsterdam*, and has several conferences with the leading Magistrates, 301. scruples to sign a separate peace, 309. signs it at last, 310. infallible Knight of the Garter, 328. speaks to the Deputies of the *States* about the conferences of *Radstadt*, 337. and about the barrier in the *Netherlands*, 338. was First Commissioner of

the Admiralty, 394. notifies to the *States* the Queen's death, and the accession of K. *George* to the Throne, 399. accompanies the Princes of *Wales* to *Rotterdam*, 406. returns to *England*, and has his papers seized, 415. is impeached, 429. the articles against him carried up to the House of Lords, 434. his speech in the debate about the Mutiny-bill, 557, 558. about an address, 576

Strasbourg; the French offer to restore that place, IV. 126, 129, 163. was to be restored to the Emperor, 302, 310

Strickland, Sir William, proposes to attain the E. of *Oxford*, IV. 545

Stuart Family, descended from King *Robert II*, by his concubine *Elizabeth Mure*, III. 2

Subsidy to Sweden, IV. 647

Succession in the House of *Hanover*; K. *William's* speech about it, III. 438. address of the Lords thereupon, 441. the first vote about it, 442. heads of the bill of Succession, 443. that bill passed, 445. protested against by the Dukes of *Savoy*, *ibid.* a clause in a bill making it high-treason to endeavour to defeat the Succession, 583. the same enacted in *Ireland*, 610. declared in *Scotland*, 648. debates about it, 650, 689, &c. address of thanks from the Commons about the Succession, 719

Sugar Islands belonging to the English ravaged by the French, IV. 293

Sunderland, Robert Spencer E. of, embraces Popery, III. 20. persuades K. *James* to use gentle methods, *ibid.* advises him not to accept an army offered him by the French King, 21. excepted out of the Indemnity, 132. gains credit with K. *William*, 237. is the cause of L. *Sommers* and Sir *John Trenchard's* promotion, *ibid.* is a great confidant of the King, and persuades him to change his Ministry, 252. brings about a reconciliation between the King and Prince *Anne*, 263. was for the Land-Bank, 322. made Lord Chamberlain, and Privy-Counsellor, 350. resigns his places and retires from business, 368. his wife Administration, *ibid.* his order against Play-houses, 391. sent Envoy extraordinary to the Emperor *Joseph*, 704, 705. made Secretary of State, but against Queen *Anne's* will, 702, 793. some of his letters to the E. of *Manchester*, about the expedition to *Naples*, IV. 21, 24. his letter to General *Stanhope*, 97. supports the Dukes of *Hamilton*, *Montros*, and *Roxburgh*, 110. speaks at Dr *Sacheverel's* trial, 161. dismissed from his place of Secretary, 163, 189. his removal inserted in the French Gazette, 190. his letters to General *Stanhope* about the war in *Spain*, 197, 198, 200. his speech in Parliament about the preliminaries of peace, 228. his Countess resigns her place of Lady of the Bed-chamber, 234. his speech about the Union, 318. moves for a second address about removing the Pretender out of *Lorraine*, 323, 348. his speech about the *Catalans*, 347. and on the Schism-bill, 362. received with great favour by K. *George*, 402. made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 404. insulses jealousies in the King of the L. *Townshend*, and R. *Walpole*, 503. appointed sole Treasurer of *Ireland*, 504

Sunderland, Charles Spencer E. of, made Secretary of State, IV. 525. appointed President of the Council, and First Commissioner of the Treasury, 562. was against repealing the Test, 578. had promoted the difference in the Royal Family, 609. stock given him, 637. the House of Commons take that affair into consideration, 640, &c. resigns the place of First Commissioner of the Treasury, 641. his death and character, 657

Supplies granted for the war, III. 92. a supply of two millions voted, 112. of four millions, 160. of above three millions for the fleet and army, 190, &c. of above five millions, 226, &c. 231. of five millions and a half, 249. of almost five millions, 259. of above seven millions for the year 1709, IV. 108

Surman, Robert, Deputy-Cashier of the South-Sea, examined by the Lords, IV. 633. his papers seized, and himself ordered to be taken into custody, 634. the allowance made him, 643, 644

Suspension of arms between *England* and *France*, IV. 265. articles for it signed, 266. another suspension proclaimed at *Paris*, 687.

Sutherland, John Sutherland E. of, elected one of the sixteen Peers of *Scotland*, IV. 415. his speech in Parliament, 431. shews his zeal against the Rebellion, 438. advances to attack the E. of *Seaford*, 418. the Marquis of *Huntly*, and the E. of *Seaford* capitulate with him, 468

Suza taken, III. 154

Sweden, Charles XI. and XII. King of, III. 352. alliance between *Sweden* and *France*, 385. a league formed against K. *Charles XII.* 410. peace between him and *Denmark*, 411. makes a descent in *Zealand*, *ibid.* defeats the *Muskovites* at *Narva*, 438. routs the *Poles* and becomes master of their camp, 486. See *Charles XII.* attacked by the *Czar*, IV. 183. a manifesto published there against *Denmark*, 184. the *Swedes* land in *Rügen*, 214. defeat the *Danes*, 308, &c. enter *Mecklenburg*, *ibid.* are defeated, 309. bill to prohibit commerce with *Sweden*, 519. Treaty between *England* and that Kingdom, 522. the British ships confiscated there, *ibid.* supply against *Sweden*, *ibid.* and 525. debate in the House of Commons about the trade with *Sweden*, 561. peace between *Sweden* and *England*, and a treaty of alliance, 588. gives up *Bremen* and *Verden* to the Elector of *Hanover*, 614. guarantee the succession to the Crown of Great-Britain, *ibid.* gives up some places to the King of *Prussia*, 615. has some restored by *Denmark*, *ibid.* subsidy to that Court, 647. peace between *Sweden* and *Muscovy*, 650, and 674. accedes to the treaty of *Hanover*, 699, 795

Swift, Jonathan, account of him, IV. 221. goes over to the Tories, *ibid.* his Fable of the Widow and her Cat, 240. writes against the Barrier-Treaty, 241. his band-box plot, 297. made Dean of *St Patrick's*, 325. writes *The publick spirit of the Whigs*, 340. censured by the Lord-Treasurer, 341, 342. reflected upon, 362. a packet directed to him, seized, for which he absconds, 425. his verses about *Wood's* half-pence, 676

Sword-Blade Company stop payments, IV. 627

Synods of Glasgow, Air, &c. animate persons of all ranks to the defence of K. *George* and the Constitution, IV. 448

Syracuse blocked up by the *Spaniards*, IV. 570. Admiral *Bing* put in there, *ibid.*

T.

TAFFE, alias *Thomas O Mullen*, discovers the *Lancashire* plotters, III. 265, 266. his character, 266. disguised and turns against the Court, *ibid.*

Tajniere's, battle of, *Blaregnies*, or *Malplaque*, IV. 136, &c.

Talbot, William, made Dean of *Worcester*, III. 173. Bishop of *Oxford*; his speech at Dr *Sacheverel's* trial, IV. 157. translated to *Salisbury*, 419

Tallard, Count, comes Ambassador from *France* to *England*, III. 380. waits upon K. *William* in *Holland*, 383. formed a party in *England* against the Partition-Treaty, 471

Tallard, Marshal de, his presumption at the battle of *Hochstet*, III. 658. taken prisoner, 659. brought to *England*, and sent to *Nottingham*, 677. corresponds with *France*, IV. 47. obtains leave to go to *France*, 223

Talmash, Thomas, General, at the siege of *Athlone*, III. 175. and battle of *Aughrim*, 178. his resolute behaviour, 179. at the siege of *Limerick*, 180. made Lieutenant-General of the foot, 195. commands the regiments of foot, that were sent over from *Holland*, 200. of the Court-Marshal to try *Grandvaux*, 210. named by the House of Commons as a person fit to command the foot, 223. his bravery at the battle of *Landen*, 240. wounded at the attempt upon *Brest*, and dies, 254

Tankerville, Ford Grey, Lord, made Lord Privy-Seal, III. 437

Tarbot, George Mackenzie, Lord, Viscount, made Secretary of State, III. 595. created Earl of *Cremarty*, 604

Tariff, IV. 295, 302, 303, 307, 314, 320

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

- Tax* on marriages, births, and burials, III. 259
- Temple*, Sir Richard, moves to pay the forces abroad by fending over *English* manufactures, III. 225. defeats the *French* guards, and takes their baggage, IV. 72. his regiment attacks a party of *French*, 82. removed from his command of a regiment of Dragoons, 311. created Baron of *Cobham*, and appointed Envoy to the Court of *Vienna*, 407
- Tennison*, *Thomas*, made Bishop of *Lincoln*, III. 194. translated to *Canterbury*, 260. preaches *Q. Mary's* Funeral Sermon, 264. made one of the Lords-Judices, 280. attends *K. William* in his last moments, 306. dispute between him and the Lower House of Convocation, about the power of adjourning, 525, &c. his speech in the Convocation, 646. refuses to receive the form of addresses, sent up by the Lower House of Convocation, 733. prorogues the Convocation, 734. brings in a bill for the security of the Church of *England*, 782. receives two letters from the Queen, ordering him to prorogue the Convocation, 793, 795. a protestation prepared against him by the Convocation, *ibid.*
- Teffe*, Marshal *de*, the *French* King's Ambassador-Extraordinary to the Pope, IV. 100
- Teffe*, Sacramental, *K. William* endeavours to have it taken away, III. 45, 512. offered in 1673, 519. a letter against it passed to be burnt, by the Commons, IV. 120
- Telf* and Corporation acts, remarks on them made in Parliament, IV. 578, 579
- Thanel*, *Thomas* *Tufton*, Earl of, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 590. his speech in the debates about the Union, 786
- Thaun*, Count, conquers *Naples*, IV. 22, &c. prepares to march over Mount *Cenis*, and takes *Anunci*, 140. takes upon him the command of the Confederates, 175
- Thelfe*, Marshal *de*, at the siege of *Barcelona*, III. 752. sent to cover *France* on the side of *Toulon*, IV. 4
- Thifflie*, order of the, revived, III. 604
- Thomand*, *Henry* *Obrian*, Earl of, created Viscount *Tadcaster*, IV. 407
- Thomson*, Sir *John*, created Baron of *Harwicham*, III. 326, 327
- Thompson*, Sir *William*, Recorder of *London*, tries the Rebels, IV. 489. speech for the Septennial-bill, 495. added to the Secret Committee, 541. his speech at the Earl of *Oxford's* trial, 543. and on the repeal of the schism act, 581. quarrel between him and Mr *Lechmere*, 610
- Thorn*; account of the persecution there, IV. 682
- Tillofsen*, *J. J. J.*, employed in the review of the Liturgy, III. 107. designed for Prolocutor of the Convocation, but not chosen, 109. made Archbishop of *Canterbury*, 173. his character, *ibid.* and 260. dies, *ibid.* pension granted to his widow, *ibid.*
- Tilly*, Count, plunders *Picardy*, IV. 80. becomes Commander in Chief of the Dutch troops, 87. passes the *Scheld* to relieve *Brussels*, 89. all the confederate troops are left under his command, 93. at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 137. at the taking of *Doway*, 170, &c.
- Tindol*, Dr *Matthew*, his 'Rights of the Christian Church' burnt, IV. 161
- Tircinnal*, *Richard* *Talbot*, Earl of, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, promotes Popery in that Kingdom, III. 77. turns all the Protestant Officers out of the army, and puts Papists in their room, *ibid.* gives out Commissions for levying thirty thousand men, *ibid.* uses the Protestants with great severity, 80. made a Duke, *ibid.* fails from *Ireland* into *France* with *K. James*, 138, 145. his papers taken, and treasonable practices found there, 146. returns to *Ireland* and goes back to *France*, 152. returns to *Ireland* with some provisions, 174. dies in *Limerick*, 179
- Tythes*; act for the more easy recovery of small tythes, III. 323
- Toland*, *John*, his *Christianity not myftrict* censured, III. 527. his *Dunkirk or Dover*, IV. 327. his *Art of restoring*, 336. formerly employed by the Lord-Treasurer, *ibid.* his *Reasons and Necessities of the Duke of Cambridge's* coming over, 357
- Toleration*; the Presbyterians irreconcilable enemies to it, III. 11. bill of Tolera-
- tion presented to the Parliament, 44. passed, 48. one passed by *K. James* in *Ireland*, 88. the Independents for it, and the Presbyterians against it, 515. hated by many of the Clergy, 524
- Torcy*, Marquis *de*, comes to *Holland* to negotiate a peace, IV. 120, 123. desires passes for some Ministers from *France* to *Holland*, but is refused, 144, 145. writes some letters to the D. of *Marlborough*, 145, 146. his papers sent by *Petkum*, 146. sends another project to *Petkum* for a peace, 163. transmits to *England* new proposals of peace, 219, 221. his memorial, 252. his answer to *Gaultier's* memorial, 263. letters between Mr *St John* about the King of *Spain's* renunciation, 264, &c. his answer to Lord *Bolingbroke's* memorial, 303. his letter to *d'Iverville*, 398. his paper to Mr *Prior* about the Pretender, 411
- Tongerens* described, III. 618. taken by the *French*, *ibid.* they abandon it, *ibid.*
- Tories*; beginning of that name and party, III. 15. were for passive obedience, &c. 17. did not favour Popery nor Arbitrary Power, *ibid.* depart from the doctrine of passive obedience, 20. in some respects become Whigs, *ibid.* join with the Whigs in inviting over the Prince of *Orange*, 21. adhere to the divine unalienable Hereditary Right of Kings, 25. moderate and rigid Tories, 26. beget in *K. William* jealousies of the Whigs, 52. displaced, and were against carrying on the war, 252. press hard upon the E. of *Sunderland*, 368. the old *East-India* Company falls into their hands, 370. in the Administration, 398. endeavour the removal of *Lord Somers* and others of the Ministry, 403. send a proposal to *K. James* to have the Pretender put into the Succession, 421. seem zealous for the bill of Succession, 442, &c. find fault with the Partition-Treaty, 447. are against the Abjuration act, 501. pretend great zeal for the Princess of *Denmark*, 502. were greatly in *Q. Anne's* favour, 538. oppose the taking away the first-fruits, and tenths, 642. were for inviting over the Princess *Sophia*, 719. oppose the act of Regency, 721. are against Pensioners and Place-men sitting in the House of Commons, 722. gain great advantage by *Dr Sacheverel's* trial, IV. 185. reflect upon the Emperor and the Dutch for interposing in the Duke of *Marlborough's* favour, 190. a new combination among them, 201. many of them dislike the peace, 273. propose a million for the Civil-List for *K. George*, 396. afraid of being turned out of their places, 402. were engaged in dangerous practices, *ibid.* why disliked by *K. George*, 404. sacrificed to his resentment, and that of the Allies, *ibid.* pretend that the Pretender's manifesto was a contrivance of the Whigs, 411. publish a circular letter about the election of the sixteen *Scotch* Peers, 415. about a third part of them in the House of Commons, 1714-15, 419. their debates about the Civil-List, 422. about pensions, 423. and regulating the land-forces, *ibid.* endeavour to put off the consideration of the report of the Committee of Secrecy, 426
- Torrington*, *Arthur* *Herbert*, E. of, accused of treachery and cowardice, at the battle off *Beachy-head*, III. 139, 141. is sent to the *Tower*, 142. tried and acquitted, 144. the King is offended at his acquittal, and takes away his Commission, 145
- Torrington*, *Edward* *Herbert*, Earl of, his reflections on the E. of *Nottingham's* account of the conspiracy, III. 638
- Torrington*, *Arthur* *Herbert*, Lord, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 525
- Torrington*, *George* *Dyng*, Lord Viscount, motion for an address to have his instructions laid before the House of Lords, IV. 654
- Toulon*, besieged by the Allies, IV. 21, 25. the siege raised, 26. remarks upon that expedition, 27, &c.
- Toulusse*, Count of, blocks up *Barcelona* by sea, III. 752. leaves it, *ibid.*
- Tourney*; a description of that place, IV. 133. besieged, *ibid.* taken, 134, &c. the *French* King refuses to ratify the articles for the surrender of the Citadel, 135. it surrenders at last, *ibid.* the *French* demand the restitution of it, 291, &c. made part of the barrier, 501
- Tourville*, Monsieur *de*, ordered by King *Louis* to seek out and engage the *English* fleet, III. 201. defeated at *la Hogue*, *ibid.* commands the *French* fleet, 242
- Townshend*, *Charles*, Lord Viscount, attends the D. of *Marlborough* to *Holland*, IV. 121. as Ambassador-Extraordinary, 124. his character, *ibid.* has a conference with the Dutch Ambassadors, 165, 168. delivers a memorial to the States, 169. makes the Barrier-Treaty with the States, 240, 242. his speeches about the Union, 318. and against the Schism-bill, 362. received with great favour by *K. George*, 402. made one of the Principal Secretaries of State, 404. his message to the Duke of *Lorraine's* Minister, 410. entertains Mr *Prior* with several Noblemen at dinner, 418. a letter of his to the D. of *Argyle* intercepted by the Rebels, 449. removed from the office of Secretary of State, 503. resigns his place of Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, 523. is against the Peerage-bill, 586. admitted to kiss the King's hand, 317. made President of the Council, and one of the Lords-Judices in the King's absence, *ibid.* appointed Secretary of State, 649. his letter to the Lord Mayor of *London* about the plot, 659
- Townshend*, *Charles*, created Baron of *Lynn-Regis*, IV. 637
- Trade*, Council of, voted, III. 310. endeavours to retlecte the trade between *England* and *France*, 380
- Traerbach*; the *French* imagined the D. of *Marlborough* intended to besiege that place, III. 654. besieged and taken by the Allies, 662
- Trant*, Sir *Patrick*, Commissioner of the Irish revenues, IV. 135
- Treaty*; a private one between *K. James* and the K. of *France*, III. 13. another secret treaty between them, 80. between *England* and *Holland* for a joint-fleet, 91. another treaty between them, 102. between *England* and *Denmark*, *ibid.* of peace at *Ryswick*, 351, &c. between *France* and the Emperor, 363. of Partition, 384. the second treaty of Partition, 407. See *Partition*. Treaties of the Grand Alliance laid before the Commons, 501. treaty between *England*, *Portugal* and *Holland*, 623, &c. between *England* and *Prussia*, 678. draught of an act for a treaty between *England* and *Scotland*, 692, 695. of peace between *England* and *Spain* signed, IV. 339. taken into consideration by the House of Lords, 352, 365. extracts of it, 391, 408. of peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*, 400. barrier-treaty, 408. treaty between *Great-Britain* and *Denmark*, 424. between *England*, *Spain*, and the D. of *Orleans*, 499. between *England*, *Holland*, and the same Duke, 505. with the Emperor, 508
- Treaty of Commerce* between *K. Charles* and *England*, IV. 12. how discovered to the Dutch, 13. treaties of peace and commerce brought to *England*, and ratified by *Q. Anne*, 311. motion in the House of Commons to address her to communicate them to that House, 313. laid before the Parliament, 314. the substance of them, *ibid.* and 390. taken into consideration by the House of Lords, 345, 352. debates thereupon, 352. account of these treaties laid before the Commons, 353. new treaty of commerce between *England* and *Spain*, 508
- Treaty* between the Emperor and the King of *Sicily*, IV. 563. between *England* and *Sweden*, 588, 614. between *Sweden* and *Prussia*, 615. between *England* and *Denmark*, 617, 618
- Treaty* of peace between *Great-Britain* and *Spain*, IV. 649. between the *Moor* and *England*, 651. private treaty between the Emperor and *Spain*, which alarms *K. George*, 660. of *Hanover*, *ibid.* debates in Parliament about it, 692. of *Seville*, 711. of *Vienna*, *ibid.*
- Treby*, Sir *George*, made Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, III. 193
- Trelawny*, Sir *Jonathan*, Bishop of *Exeter*, opposes the rest of the Bishops in Convocation, III. 529. translated to *Winchester*, IV. 36
- Trenchard*, Sir *John*, made Secretary of State, III. 237. his character, *ibid.* dies, 280. author of an argument against Standing Armies, 365
- Trenchard*,

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

Trenchard, John, one of the Trustees for the forfeited estates in Ireland, III. 607
Treves taken by the French, III. 565
Trevoir, Sir *John*, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, III. 126. his character, *ibid.* made Fifth Commissioner of the Great Seal, 132. made a Privy-Counsellor, 163. and Master of the Rolls, 236. concerned in corrupting the Members of the House of Commons, 268. expelled the House of Commons for corruption, 269, &c. 276. the Commons design to impeach him, 280
Trevoir, Sir *Thomas*, made Solicitor-General, III. 236. made a Baron, IV. 254. his speech about the Union, 318. speaks against setting a price on the Pretender's head, 350. not sent for into K. *George's* Bed-chamber, 401. removed, 412. is against the Septennial-bill, 490, 491. presents the Earl of *Oxford's* petition, 541. was for the bill against Blasphemy, 647. made Lord Privy-Seal, 646
Triennial Parliaments; act for them repealed, IV. 499, &c.
Triers; the fortifications of it blown up by the Imperialists, III. 699. seized by the French, *ibid.*
Trimmel, *Charles*, made Bishop of *Norwich*, IV. 37, 38. his speech at Dr *Sacheverel's* trial, 158
Trinidad taken and burnt by the English, III. 532
Trinity; complaint of books against it, III. 374. disputes about it, IV. 412. directions given by the King concerning it, 413, &c. dispute between the Dissenters about it, 607. K. *George's* directions about it, 646
Trinity College, *Dublin*; five thousand pounds given for building a library there, IV. 216
Triple Alliance, IV. 508
Tripoli and Tunis, the peace between those places and England renewed, III. 613
Trumbull, Sir *William*, advises K. *William* to send a fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to ruin the French trade with *Turkey*, III. 214. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 253. made Secretary of State, 280. his character, *ibid.* &c. chosen one of the representatives for the University of *Oxford*, 302. one of the Lords of the Treasury, 310
Tullibardine, *William Murray* Marquis of, engaged in the Pretender's service, IV. 437. joins the rest of the Rebels, 446. at the battle of *Dumbarton*, 460. forced to leave the E. of *Mary*, in order to cover his own Country, 464. bill to attain him, 483. lands in *Scotland*, 584. escapes, *ibid.*
Tumult in *Edinburgh* and other places on account of the Union, III. 774
Turkme, Prince of, killed at the battle of *Stenkirke*, III. 209
Turin threatened with a siege by the French, III. 705. besieged by the French, 75, &c. description of that place, *ibid.* the siege raised, 759
Turks defeated by the Imperialists, III. 187, 188, &c. and at *Zenta*, 363. peace between them and the Emperor, 385. a Revolution among them, and a new Sultan set up, 669. promise the Emperor not to assist the *Hungarians*, *ibid.* declare war against *Moscow*, IV. 184. peace between them, 214. *Charles XII.* endeavours to kindle a new war between them and the *Czar*, 309. defeated before *Corfu*, 502. defeated by Pr. *Eugene*, 548. invade the *Venetian* territories, *ibid.* peace between them and the Emperor, 565. the Emperor complains that the Courts of *Great-Britain* and *France* had endeavoured to stir up the *Turks* against him, 705
Turner, *Francis*, Bp of *Elm*, enters into a plot to restore K. *James*, III. 166. proclamation for apprehending him, 171
Turner, Sir *Charles*, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 617
Tuscan Dominions; pretensions of the Imperial and Spanish Courts to them, IV. 504
Tuscany, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, to be settled on the Q. of *Spain's* eldest son, IV. 549, 563, 605
Tweedale, *John Hay* Marquis of, made Lord-Chancellor of *Scotland*, III. 194, 245.

the King's Commissioner there, 281. his character, *ibid.* his speech to the Parliament, 282. dismissed, 309. one of the Leaders of the Country-party in *Scotland*, 596. made High-Commissioner, 648. his speech in Parliament about the Succession, 649, &c. on passing the act of Supply, 651, &c. is made Lord-Chancellor, 652. excuses himself from serving as High-Commissioner, 676. removed from being Lord-Chancellor, 689. presents to Parliament the draught of an answer to the Queen's letter, 692. was for the Union, 771
Two and a half per cent. allowed to the D. of *Mariborough*, by the Princes who had troops in Q. *Anne's* service, censured by the Commons, IV. 239, 240

V.

Valencia, campaign there, III. 711, &c. most of the towns there declare for K. *Charles*, 712. in a Council of war held there, it is resolved to act offensively, IV. 4
Vanbrugh, Sir *John*, draws the plan of *Blenheim-House*, III. 678
Vanderbeck, Major-General, commands the Dutch forces sent against the Rebels, IV. 418
Vanderdussen, Monsieur, Pensioner of *Gouda*, has conferences with the French Commissioners about a peace, IV. 122, &c. 164. one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht*, 247. his smart saying to *Polignac*, about the French Protestants in the *Low-Countries*, 251
Vane, *William*, created Baron and Viscount, IV. 617
Vaudemont, Prince of, Commander in Chief of the Confederates infantry, III. 288. his famous retreat, 291. he is thanked by K. *William* for it, 292. burns the French magazines at *Givet*, 326
Vaudois; their transactions in *Savoy*, III. 152, 185, 187. restored, 217. (217.) establishes a fund for maintaining Preschers and Schoolmasters among them, *ibid.*
Venant, St. taken, IV. 175
Vendôme, D. of, relieves *Mantua*, III. 566. sent to join the Elector of *Bavaria* in *Tirol*, is forced to return back, 620. takes several places in *Savoy*, 668. has an engagement with Prince *Eugene*, 705. sent to command in *Flanders*, 751. fixes himself in a strong camp, *ibid.* the D. of *Mariborough* follows him, but cannot bring him to an engagement, IV. 19. appointed to serve under the D. of *Burgundy*, 68. at variance with him, 74, 79. defeated at the battle of *Oudenard*, but makes a good retreat, 74, 76. takes *Liffingham*, 86. surprises a body of *English* at *Brihuega*, 180. defeated at *Villavieja*, *ibid.* takes possession of *Sarragozza*, 182. attacks several places in *Spain*, but to no purpose, 213
Venice; Ambassadors from thence have an audience, III. 792. forbid the Court, IV. 65. their Dominions invaded by the *Turks*, 548
Vento taken, III. 563
Vernon, *James*, made Secretary of State, III. 378. the E. of *Portland's* letter to him about the Partition-Treaty, 383. he sends to the Lord *Sommers*, *ibid.* lays before the House of Commons all the papers relating to the Partition-Treaty, 457. made one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, 545
Vernon, *George*, Lord *Willoughby*, brings in a bill for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness, IV. 646
Vienna, Court of, proceeds with its usual slowness, III. 624. IV. 46. influenced by jesuitical Councils, and French money, 371
Vigo; Spanish Gallies and French fleet destroyed there, III. 570
Villars, *Marshall*, sent to reduce the *Cevennois*, III. 668. made a Duke, and the chief dependance of *Louis XIV.* 697. retires at the D. of *Mariborough's* approach, 698. takes part of the garrison of *Croon Wessenberg* prisoners, 703. demolishes the walls of that town, *ibid.* passes the *Rhine*, and makes a great progress in *Germany*, IV. 13. designs to restore the Elector of *Bavaria* to his Dominions, 14. repasses the *Rhine*, *ibid.* called the fortunate General, and commands in

Dauphiné, 193. sent to command in *Flanders*, 133. wounded at the battle of *Malplaquet*, 148. unadvisedly weakens the garrison of *Tournay*, 133. endeavours to raise the siege of *Doway*, 171. attacks the foragers of the Allies, 174, 175. baffled that his lines were impregnable, 210. and yet they are surprised by the D. of *Mariborough*, *ibid.* Villars reflected upon for it, 211. a favourite of *Madam de Maintenon*, 212. declares a suspension of arms, 282. forms the design of passing himself or the camp of *Denain*, 283. his letter to the D. of *Ormond* about the action there, 287
Villa-Franca taken by the French, III. 184
Villavieja, battle of, IV. 181
Villeroi *Marthal* de, General of the French, bombards *Brussels*, III. 295. taken prisoner by Prince *Eugene* at *Cremona*, 486. ordered to march into *Wirttemberg*, and destroy that country, 657. approaches near *Landau*, but does nothing, 662. hinders the Elector of *Bavaria* from surprising General *Aurququerque*, 663. besieges *Liege*, 698. receives positive orders from the French King to fight the Allies, 744. flies to *Louvain* after the defeat at *Ramillies*, 749. sent to command in *Dauphiné*, IV. 68
Villers, *Charlotte*, afterwards Lady *Orkney*, an enemy to the Countess of *Mariborough*, III. 196
Villars, *Edward*, Viscount, one of the Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Ryswick*, III. 350. made one of the Lords-Justices of *Ireland*, *ibid.* and E. of *Jersey*, and sent Ambassador to *France*, 379. See *Jersey*.
Vindication of the Bishop of *Exeter*, IV. 556
Viviani, Marquis of, passes the *Rhine*, and defeats the *Germans*, IV. 13. defeated by them, 14
Vivica *Elisavira*, Queen of *Sweden*, makes peace with *England*, IV. 588. gets her husband, *Fredrick* Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, elected K. of *Sweden*, 619
Vunderdown, Captain, his expedition to the *West-Indies*, IV. 30
Union of *England* and *Scotland*, bill for it, III. 550. Commissioners to treat about it, 555, &c. their proceedings, 558. the Commission made void by Parliament, 603. the beginning of that Union, 689, &c. treaty for that Union, 692, 695. a clause offered by the D. of *Hamilton* about it, 695. he moves that the nomination of officers should not be left wholly to the Queen, 696. the Union recommended by the Queen in her speech, 718. address of the Commons thereupon, 719. proceedings about the Union, 734. Commissioners appointed for it, 737, &c. the articles of the Union, 741, &c. presented to the Queen, 739. the *Cavaliers* in *Scotland* resolve to oppose the ratification of it, 776. the Nobility there suffered a great diminution by it, *ibid.* a powerful party in *Scotland* against it, 770. promoted by the Nobility, *ibid.* and by the *Squadrons*, *ibid.* and 771. debates about it, 771, &c. protests against it, *ibid.* and 772, &c. addresses against it, 774. tumults in *Edinburgh* and other places, on account of the same, *ibid.* it is completed, 777. Commissioners for it rewarded, *ibid.* debates in the House of Lords concerning it, 781. the Queen's speech concerning the Union, *ibid.* &c. the articles of it presented to the House of Commons, 782. debates there about the Union, *ibid.* and again in the House of Lords, 783. bill for enacting it, 787. passed, 788. protests against it, *ibid.* ill use designed to be made of the 4th and 6th articles of the Union, *ibid.* &c. congratulatory addresses upon the Union, 791. and IV. 33. resolution of the Commons, for making the Union more complete, 43. which articles of the Union are alterable, 238. the *Scots* move for an act to dissolve it, 317, &c. petition signed at *Edinburgh* for that purpose, 328. attacked in the public spirit of the *Whigs*, 341. the great good of it, and why so earnestly desired by K. *William*, 394. addresses set on foot in *Scotland* for dissolving the Union, 412. endeavours for a Remonstrance against the Union, 416, 422

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

- United Provinces*; account of their Government, III. 31, &c. barrier for them, 766
- Universities* for the prerogative, and passive obedience, III. 2, 16. act for vesting in them the presentations to Papists Livings, 98. the leading men there jealous of K. William, 105. the Universities propagate the notion of the Church's being in danger, 715
- University of Dublin*, the Fellows and Scholars of it ejected by K. James, III. 88
- Voltaire*, Monsieur de, his account of the D. of Marlborough's negotiations with Baron Gortz, IV. 15. his account of the D. of Marlborough's and the K. of Sweden's interview, 16
- Votes of Credit*, wherein different from clauses of appropriation, IV. 707
- Urfini* Princes, her interest espoused by the British Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, IV. 310. the States regard for her, 337. Q. Anne obliges herself to procure Limberg for her, 392. to be put in possession of that Duchy, *ibid.* account of her, *ibid.*
- Uloom* Island given to the K. of Prussia, IV. 615
- Utrecht*; Conferences for a peace there, IV. 224. the treaty there opened, 247. See *Treaty, Peace, and France*. Summary of the proceedings there, 253, &c. 302, &c. the treaty signed, 310, &c. See *Treaties and Peace*.
- W.
- Wade*, Captain Cooper, his cowardice, III. 593. tried and shot for it, *ibid.* and 594
- Wade*, Brigadier, assists at the conquest of Minorca, IV. 95, &c. acts in Spain, 178, &c. marches to Bath with some forces, 442. puts a guard upon Count Gyllenberg, and seizes his papers, 507. in the expedition to Fige, 604. quells the riot at Glasgow, 687. disarms the Highlanders, 688
- Wager*, Charles, destroys some Spanish galleons, IV. 101. made Rear-Admiral of the Red, 143. made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, 562. fails with a Squadron to Russia, 697. returns to England, 698. fails to the relief of Gibraltar, 709
- Wagery*; bill to prevent them, IV. 118
- Wake*, Dr William, his state of the Church and Clergy of England, III. 646. made Bp of Lincoln, 687. made Lord Almoner, IV. 452. Archbishop of Canterbury, is against repealing the Schism-act, 579. had protested against passing that same act, 581. presents an address to the King upon his return, 605, 606. is against the Quakers-bill, 655
- Walcouris*, battle of, III. 103
- Waldeck*, Prince, defeated at the battle of Florus, III. 155, &c. commands the Confederate army in Flanders, 182, &c.
- Walden*, Henry Howard Lord, made Com-missary-General of the Musters, III. 572. created Baron of Chylerford and E. of Bindon, 780, 781
- Wales*, Court of Marches there abolished, III. 98
- Walker*, Sir Houenden, commands the Squadron in the Canada expedition, IV. 215
- Wallop*, John, made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, IV. 525. created Baron Wallop and Viscount Lymington, 617
- Walmsley*, Mr, his house the head quarters for the plotters against K. William, III. 199
- Walpole*, Robert, moves for a resumption of the grants made in K. James's Reign, III. 587. made Secretary at war, IV. 67. censured, on account of the forage, 239. writes and speaks against the treaty of peace, 315. in behalf of R. Steele, 343, 344. his speech to prove the Succession in danger, 354. speaks against the Schism-bill, 360. proposes to have the Toleration act extended to Ireland, 363. moves for making good to K. George all Parliamentary funds, 395. made Receiver and Pay-Master-General of the guards and garrisons, and other forces in Great-Britain, and Pay-Master to Chelsea Hospital, and Privy-Counsellor, 404. chosen Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, 421. draws up the Report, 426. carries up to the House of Lords the articles of impeachment against the L. Bolingbroke, 434.
- Vol. IV.
- the E. of Sunderland infuses jealousies of him into the King, 503. thought to be in a good disposition for the Swedish invasion, 518. resigns his places, 523. a quarrel had like to arise between him and Mr Stanhope, 534. was against allowing more than 12000 men for a standing army, 553. votes for the Mutiny-bill, 557. brings about a reconciliation between the King and the Prince of Wales, 617. taken again into favour, *ibid.* made Pay-Master-General of the forces, *ibid.* how far concerned in the Bank-Contract, 625. his scheme for restoring the public credit, 631. made First Commissioner of the Treasury, 641, 649. one of the Lords-Justices, and acts as Secretary of State, 673. opposes the L. Bolingbroke's pardon, 674, 685. created Knight of the Bath and of the Garter, 687. negotiates a Convention between England and Spain, 710, &c.
- Walpole*, Robert, junior, son of the preceding, created a Peer, IV. 673
- Walpole*, Horace, speaks in favour of R. Steele, IV. 344. moves for the payment of the arrears due to the Hanover troops, 396. made Secretary of the Treasury, 649. sent Ambassador to France, 679. had orders to interpose in favour of the Protestants, 681
- Walsh*, Mr, some lines of his golden age, III. 574
- Walton*, Sir George, fails to the Ballick, IV. 697
- War* declared against France by the diet of Ratisbon, the United-Provinces, Spain, England, &c. III. 88, 90. declared against France and Spain, by England, the Emperor, and the States-General, 541, &c. the expenses of it for the twelve last years before the peace of Utrecht amounted to above sixty-eight millions and a half, IV. 353. war declared against Spain, 581
- Warnton* seized by the French and abandoned again, IV. 133
- Warwick*, Edward Rich E. of, tried for murders, III. 391
- Waterford* surrenders to K. William, III. 147
- Watson*, Thomas, Bp of St David's, against the Court, III. 224. unwilling to sign the Association, 322. deprived of simony, 522, 687
- Waugh*, John, made Bp of Carlisle, IV. 673
- Webb*, Major-General, his bravery at the battle of Oudenard, IV. 75. he and others put Picardy under contribution, 79. preserves a convoy from Ostend to Lisle, 84. beats the French at Wynendale, *ibid.* &c. thanked for it by the House of Commons, and honoured with the order of generosity by the King of Prussia, 86, and 116. made Governor of the Isle of Wight, 192. ordered to sell his regiment, 433
- Welsh* Copper and Lead Company, open their books, IV. 622, 623
- Wilwood*, Dr James, taken into custody for the *Mercerius Reformatus*, III. 192. made one of the Physicians in ordinary to K. William, *ibid.*
- Wems*, David Wems, E. of, chosen one of the sixteen Peers, IV. 64. whence defended, 450
- Westmoreland*, Thomas Fane, E. of, made First Commissioner of trade, IV. 617
- Wymouth*, Henry Frederic Thynne, Lord Viscount, made a Privy-Counsellor, III. 545. resigns his place of Commissioner of trade, 792
- Wharton*, Mary, carried away by Colonel Campbell, III. 161
- Wharton*, Thomas, one of the Commissioners to inspect the books of the Chamberlain of London, and of the East-India Company, III. 269. Comptroller of the King's Household, 274. his report about the East-India affair, *ibid.* and 277. carries the Duke of Leeds's impeachment up to the House of Lords, 278
- Wharton*, Thomas Lord, moves for an addition to the Lord's address, III. 452. is against the Occasional Conformity-bill, 628. his petition about the honour of Richmond, and the proceedings of the Lords thereupon, 641. supplies and manages the *Aylesbury* men, 682. opens the debate for the act of Regency, 720. his speech about the danger of the Church, 726. was born a dissenter, *ibid.*
- created Viscount Winchendon and E. of Wharton, 780. speaks in behalf of the Union, 781. another speech of his in the debate about it, 786. his speech about the decay of trade, IV. 40. the D. of Marlborough expostulates with him, *ibid.* made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 104. holds a Parliament there, 148. returns to England, 149. his speech at Dr Sacheverell's trial, 157. resigns the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, 191. held a Parliament in that Kingdom, *ibid.* &c. turned out of his place of Chief-Justice in Eyre, 195. moves for the Lords entering their protests, 198. speaks against the peace, 227, 228. and against the resumption of K. William's grants, 245. his speech on occasion of the D. of Ormond's refusing to fight, 261. upon the Queen's communicating the plan of peace to the Parliament, 269, &c. attempt in the House of Commons to fasten a misdemeanor on him, 313. moves for an address that the Pretender should be removed out of Lorrain, 322, 349. makes a complaint against the public spirit of the Whigs, 340. represents the danger that threatened the Protestant Succession, 345, 348. his speech about the *Catalan*, 347, &c. and about the peace, 353. speaks against the Schism-bill, 361. complains of some being lifted in the Pretender's service, 364. his speech on account of the Pretender's not being removed out of Lorrain, 365. about the Spanish trade, 366. moves for an address to the Queen about the *Assiento*, *ibid.* received with great favour by K. George, 402. made Lord Privy-Seal, 404. his speech about the address to the Kings, 467. his death and character, 421
- Wharton*, Philip, Duke of, his speech about the South-Sea Scheme, IV. 611. one of the hell-fire club, 646. goes to Vienna, Rome, and Madrid, 691. receives orders to return to England, *ibid.*
- Wheeler*, Admiral, cast away, III. 252
- Whigs*; beginning of that name and party, III. 15. their character and principles, 17. K. William jealous of them, 40. loses his good opinion of them, 116. they grant him his revenues only from year to year, *ibid.* and 51, 52. promote the bill for taking the militia from the King and the Lords-Lieutenants, 54. make the King great promises, if he would pass the Corporation-act, 119. republican and moderate Whigs, 27. discontent at the preferring of some men, 195. join against the Court, 231. are again brought into the Administration, 252. disliked Bishop Stillingfleet's being made Archbishop, 260. jealous of the E. of Sunderland, 268. lose their credit in the nation, being charged with robbing the public, 370. grow unpopular, and were for continuing the taxes and army, 437. Q. Anne prejudiced against them, 538. had charged the nation with taxes, of which a large share had been devoured by themselves, 572. have the majority in the House of Commons, 716. join in opposing the inviting over the Princess Sophia, 719, &c. in a state of war with the Tories, IV. 108. alarmed at the E. of Sunderland's removal, 190. removed from the Lieutenantancy of London, 192. uneasy at the doctrine of passive obedience, 195. dislike the peace, 273. hated the Lord-Treasurer for having done too much, 328. *The publick Spirit of the Whigs*, a pamphlet, 340. take all imaginable care to secure the Protestant Succession, 346, &c. sign an association, 347. Whig Lords hold a consultation at the E. of Halifax's, 351. try to inflame the animosity between the E. of Oxford and the L. Bolingbroke, 368. elated at K. George's accession, 402. he was fond of them, 404. enemies of France, 405. have the majority in the Parliament, 415. laid to intend to give the King a larger revenue than his predecessors had enjoyed, 422. divided, 522, 536. exclaimed against the creation of Peers in Q. Anne's reign, 585
- Whiston*, William, his character and odd notions, IV. 207. the censure passed on him not confirmed by Q. Anne, 254
- Whitaker*, Sir Edward, Admiral, assists in the conquest of Minorca, IV. 96. reduces Port-Fornelli, 97. brings forces from Naples to Spain, 141. made Vice-Admiral of the white, 143
- g C
- White,

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

White-Friers ceased to be a privileged-place, III. 349

Whitehall; part of it burnt down, III. 371.

burnt almost entirely, 378

Whitehall preachers appointed by K. George, IV. 680

Whitebeck, Sir William, his saying upon the motion for adding Q. Anne to have the Pretender removed out of Lorrain, IV. 323

Whitehead, William, made Chief-Justice of Ireland, IV. 404

Whiddrington, William Lord, discharged, IV. 547

Wight, Captain, his letter about the D. of Ormond, IV. 425

Wightman, Major-General, his account of the battle of *Dumbblain*, IV. 461, &c. defeats the Rebels in *Scotland*, 584

K. WILLIAM III. and Q. MARY are declared King and Queen, III. 25. uneasy at the provision required for the Princess of Denmark, 52. proclaimed King and Queen of *Scotland*, 70, 72. acknowledged by an act rightful and lawful Sovereigns, 129

K. WILLIAM settles a Privy-Council and appoints a Ministry, III. 38. grows jealous of the Whigs, 40. his speech to his first Parliament, 41. attempts to have the Sacramental-Test taken away, 45. uneasy at the revenue being granted him only from year to year, 52. his letter to the *Dutch*, 54. his speech to the *Scotch* Lords, 62. his letter to the Convention in *Scotland*, 67. declares war against *France*, 90. goes to *Portsmouth*, and distributes rewards to the officers, and sailors who were at the fight of *Bantry-Bay*, 92. buys *Kenington* Palace, *ibid.* dines with the Lord-Mayor, 104. promotes a comprehension, and gives a Commission to some Divines for that purpose, 106, 109. his speech of his own compulsion, to the Parliament, 111. displeased with the Whigs, by reason of their closeness in his interest, and their granting him the Civil List but for one year, 116. a conspiracy against him, 117. the King, not knowing how to trust the Tories, and being determined not to trust the Whigs any more, resolves to go to *Holland*, and leave the Government in the Queen's hands, but alters his design, and goes to *Ireland*, 119. the customs settled upon him for four years, and the hereditary excise for life, 128, 129. rejects a proposal made to him for seizing K. James, 133. lands in *Ireland*, 133. forbids any violence on the country people, 134. orders his whole army to move towards the *Boyne*, 135. receives a slight wound, from whence a rumour of his being killed spreads as far as *Paris*, 135. defeats K. James at the battle of the *Boyne*, and behaves with great bravery during the whole action, 136, &c. some thought he would not have hazarded a battle, 145. publishes a Declaration promising pardon and protection to the Irish, *ibid.* a design formed to assassinate him, 146. issues out a Proclamation for crying down King James's brass money, *ibid.* catches a soldier who was robbing a poor woman, and causes him and some others to be hanged, *ibid.* publishes a second pardon, 147. sets out for *Holland* and is in great danger on the coast there, 163. his speech at the Congress at the *Hague*, 164, &c. plot against him by Lord Preston, 166. returns to *England*, *ibid.* goes to *Holland* again to command the confederate army, 174. escapes narrowly being killed, 183. the Spaniards offer to deliver the Government of *Flanders* to him, 188. comes back to *England*, *ibid.* party formed against him, 189. was thought to love the *Dutch* more than the *English*, and was naturally silent and morose, *ibid.* and 238. fond of his prerogative, 189. not pleased with the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, 195. goes to *Holland*, 196. a plot for assassinating him formed by Colonel Parker, &c. marches towards *Namur* intending to relieve that place, 206. blamed for not hazarding a battle to relieve so important a place, 207. his uneasiness at seeing the *English* not duly relieved at the battle of *Steenkirk*, 208. Grandvaux's and Dumont's plot to assassinate him, *ibid.* puts out a Proclamation against vice and immorality, 218. returns to *England*, 219. dines with the Lord-Mayor, &c. at *Guild-Hall*, *ibid.* is advised to send away all the foreign forces he

had in *England*, 227. and to demand of the *Dutch* and Spaniards cautionary towns, 230

books, pretending to prove that he and Q. Mary came by way of conquest, burnt, 231.

refuses to pass the bill for the frequent calling and meeting of Parliaments, 233. jealous of his ministers, who are thought to betray him, 237. party formed against him, *ibid.* &c.

was not easy of access, 238. took no notice of the Clergy, and shewed no great regard for Religion or the Church, *ibid.* goes to *Flanders*, *ibid.* his bravery at the battle of *Landen*, 239. escapes narrowly being killed, 240. finds he had been too hasty in trusting

foes in *Scotland*, 245. does not take due notice of that Kingdom, 246. returns to *England*, 247. refuses to pass the Place-bill, 250. makes an alteration in his Ministry, 252. goes to *Holland*, 253. commands the army, 255. returns to *England*, 259. in- comfortable for the loss of his Queen, 261, &c. reconciled with the Princess Anne, 263.

his declaration for the strict discipline of the army, 269. was apt sign papers in a hurry, 284. goes to *Holland*, 281. his letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, 282. vindicated from being the author of the murder at *Glencoe*, 286. besieges *Namur*, 289. his letter of thanks to Prince *Laudemont* upon his famous retreat, 292. his reputation raised by the taking of *Namur*, 299. comes back to *England*, 300. takes a progress to *Stamford*, &c.

301. issues out a Proclamation for calling in the clipped money, 307. addresses presented to him about the *Scotch East-India* Company, 308, &c. disowns the act made for it, 309. his answer to the Commons address against the grant to the Earl of *Portland*, 312. not inclined to believe the reports about the assassination-plot, 313. the several ways contrived to assassinate him, 316. *Pendergrafs* and *de la Rue* give him an account of that plot, *ibid.* his speech to the Parliament on the discovery of the plot, 320. refuses the royal assent to a bill for regulating the elections of Members of Parliament, 323. gives the royal assent to *Fenwick's* attainder, 346. appoints regents, and goes to *Holland*, 350. gains great reputation by the peace of *Ryswick*, 364. returns to *England*, *ibid.* despised pagantry, *ibid.* his letters to the E. of *Galway* about disbanding the army, *ibid.* and 376, 389. was against disbanding the army, 364, &c. extremely uneasy at the resolution taken to do it, 367, 368. a revenue for life granted him, 369. goes to *Holland*, and leaves sealed orders behind him, 382. his letter to the Lord *Sommers*, 383. returns to *England*, 386. is so uneasy at disbanding his *Dutch* guards, that he resolves to leave the Government, 387. his message to the Commons about the *Dutch* guards, 388. goes to *Holland*, 392. chagrined at the proceedings of the Commons, *ibid.* his letters to the E. of *Galway*, *ibid.* and 402, 437. endeavours to prevent a breach between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, 394. returns to *England*, *ibid.* his answer to the Commons remonstrance, 395. the grants of lands, he had made in *Ireland* resumed by the Commons, 398, &c. his answer to the Commons address about them, 400. very much against it, and very uneasy, 401. his letter to the D. of *Queensbury* and Privy-Council of *Scotland*, 407. goes to *Holland*, 409. is weary of the nation, which is highly discontented, 410. through his mediation a peace is concluded between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, 411. highly reflected on by the Imperial and Spanish Courts, about the Partition-Treaty, 414. returns to *England*, 422. his letter to the Parliament of *Scotland*, *ibid.* &c. full of indignation at the French not observing the Treaty of Partition, 431. falls into an ill state of health, and his legs swell, 433. the Whigs complain of his conduct, 437. fees the necessity of a new war, 438. alarmed at the Preliminaries of the bill of Succession, 444. orders his Envoy at the *Hague* to enter into negotiations with the Ministers of *France* and *Spain*, for securing the tranquillity of *Europe*, 446. acquaints the Parliament with his negotiations for the mutual security of *England* and *Holland*, 447. his answer to the Commons address about the Partition-Treaty, *ibid.* and to the House of Lords about the same,

453. his message to the House of Commons about the French King's answer to the States-General, *ibid.* his answer to the Commons advice upon that message, *ibid.* owns the K. of *Spain*, *ibid.* his letter to him, 454. sends succours to the States, 455. his answer to the Commons address for removing the Lords *Portland*, *Sommers*, *Orford*, and *Hullifax*, 460. not pleased with the Tories, 471, &c. in a bad state of health, 480. goes to *Holland*, his speech to the States there, *ibid.* &c. goes to view the frontier garisons, 481. uneasy at the E. of *Rachisther's* temper, 488. orders the E. of *Manchester* to quit *France* upon the Pretender's being proclaimed there, 492. pleased with the addresses sent to him upon the proclaiming of that person, 495. falls ill at the *Hague*, and declares to the E. of *Portland*, that he found himself so weak, he did not expect to live long, 496. returns to *England*, *ibid.* his scheme to reduce the power of *France*, 504. his letter for an union with *Scotland*, 505. has a fall from his horse, and breaks his collar bone, *ibid.* dies, 507. his character, *ibid.* &c. his reserved behaviour to the Princess Anne, 538. his saying of the D. of *Marborough*, *ibid.* the funds fell upon his death, 539. the conformation in *Holland* upon the news of his death, 540. great rejoicings in *France* upon that account, 542. the disaffected greatly rejoice at the same, and vilify the deceased King with libels, verses, &c. 550. a report of some papers found in his strong box, for getting the Elector of *Hanover* declared his immediate Successor, *ibid.* &c. his papers visited upon that account, the report found to be false and malicious, and the spreaders of it ordered to be prosecuted, 551. clamours against his administration, and the management of the revenue in his reign, 584. a motion for refusing all the grants made in his reign, 587. one expelled for aspersing his memory, IV. 149. about drinking to his memory, *ibid.* his statue defaced, 192. design in the House of Commons to resume his grants, 203. the K. of *Prussia* presses the settling of his Succession, 214. had 50,000*l.* per annum for Contingencies, 239. bill to examine into the grants made by him, 245, &c. his birth-day solemnized by the Whigs, 297. a picture of his burnt, 425. debate about the conspirators against him, 426

William-Augustus, now Duke of Cumberland born, IV. 651

William's or Coehorn Fort, at *Namur*, III. 290

Williams, Sir William, his odd behaviour at the trial of the *Lancashire* Plotters, III. 266, 267. his speech against the grant made to the E. of *Portland*, 312. was against signing the Association, 322

Williamson, Captain, brings to *England* the news of the conclusion of the barrier-treaty, IV. 424

Wilks, Lieutenant-General, at the siege of *Lisfe*, IV. 80. detached to secure *Warnton*, 133

Willoughby, Sir Thomas, created Baron *Widdowson*, IV. 734

Willes, General, commands the garrison of *Lerida*, IV. 11. marches to *Terragona*, 12. serves in *Spain*, 177. taken prisoner at *Brihuega*, 180

Willes, John, now Lord Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas, writes an answer against Hereditary Right, IV. 334

Wilmore, — his paper against the Lieutenantcy of *London*, III. 233. taken up for it, 234

Window-Tax; bill for it, IV. 525

Winchester, Charles Poulet Marquis of, made one of the Lords-Justices of *Ireland*, III. 350

Winchelsea, William Finch E. of, made First Commissioner of Trade, IV. 219

Windsor, Captain Edward, dismissed for neglect of duty, IV. 102

Windsor, Thomas Lord, made Lieutenant-General, IV. 192. created Baron *Monjoy*, 234

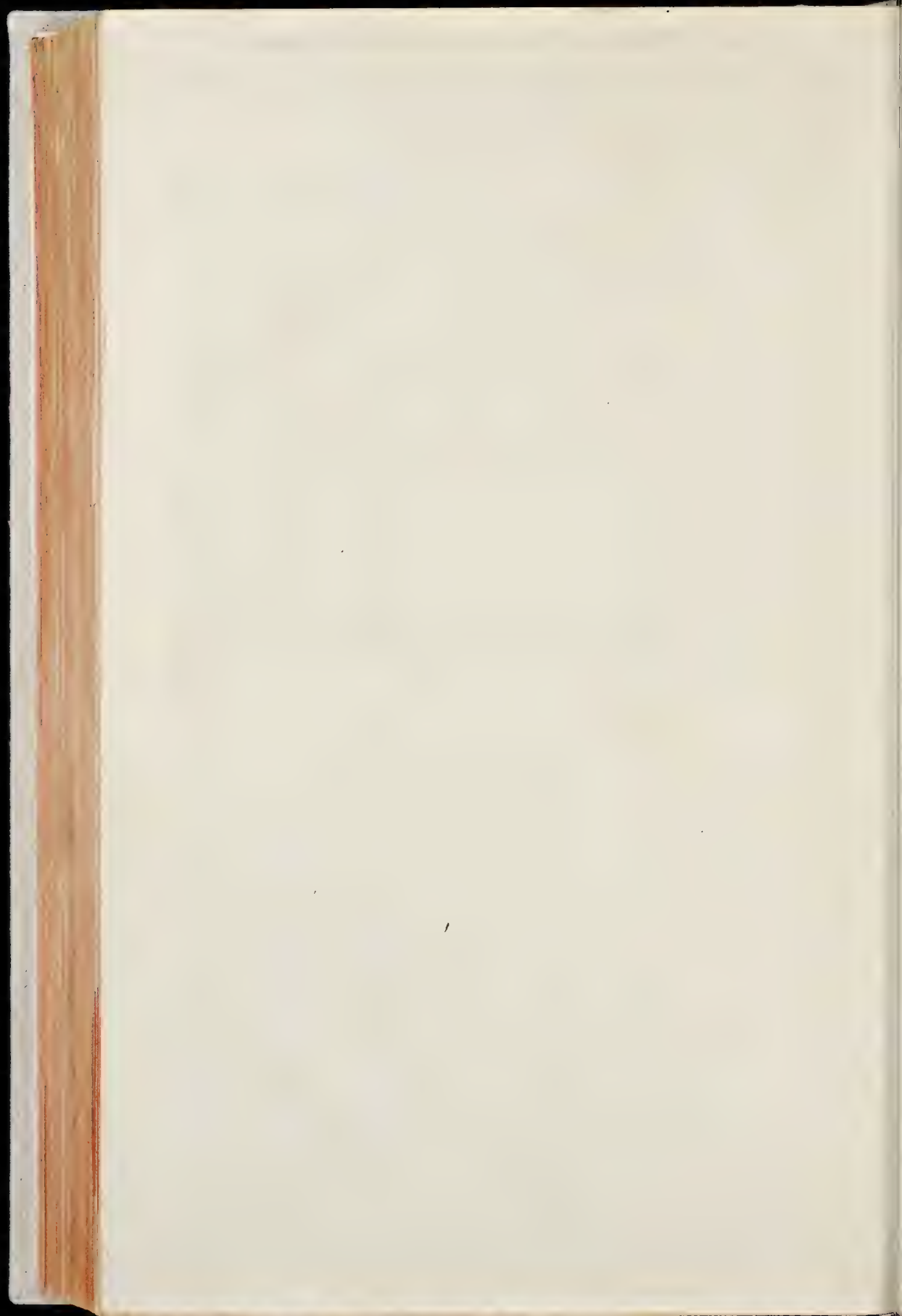
Wines, French, a new impost of 8*l.* a tun upon them, III. 232. act for the importation of them into *Scotland*, 603

Winnington, Sir Francis, Chairman of a Committee, III. 225

Winter; see *inter*;

An INDEX to the Continuation of the History of England.

- Winter*; a severe one, IV. 93, 119
Wintoun, George Seaton E. of, takes arms for the Pretender, IV. 445. his character, 448. advises the Highlanders not to march into England, 454. goes off, but soon returns, however, he is never after called to any Council of War, 455. taken prisoner at *Preston*, 459. committed to the *Tower*, 465. impeached, 482. condemned, 484. escapes out of the *Tower*, 501
Wirtemberg, Prince of, led the vanguard at the battle of *Steenkirk*, III. 208. his pay settled according to the *English Establishment*, 226
Wirtemberg, Duchy of, laid under contributions by the *French*, IV. 14
Wirtemberg, D. of, taken prisoner by the *French*, III. 223. sends *K. William* notice of *K. James's* being come to *Calais*, 319. commands the *Danish* troops, and was well-affected to the *Allies*, 745
Wijnar taken by the *Confederates*, IV. 538
Wolfenbuttle, D. of, enters into the *French* interest, III. 487. levies troops for *France*, but is disarmed, 504. forced to quit the *K. of France's* party, 558
Wolfenbuttle, Princes of, embraces *Pope-ry*, and is married to *K. Charles*, afterwards Emperor, IV. 32
Wollin Island given to *Prussia*, IV. 615
Wood, Lieutenant-General, at the siege of *Lijst*, IV. 80. charges a party of *French* with two battalions only, 82
Wood, William, account of his half-pence, IV. 675
Woodstock granted to the *D. of Marlborough*, III. 677
Woodward, Dr., made Dean of *Sorum*, III. 173. chosen Prolocutor, 530. dies, 531
Wool, act against the exportation of it, III. 371. resolutions against the exporting it into *Scotland*, 675, 676
Woollen Manufacture; a bill for wearing it, III. 98. addresses against the woollen manufacture in *Ireland*, 376. woollen manufactures hurt by the treaty of commerce, IV. 315
Wratislaw, Count, presents a memorial to *Q. Anne*, III. 653. waits upon the *D. of*
- Marlborough*, and settles all things for his march, 654. adjusts all differences between the Emperor and the *K. of Sweden*, IV. 19. comes to *Francofort*, and to the *Hague*, 21
Wright, Sir Nathan, made Lord-Keeper, III. 406. and one of the *Lords-Justices*, 409. had put *Justices of Peace* in and out, 644. his character, *ibid.* compliments the *D. of Marlborough*, 676. dismissed from his office, and is despised even by the *Tories*, his character, 716
Worms burnt by the French, III. 103
Wyndham, Sir William, speaks in favour of the treaty of commerce, IV. 315. made Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, 328. and a Privy-Counsellor, 335. his speech about the peace, 344. moves for the *Schism-bill*, 359. speaks for it, 360, 363. is against an addition to an address against the Pretender, 364. designed for one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 368. some move for making him Chairman of the Grand Committee of Subsidy, 396. his speech about the arrears to the *Hanover* troops, 397. objects against the King's proclamation for calling a new Parliament, 419. reprimanded for it by the Speaker, 420. taken into the custody of a messenger, 439. and committed to the *Tower*, 440, 497. discharged, and moves that *Dr. Snape* be appointed to preach before the Commons on *K. Charles's* Restoration, 536
Wynendale, battle of, IV. 84
Wynne, William, Bp of St Asaph, supports the motion for an address from *Oxford*, 516
- X.
Xativa, the *English* retire thither, IV. 10
- Y.
York, John Sharpe Archbp of, sworn a Privy-Counsellor, IV. 105. speaks in *Dr. Sacheverell's* behalf, 158. against *Lay-Baptism*, 255
Young, Robert, forms a plot against several persons, III. 218
Young, William, his speech for a Supply,
- IV. 525. made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, 679. his marriage with *Mary Heathcoat* dissolved, 686
Yule Vacance, IV. 244
- Z.
Zealand plundered by a body of *French*, IV. 276, &c.
Zell or Zell, George William D. of, made Knight of the Garter, III. 163. forces the *D. of Wolfenbuttle* to quit the interest of *France*, 558
Zenta; the *Turks* defeated there, III. 363.
Ziher; account of him, III. 699
Zinzendorf, Count, IV. 18, 22, 121. the Emperor's Plenipotentiary at the *Hague*, 127. has conferences with the Ministers, *ibid.* and 128, 130, 165, 168. is one of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries at the treaty of *Utrecht*, 248. demands the restitution of the whole *Spanish Monarchy*, 250. sends expresses to the Emperor, upon the *D. of Ormond's* refusing to fight, 260. his memorial to the *States* upon the peace, 276. proposes a plan for the Empire, furnishing four millions of crowns, 295. sends *Q. Anne's* plan of peace to *Vienna*, 304. draws up some new proposals for a negotiation between the Imperial and *French* Ministers, 305, &c. communicates a second plan of peace, 307. endeavours to have the signing of the treaty of *Utrecht* put off, 310. disgusted at the offers of *France*, 311. insists upon preserving the privileges of the *Catalans*, 380. his letter to *Mr de Palms* published, 704
Zobor, Count, quarrels with Count *Strahlenheim*, IV. 17. delivered up to the *K. of Sweden*, 18. released, 19
Zumunggen, General, employed in *Sicily*, IV. 590, &c. complaint against him, 593. his sedate temper, *ibid.* goes and besieges *Messina*, 595. has a Conference with Admiral *Byng*, 599. advances to *Palermo*, 601
Zuysestein, William Henry de Nassau L. of, sent by the Prince of *Orange* to *K. James*, III. 22, 23. made Master of the Robes, 41. goes along with King *William* to *Holland*, 164



Directions for placing the Cuts, &c. in Mr Tindal's
Continuation, in Two Volumes in Folio.

VOL. I.

✓ King William, to face the Title	
✓ Queen Mary, after the Introduction	
Sir William Temple Introduction xiv.	
Earl of Nottingham (Finch) —	38
✓ Duke of Schomberg —	136
✓ Earl of Rochester —	190
✓ Robert Boyle, Esq; —	238
✓ General Talmash —	254
✓ Archbishop Tillotson —	260
✓ Marquis of Hallifax —	281
✓ John Docks, Esq; —	327
✓ Lord Sommers —	403
✓ Duke of Gloucester —	409
<i>v. Vol III</i> Queen Anne —	533
<i>do</i> Duke of Marlborough —	536
Earl of Peterborough —	706
✓ Earl of Godolphin —	792

M A P S of

England —	Introduction 1
Scotland —	Page 57
Ireland —	185
France, at the End of Vol. I.	

VOL. II.

Prince of Denmark, to face the Title	Page.
Lord Carleton —	55 ✓
Earl of Orford, (Russell) —	143 ✓
Duchess of Marlborough —	187 ✓
Sir Richard Steele —	340 ✓
Earl of Orkney —	346 ✓
King George —	347 ✓
Dr Samuel Clarke —	415 ✓
Marquis of Wharton —	421 ✓
Sir William Wyndham —	440 ✓
Duke of Argyle —	443 ✓
Joseph Addison, Esq; —	525 ✓
Sir Isaac Newton —	552 ✓
Earl of Sunderland —	568 ✓
Lord Torrington —	630 ✓
Lord Talbot —	633 ✓
Earl of Orford, (Walpole) —	633 ✓
Sir Samuel Garth, } at the End of the	
Alexander Pope, Esq; } Reign of King	
	George I. p. 706. ✓

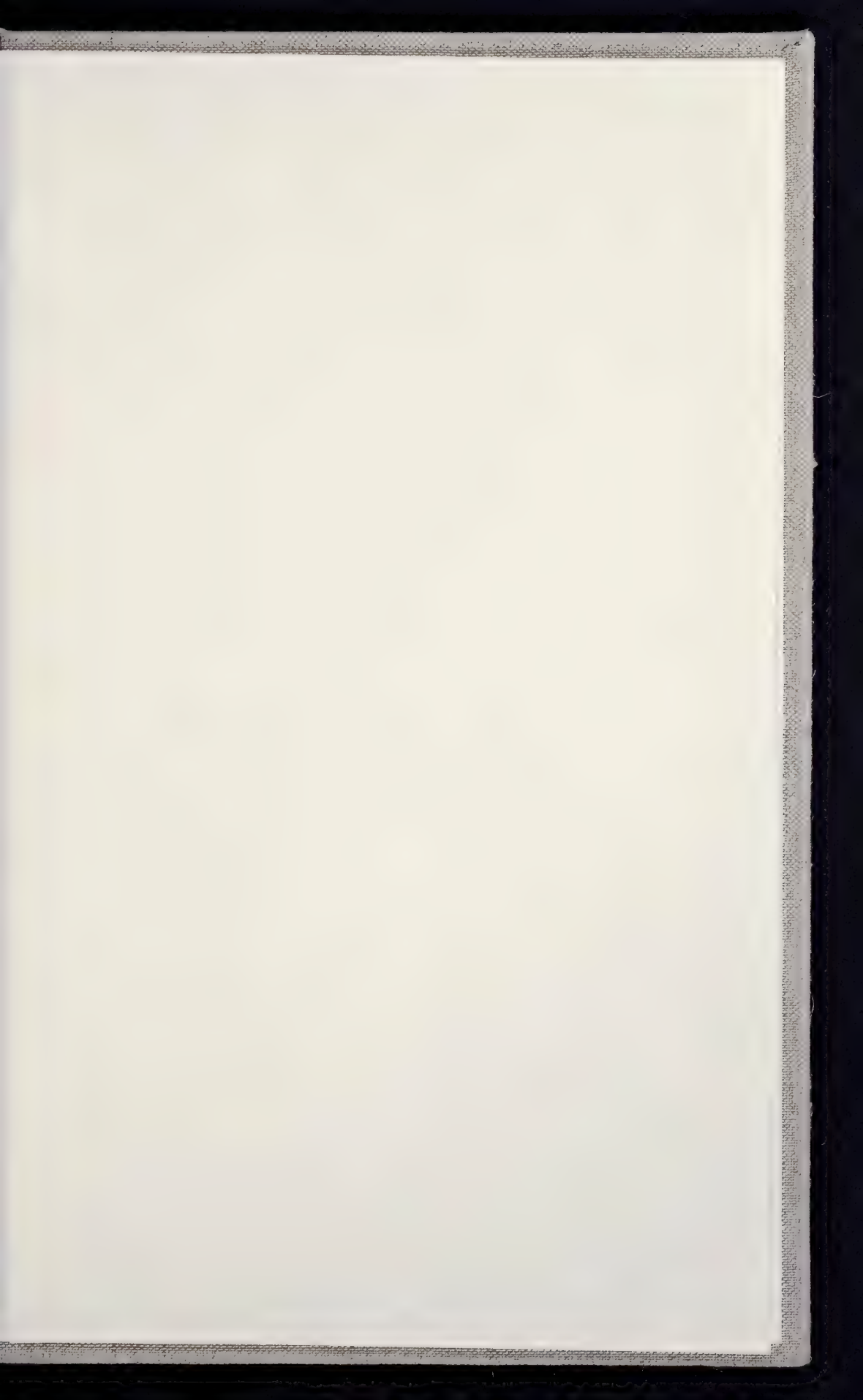
M A P S of

Spain and Portugal.
Italy.
Holland.
Flanders.
North-East Germany.
North-West Germany.
South-East Germany.
South-West Germany.
North America.
South America.

C H A R T S of the

Baltic Sea.
German Ocean.
Irish Sea.
English Channel.
Mediterranean Sea.
Bay of Biscay.
All at the End of the Volume.











Special
folio 84-B
32764
v.2

